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THE

BRITISH CRITIC

FOR JANUARY, 1822.

ART. I. *Correlative Claims and Duties; or an Essay on the Necessity of an Ecclesiastical Establishment, and the Means of promoting a Spirit of Devotion and Attachment to the Church among its Members. By the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks, A.M.* Hatchard and Son, London. 1821.

THE name of the "Author of Christian Essays, Christian Missions, the St. David's Prize Essay for 1811, on the Clerical Character," may, for aught we know to the contrary, be familiar to some of our readers. On the former productions of Mr. Wilks's prolific pen which we find thus arrayed in the title page of the publication to which we intend at present to call the reader's attention, we are not now called upon to make any observations. The subjects treated of in the Essay before us must be acknowledged to involve discussions of very great importance; but it is with considerable pain we are compelled to declare that the Essay itself carries with it an air of pretension which its contents in our opinion will hardly justify; when we are told that it is an Essay "to which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the Diocese of St. David's adjudged a premium of 50*l.* in December, 1820," and found it dedicated (by permission) to the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, our anticipations of its merits were naturally raised, and we took it up with expectations which its perusal by no means realized. The author tells us, that "in pursuing the plan which he has laid down for himself it is proposed to devote two chapters to the objects discussed in the essay:" with the intention of shewing in the first, "the necessity of a Church Establishment in a Christian country, for the preservation of Christia-

nity among people of all ranks and denominations;" and in the second, "the means of exciting and maintaining among its members a spirit of devotion, together with zeal for the honour, stability, and influence of the Established Church."

For reasons stated in the first chapter, the author passes by all questions of discipline and administration, in the general view which he takes of the importance of a National Establishment. After endeavouring in the first chapter to prove the abstract lawfulness and high importance of a National Establishment, he then proceeds to consider what are the best means of increasing devotion and church principles within its pale. There is therefore a very important link, which it will be necessary for the reader to supply, in order to connect the first and second chapter together:—that link is the lawfulness and excellence of the Established Church of England. The author says, that

"This intermediate argument is too wide in its details for the limits of the present essay, as well as irrelevant to its general purpose." He adds, however, that "it deserves to be seriously considered, at least in all its principal branches, by every person who feels interested in religious topics; and the more maturely the subject is contemplated, the less weighty will appear most of the objections currently urged against our national establishment; while many arguments in its favour, which did not particularly strike the mind at first, will be found upon further consideration to merit the utmost attention."

The opponents of the English Establishment may be divided into two classes—one of which acknowledges the necessity of some regular and established form of ecclesiastical polity, but disapproves of the English Church as faulty in its details:—the other class, we conceive much less numerous than the former, boldly denies the necessity of any legal establishment, and contends that the Church of Christ needs no human assistance to prop its bulwarks, and that its Author being its guardian, it requires not the feeble aid of man to assist in its protection. The author before us, however, very forcibly and satisfactorily contends, that the advocates of a religious establishment no less than those who object to its existence, believe that God can and will preserve his Church. It was our Lord's own consolatory promise "that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." But they also believe that the Almighty in his dealings with mankind almost invariably operates by the use of means and second causes; not the least common of which is disposing the hearts of civil rulers and other persons of influence and authority, to devise

and patronize measures which have a tendency to accomplish his all-wise designs, while perhaps they are promoting, as they conceive, their own. The omnipotent Creator, it is true, *might* effect his plans without the use of these instruments; but his power to do so is no proof that such is the usual arrangement of his providence. It is quite inconclusive, therefore, to argue that the power and providence of God for the support of his Church under a national establishment is unnecessary, unless it can be also satisfactorily proved that such an institution however pure, cannot in any case further that important end. Indeed, most of the arguments urged against the necessity and utility of any National Ecclesiastical Establishments, followed out into all their bearings would go far towards banishing *all human efforts whatever* for extending and perpetuating the blessings of the Gospel;—while on the other hand, all the arguments employed to induce any private individual to promote religion in his own sphere, might be applied on a larger scale, to prove it the duty of every Christian legislature to institute and support a National Establishment for the public instruction of the people in the doctrines and duties of Christianity. For if it should be acknowledged neither illegal nor unscriptural that a believer in Christianity should, in his private capacity, make use of the means and efforts which appear to him most likely to extend the influence of his opinions, it would surely be most absurd to contend that he is doing wrong, when uniting his efforts with those of other men, he uses the same means in his public capacity, under the sanction of law, to effect the same end. Objectors to Church Establishments, however modified in form, often refer to the primitive ages of Christianity, as a conclusive proof that Church Establishments are not necessary. But the parallel is inapplicable in almost all its parts. The gift of miracles in that early age, secured many of the most important objects which in the present day we look for from the ordinary operations of an Established Church, and therefore rendered such an institution the less necessary. But, even were this circumstance out of the question, the cases would still be destitute of the requisite analogy; for while the number of the disciples was small, and before kings and nations were converted to the faith, a National Establishment was of course unattainable; so that the idea of choice on the part of the Apostles and primitive Christians, with respect to this point, is at once superseded by an obvious impossibility. We ought not therefore to be told that the primitive Church did not think National Establishments necessary, till it can be shewn that they were within their reach,

but were rejected on account of their unscriptural character.

Among other forcible testimonies adduced from experience to prove the necessity of permanent national formularies, Mr. Wilks very pertinently alludes to the case of Calvin's own Church, the modern Church of Geneva. That Church, as every reader knows, was almost the cradle of the Reformation: and, whatever may be thought of the peculiar and exclusive parts either of the doctrines or discipline of its celebrated founder, it was certainly long distinguished for its general orthodoxy on the essential points on which all protestants are agreed. In the time of Turretin, however, the subscription of candidates for orders to the Helvetic confession, and to the decrees of the synod of Dort, was abolished. Since that period the Liturgy has been altered, and the ancient catechism, which inculcated the divinity of Jesus Christ and other essential doctrines, has been withdrawn, and its place supplied by another of a very different tendency. In 1805, the company of Pastors introduced into the Churches of Geneva a reformed version of the Bible; in the publication of which they not only omitted the authorized confession of faith of the reformed Churches of France and Geneva, which had ben prefixed to all their former Bibles, but made many alterations in the translation itself in passages relating to the Divinity of Christ, to original sin, and to the personality and offices of the Holy Ghost. This version is still used in their Churches; and it is credibly stated, that of the twenty-five persons who constitute the "company of Pastors," very few hold the orthodox faith; while the majority unite in actively opposing it. Surely, then, national formularies are necessary, were it only to prevent effects like these; for it should be remembered, that the *first* step in this downward progress was *abolishing subscription to articles and tests.*

As an active and clamorous party in this country are eager to prevail upon the English Clergy to solicit a deliverance from the slavish bonds in which their minds are said to be held by their subscription to human articles of faith, our readers will, we trust, perceive the necessity and importance of combating such pretensions in the outset; and we are willing to hope that they will excuse us, if we enter into some detail in stating the reasons, which appear to us to render it highly dangerous and inexpedient that the Clergy of the Establishment should ever acquire this "liberty."

Such a "liberty," if conceded to the Clergy, could not fail to undermine the very foundation of our Ecclesiastical

Institutions: and should any portion of the Clergy, however limited in number, be ever seduced by their own enemies and those of the Church of which they are ministers, to renew their solicitations for this "freedom," we have no hesitation in declaring it to be our firm conviction, that the *lay-members* of the Church of England ought to meet such ill-advised demands with a steady and unqualified refusal.

Our readers will perhaps feel some surprise that we should point out resistance to these claims as the duty of the *lay-members* of the English Church. We are fully sensible that subscription to articles of faith has been usually considered as affecting the ministers of the Establishment exclusively; as a question involving only the authority and control with which the higher Clergy should be invested over the faith of their inferior brethren: and a question with which the laity have therefore no concern. This, however, we conceive to be a very erroneous view of this subject; and we shall attempt to shew, that the Laity of this realm are interested even more immediately than the Clergy themselves, in closing the offices of the Church against individuals who decline subscribing to "human articles of faith."

Much idle and useless declamation has been lavished upon this subject by those who arrogate to themselves exclusively the praise of liberality. They exclaim in measured and solemn tones, that it is impossible for all men to think alike upon subjects which do not admit of absolute demonstration:—that it is unreasonable to expect that the opinions of one man should be changed or modelled upon the sentiments of another; and that it is impossible for any man or body of men to prove their speculative opinions to be exclusively correct. Now all these are mere truisms which have absolutely nothing to do with the point at issue. Although it be vain to expect that *all* men should entertain similar sentiments upon points which are not self-evident or capable of mathematical demonstration, we conceive that even the "very liberal" will not contend that it is therefore impossible that *many* individuals should hold congenial opinions upon many such points: and they will, we presume, concede to us farther, that the end and object of Divine Worship render it at least desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that the *minister* and the *congregation* in which he officiates, should entertain similar notions on what may be considered by both as important and fundamental points of doctrine. And it appears to us impossible that this unanimity of sentiment can be secured, except by the adoption of articles of faith embracing the doctrines which they mutually believe.

It will not, we suppose, be controverted, that the *lay-members* who attend the services of the Church of England. hold the opinions which are set forth in its Creeds and Liturgy. They believe, for instance, the Divinity of our Saviour to be a point indisputably established by the express declarations of God in his word. There are, it is well known, other men, who, renouncing the communion of the Church, maintain that this notion is founded on a misconception of the meaning of the Sacred Writings—who assert that this is a claim which was never advanced either by himself or by his immediate disciples; and who, therefore, reject it as a modern excrescence which destroys the simplicity of the Gospel.

In upholding subscriptions to articles of faith, the lay-members of the Church of England require, that those who are admitted into ecclesiastical offices should, on this and a few other important subjects, hold opinions similar to their own profession. And nothing appears to us to be more reasonable. They do not wish to hold dominion over the faith of others; but they consider it indispensable for the purpose of securing the harmony of public worship that the ministers of the establishment should on fundamental doctrines, entertain sentiments in unison with those of the congregations in which they officiate.

The advocates of subscription to articles of faith, sometimes attempt to shew its expediency by endeavouring to prove that their sentiments are more consonant to Scripture, than the opinions of their opponents. But it cannot be denied that this mode of arguing is, to say the least of it, inconclusive. In considering the necessity of subscription to human articles of faith the question is not—whether the opinions of one party be founded on better authority and more agreeable to the tenor of Scripture than the sentiments of another; but the point to be decided in such an enquiry is—whether it be expedient that a minister should obtain an appointment from which he cannot be removed, who holds opinions on important points, different from those of the congregation in which he officiates. The object of such a discussion is not to decide whether the opinions, for instance, of the Unitarian or those of the Trinitarian be the most scriptural; but whether an Unitarian minister should be allowed to officiate in a congregation of Trinitarians. In an assembly holding opinions similar to his own, his ministry may be useful; but among those who hold sentiments diametrically opposite, it must be productive of an injurious effect.

Those who describe themselves exclusively "nullius addictos jurare in verba magistri," would persuade us, that,

were subscription to the articles of the Established Church abolished, disunion would be out up by the roots. To us, on the contrary, it appears perfectly clear, that the abolition of religious tests would not remove dissent; but would aggravate, in a high degree, the evils which arise from this cause at present. Let us take the case of a single parish containing one hundred inhabitants; and assume that ninety of them coincide in maintaining the doctrine of the Trinity, and that the remaining ten individuals regard this doctrine as the invention of man. The majority adopt a public and formal declaration of their sentiments on this subject, which thus virtually excludes from their assemblies the minority who dissent from them in opinion. No man, we presume, will maintain that, in this case, the formal test established by the majority had caused or introduced a diversity of sentiment. This disagreement of opinion is totally independent of the declaration made use of by the majority; which evidently does not produce it, but merely ascertains its existence. Were the whole hundred individuals, which we have assumed as the inhabitants of one parish, to meet in one body for the purpose of religious worship, the diversity of their sentiments, on a subject so important, would inevitably engender strife and produce confusion. But the establishment of articles of faith separates them into two parties, each retaining its own peculiar opinions; and thus, far from being the occasion of dispute and disunion, this test evidently becomes the source of harmony and peace. As one assembly composed of one hundred members entertaining different sentiments, no harmony could have existed among them—but an established declaration, dividing them into two parties, prevents a constant and unnecessary collision of dissimilar opinions.

Human articles of faith are not then adopted with the vain and visionary hope of producing an uniformity of sentiment among all the members of a civil community, but with a view of discovering those who entertain similar notions on important religious doctrines, and of forming them into one society not liable to be perpetually disturbed by the disputes of men advocating dissimilar systems. Were subscription to articles of faith, at this moment, abolished—were the Trinitarian and the Unitarian to meet in the same Temple, it should be described as any thing rather than the Temple of Concord. The doctrines which had the hearty concurrence of the one, would excite disapprobation, and perhaps disgust, in the breast of the other. Such an unnatural junction of heterogeneous parties could never be du-

rable were it, what it is not, in any respect desireable. And it would not require the intervention of creeds and articles of faith to effect its dissolution. It is, in the very nature of things, impossible that the believer in Christ's Divinity, and the Unitarian, could long occupy the same seat, and listen to the same teacher with satisfaction and improvement. They would soon cease to frequent the same place of worship and join assemblies holding sentiments congenial to their own. This fact is placed beyond dispute by instances which perpetually occur in dissenting congregations. When any important diversity of sentiment shews itself, the assembly becomes divided into two factions: an end is put to this dissention by the cession of one of the parties; and thus, as two distinct bodies, they enjoy that harmony and peace which had been constantly interrupted had they continued to form one assembly.

When the lay members of the Church of England, therefore, require, that those who are admitted to the ministry should subscribe articles of faith containing the leading doctrines, which they consider as the fair inductions of reason from the declarations of Scripture, they are by no means guilty of the dogmatical and intolerant bigotry which the ill-disposed or the ignorant sometimes lay to their charge: they do not maintain that they alone are right, and that all the rest of the world must be wrong; nor do they assume the right or entertain the wish of domineering over the faith of others. Candidates for ecclesiastical offices they may be said to address in words to the following effect.

"The articles which you are required to subscribe contain doctrines which we consider important, and believe to be true: you, perhaps, hold a different opinion and believe them to be false: Now although your sentiments on these points should be really more correct than ours, yet while we continue to believe the doctrines which you reject, you are, whether right or wrong in your notions, evidently disqualified for the station to which you aspire. It is not necessary for us to prove our sentiments to be true and yours false. We conceive it to be sufficient ground for excluding you from offices of power in our church, that your opinions on these important subjects differ from our own. You claim the right of believing that alone which your reason points out to you as the meaning of Revelation—your claim is just and reasonable—but you must grant us the same liberty—join those who hold opinions similar to your own. We have no wish to disturb the harmony of your societies, nor shall we allow you to interrupt the peace of our assemblies."

There is surely in all this neither intolerance nor bigotry

It is difficult to comprehend on what grounds unreasonable dogmatism can be imputed to any church, which requires candidates for admission to ecclesiastical offices, to declare their assent to articles of faith. The members of the Church of England by no means wish to dictate to any man what opinions he should form on any doctrinal points which may admit of dispute. They never arrogate to themselves, either individually or collectively, the attribute of infallibility; they do not deny but that the sentiments of those who differ from them *may* be more correct and scriptural than the opinions which they advocate. But having made this concession—they contend, that as long as they are honest and sincere in believing any doctrines, even should these doctrines be false, no man has a right or pretence to disturb them. Unitarian or Catholic congregations would not for a moment tolerate a minister entertaining and inculcating opinions which they believe unscriptural and incorrect: nor is it reasonable that they should do this. Then why should not the members of the English Establishment enjoy and exercise the power of excluding from their pulpits individuals who dissent from them on important doctrines? They grant to all other sects and parties the free and undisturbed liberty of electing teachers holding opinions congenial to those of the assemblies in which they are to officiate, and merely claim, in their turn, a right to exercise similar power.

It is rather too much, therefore, that those who dissent from the English Church, should impute intolerance and dogmatism to its members, because they will not permit individuals entertaining sentiments dissimilar to their own, to be appointed ministers of the establishment. If a body of Trinitarians should require all other assemblies—assemblies of Unitarians, for instance, to admit Trinitarians as their religious instructors, the charge of intolerance would, in such a case, be just. But as the motto stands at present, we really think that dogmatism and bigotry may, with more justice and fairness, be imputed to those who declaim against subscription to articles of faith, than against the members of the Church of England who defend its expediency. They who renounce the communion of the Church of England do not appear satisfied with enjoying an undisturbed liberty of appointing and removing at pleasure their own teachers; under the pretence of opposing dogmatism, they seem to us to indulge the intolerant wish of thrusting into the pulpits of the establishment individuals, who entertain religious notions diametrically opposite to those of the congregations in which they are to officiate. Dissenters of all denominations pos-

sess, and in all cases exercise the power of removing ministers who hold opinions on important points different from their own; and the members of the Church of England cannot acknowledge that dogmatism and intolerance can, with a shadow of justice, be imputed to them when they exercise a right of a similar nature.

Subscription to human articles of faith is the only means then which the lay members of the Church of England can make use of, to restrain the patrons of livings from placing in the pulpits of the establishment individuals, who might feel it even their duty to impugn and vilify doctrines, which they regard and venerate as the essential features of Christianity. And, viewing the subject in this light, we are persuaded that our readers will acknowledge, that we are correct in maintaining, that the propriety of subscribing human articles of faith, involves a question more immediately interesting to the lay members of the Church of England, than it is to ecclesiastics themselves.

Many who are loud in reprobating subscription to human articles of faith would fain persuade us that no Christian Church ought to require any confession of faith beyond a declaration of belief in the Scriptures, as containing a revelation of the will of God. But this substitute for subscription to the articles of our church is utterly inefficient as to the purposes for which it is offered. All the parties into which the religious world is divided acknowledge the Scriptures, as containing the revealed will of God. The Trinitarian, the Arian, and the Unitarian: the member of the Church of England, the Catholic, and the Presbyterian, all maintain, and we are persuaded, firmly believe their respective systems and opinions to be most consonant and agreeable to the word of God. Each appeals with confidence to the Scriptures as the source from which he derives arguments, which appear to him conclusive and unanswerable in support of his own opinions. All these parties, therefore, agree with respect to the authority—and all differ as to the meaning of the sacred writings. It is demonstrably evident, then, that were the clergy of the national establishment required merely to make a declaration of belief in the Scriptures, the advocates of any of these discordant systems would be admissible to all ecclesiastical offices in the English Church. Let us, for a moment, advert to the blessed results which might be anticipated from this "liberal plan." We should enjoy, in perfection, that delightful variety and discord which seem so grateful to the sticklers for this "liberty." The incumbent of one parish would be found a Trinitarian, of the next

an Unitarian. We should meet with a Catholic as the Rector of one Parish—and with a Presbyterian as the Vicar of a second. The death of every incumbent could not fail to introduce additional change and confusion. A Protestant Rector might, and, in many cases, no doubt, would be succeeded by a Catholic incumbent, who, in his turn, would make way for a Presbyterian successor. And every change in the principles of the teacher would infallibly introduce a corresponding change of the individuals who would attend his instructions. For it is in the nature of things impossible to suppose, that a protèstant could long attend a place of worship where he should hear doctrines advanced and supported, which he considered false and even impious. He would discontinue his attendance, and surrender his place to others of opposite principles. Those, therefore, who are not prepared to think, that a constant succession of ministers holding the most dissimilar and irreconcileable opinions would produce endless and irremediable confusion will, we are persuaded, never wish that individuals should be admitted to ecclesiastical offices without subscribing human articles of faith, as the only efficient barrier against the constant recurrence of debate and contention.

While on the subject of the inadequacy of a declaration of belief in the Scriptures as of divine inspiration, as a substitute for subscription to human articles of faith, we must be permitted to remind our readers, that there is already in existence a translation of the Bible in which all the passages which have a direct reference to the divinity of our Saviour and the personality and office of the Holy Ghost have been sedulously altered or expunged; nor must our readers forget that there is now living a certain ingenious gentleman ycleped John Bellamy, who assures us that the version of the sacred writings, on the fidelity of which we have been accustomed to rely, abounds in gross and palpable errors—that it is full of passages utterly at variance with the original, and which he characterises as impious and absurd; and that he, the said John Bellamy, is the only translator who fully understood and correctly rendered into English, the Hebrew text which he is dishonest enough to assert, or stupid enough to believe, had not been even consulted or examined by the translators of the authorised version. We have neither space nor inclination at present, to add any observations on the labour bestowed by this modest person on what he facetiously terms an improved version of the Scriptures, but which has been proved over and over again to be, nearly in all the instances where he deviates from the authorised translation, eithe-

wanton perversion or a stupid misconception of the meaning of the original. Whether our estimate of the merits of Mr. John Bellamy's version be or be not correct, must be left to the judgment of the reader; but we confess that every thing which he has written upon the subject since our attention was first directed to his undertaking, has strengthened and confirmed the opinion we had formed of his presumption and incapacity.

In the mouth of a dignitary of our own church we have, to our surprise, heard the following language: "Articles of Churches are not of divine authority; have done with them; for this may be true, this may be false; and appeal to the book itself." Bishop Watson having thus summarily disposed of the articles of churches, is followed all through "haud passibus equis," by Mr. John Bellamy, who asserts that "the book" to which the Bishop commands us to appeal, and which the English reader has been taught to consider as the revealed will of the Deity, does not convey the import of the original: but that it is a wretched imposition palmed upon the credulity of the public by the ignorance and incapacity of former translators. We imagine, therefore, that the advocates of "liberty from religious tests" would by no means be satisfied with the abolition of articles of faith. They would in addition to this, and, as we think, without inconsistency, claim the right of using any translation of the Scriptures which might best suit their purposes. However incredible it may at first sight appear, some individuals might still be found, who would consider the absurd "perversions" of Mr. John Bellamy an improvement of the authorised translation: and, for aught we can see to the contrary, another star may arise from Hackney of greater magnitude than even Mr. John Bellamy himself: and the disciple, being thus above his Master, might favour the world with a translation of the Scriptures suitable to the wishes and opinions of "all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics," who would all readily make a declaration of belief in such a translation: Nay, were this great philologist himself to revise attentively the work of his own hands, "we are persuaded that even he might thus improve his own improvement," and produce an English version of the Hebrew text, which might fully effect this object.

Our readers must instantly perceive that the most malignant enemy of revelation cannot devise a plan more feasible or more efficient to destroy its authority. Revelation itself might then be easily converted into an engine to sap the whole foundation of religion and morality. The

Deist, at present, denies the authority of the Scriptures—he denies that they contain the revealed will of the Deity: grant him the liberty of using Mr. John Bellamy's philological "eye, which sees the wind," in extracting from these Scriptures any meaning which his imagination can suggest as the correct sense of the original, it will be his interest to uphold rather than destroy their authority: as he might, by degrees, prevail upon the multitude to adopt, under the cloak of revelation, opinions and practices which he might advocate in vain without the recommendation of such a sanction.

If the perversion and misrepresentation of the sale of the original, under the guise of a new and improved translation, should even fail to answer the purposes of the infidel, recourse may be had to bolder and more efficient means: If he cannot prevail upon the public to swallow his emendations of the received version, he may endeavour to destroy the authority of the text from which the translation is made; and, as might have been naturally anticipated by those who attend to the progressive descent of a corrupt mind from bad to worse, such an attempt has been already projected. An ignorant and needy man, who lives, as some of our readers may possibly know, somewhere about the purlieus of the Fleet, and gains a precarious and scanty livelihood by vending seditious and blasphemous trash to gratify the corrupt appetites of the refuse of human society, has lately published an edition of the spurious Gospels, with the professed view of leading the unwary to consider these palpable and clumsy forgeries as equally genuine and authentic with the gospels which the scriptural canon embraces. If this speculation should realize the golden hopes of needy and profligate adventure, we would recommend this concocter and vender of literary poison to employ Mr. John Bellamy in retranslating his English version into Hebrew, and attempt to palm it upon the public as a genuine text, in which, among various other improvements, it may easily be made to appear, that the twelve Patriarchs are merely allegorical representations of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

We cannot help embracing this opportunity of observing, that a fundamental and unaccountable error seems to pervade the whole reasoning of the late Bishop of Llandaff, when touching upon articles of faith. Whenever he approaches this subject, he is evidently deserted by that logical precision in argument which his mathematical studies might have led us to expect. He lays it down as an incontrovertible axiom that no church has a right to require of its members

an explicit assent to articles of faith which cannot be proved to be of Divine authority. Having laid down this maxim, which appeared to him indisputable, we are not surprised that he should, on all occasions, reprobate subscription to human articles of faith: but we acknowledge ourselves not a little surprised, that he did not, with the consistency of a practised logician, follow up his axiom as far as it would lead him. "Have done with articles of faith," says the Bishop: "They may be true, they may be false; believe only, that the Bible contains the revealed will of the Deity." No, respond Paine, Carlile, and Co. "have done with *all* articles of faith, without any exception or reservation;"—"that the Scriptures contain the revealed will of the Deity is a moral conviction"—"it is only a belief"—"an article of faith which is not capable of absolute demonstration:" "it may be true: it may be false: on your own principles, therefore, we maintain that no church has a right to require assent to such a proposition." It really appears to us, that these "unprejudiced" persons have rather the better of the argument against his lordship: they are entitled to the praise of consistency, at least, to which, in this instance, the Bishop can establish no claim. It could, we think, hardly have escaped him that a declaration of belief that the Scriptures contain the revealed will of the Deity is, in fact, the adoption of an article of faith: by what train of reasoning he exempted this favourite dogma from the operation of his general principle of abolishing all such articles he has not, as far as we know, condescended to explain: nor would it be worth while to fill our pages with an attempt to conjecture.

When defining the principle by which he was guided as Professor of Divinity, he proceeds thus: "I reduced the study of Divinity into as narrow a compass as I could, for I determined to study nothing but my Bible, being much unconcerned about the opinions of councils, fathers, churches, bishops, and other men, as little inspired as myself." On the part of a private individual scrutinizing the tenets of different churches, in order to ascertain which held the opinions which he considered most consonant to Scripture, such a resolution might have merited the highest praise: but we shall not, we trust, expose ourselves deservedly to the charge of dogmatical intolerance, if we declare that such a determination, on the part of a Professor of Divinity, in one of our Universities, does not appear to us to merit the commendation which the learned Prelate seems willing to claim for it. When he became a minister of the Church of England, he had, we take it for granted, examined the Articles of that Church, had

found them consonant to the Scriptures, and as such had declared his belief in their truth. As this, we presume, must have been the case, we confess it appears to us at least rather irregular, that while filling the divinity chair, he should have felt no concern for opinions to which he had given a formal and solemn assent, and which he must have known to be the opinions of the Church, of which he was a member. "I never trouble myself," adds he, "with answering any of the objections which the opponents in the divinity schools brought against the Articles of the Church; nor ever admitted their authority as decisive of a difficulty; but I used, on such occasions, to say to them, holding the New Testament in my hand, *en sacrum codicem!* Here is the fountain of truth, why do you follow the streams derived from it by the sophistry, or polluted by the passions of men? If you can bring proofs against any thing delivered in this book, I shall think it my duty to reply to it."

The most careless reader must, we think, instantly detect the shallow and sophistical reasoning which pervades the above passage, and into which the learned Prelate was betrayed by his anxiety to appear liberal and free from prejudice.

To render the fallacy of the rule which he had laid down for himself, as Divinity Professor, still more glaring, let us suppose our opponent, in the Divinity Schools, taking the Unitarian side of the question, respecting our Lord's Divinity: we should have felt much curiosity to ascertain how the learned Prelate would have managed the debate. The *opponent*, like the party whose opinions he advocated, would of course, have denied, that the Divinity of our Saviour was a doctrine delivered in the Bible: it would, we conceive, have been then necessary for the Professor, as respondent, to convince his antagonist, that this doctrine was a thing delivered in this book:" And till this conviction had been acknowledged, the respondent could not, on his principles, have felt it his duty to reply to the arguments of the opponent. "The divinity of Christ," says the opponent, "is not a doctrine delivered in the Scriptures." "Then," answers the Divinity Professor, (as respondent,) "it is not my duty to reply to your arguments against it; for I am not concerned to defend any thing which is not delivered in this book."

Every opponent, therefore, who denied that any doctrine which he attacked, was delivered "in this Book," would simply, by that denial, have absolutely silenced his antagonist, and put him fairly out of the field. It is not improbable, that the learned Prelate would have said, that he considered the

divinity of our Saviour as a doctrine delivered in this Book, and that, therefore, it was his duty to defend it. But he must, we are sure, have considered the various other doctrines which are contained in the Articles of our Church, "as things delivered in the same Book," and not as "streams derived from it by the sophistry, or polluted by the passions of men;" otherwise he would not, he could not, have subscribed them. If the principle, therefore, which regulated the performance of his duty as Divinity Professor required him to defend the divinity of our Saviour as a truth delivered in Scripture, the same principle, we conceive, must, if he acted consistently, have made it equally imperative upon him to answer arguments brought against any other doctrines contained in the Articles of the Church of England; for, when he subscribed them, he made to the world, a solemn and unequivocal declaration that he conscientiously believed them to be, "pure, not polluted streams," derived from the very Fountain of Truth, the oracles of God.

The Bishop's language on this subject reduces us to a most unpleasant dilemma; and should we escape one horn, we must inevitably be pinned on the point of the other. If he did not believe that the doctrines contained in the Articles of the Church of England were "things delivered in this Book," we leave it to his admirers to explain to the world by what train of reasoning, a man who arrogates peculiar praise to himself, as being "of the oak, and not of the willow," could have been prevailed upon to subscribe them: on the other hand, if, believing the doctrines contained in the Articles to be, as he asserted, over and over again, when subscribing them, "things delivered in this Book," he never troubled himself with answering any arguments brought against them, we must charge him with a wilful dereliction of an important public duty, which he had expressly undertaken to perform; and for the discharge of which, he continued to his dying moments, to receive the pecuniary emoluments annexed to his engagement.

Indeed, judging from the tone and temper of the "life" which the deceased Prelate prepared for posthumous publication, we conceive him to have been perfectly radical in the notions of reform which he entertained. His were not, to use his own expressions, "piddling objections to particular parts of our Ecclesiastical Polity," which experience might point out as necessary to be reconsidered; but to the very frame and structure of our Church Establishment: the change, or improvement, as he would call it, which he wished to effect, was not the removal of a decayed branch, which might leave

the tree untouched, it was a "root and branch reformation." "A reformer of Luther's temper and talents, would," he tells us, "in five years, persuade the people to compel the parliament to abolish tithes, to extinguish pluralities, to enforce residence, to confine Episcopacy to the overseeing of dioceses, to expunge the Athanasian Creed from the Liturgy, to free Dissenters from Test Acts, and the Ministers of the Establishment from subscription to human articles of faith. These, and other matters respecting the Church, ought to be done. I want not courage to attempt doing, what, I think, ought to be done, and I am not held back by considerations of personal interest; but my temper is peaceable, I dislike contention, and trust that the still small voice of reason will at length be heard."

We cannot help embracing this opportunity of soliciting, in earnest terms, the attention of our readers to the spirit and tendency of this extraordinary passage; for ourselves we declare that we have in vain tasked our memory to recollect any thing which approaches it, for inconsistency and bold pretension. Such language, however bold, in the mouth of a professed dissenter, would still be consistent; it could hardly excite our surprize, though it might fill us with regret; but coming from an individual, however gifted, who for the longest part of half a century, was not only a member, but a dignitary, and ruler of that establishment, which he asserts ought to be abolished; it cannot, we think, fail to excite in every one who peruses it, feelings of astonishment and reprobation. It was not, it is true, the possession of a bishopric on the shores of the Bristol Channel, which he deigned to visit once in three years, from the banks of Winander-mere—it was not the emoluments of a lucrative professorship, the duties of which, for the last sixteen years of his life, he devolved upon a deputy, that induced him to continue a member of a church of which, by his station, he was a defender and guardian but which, in its principles and practice, he most unequivocally condemns: for we have his own assurance, that he was not restrained from effecting the overthrow, (for he never doubts, that he possessed the power to do it,) by considerations of self-interest. To what cause, then, must we ascribe his forbearance? Why, forsooth, to the peaceableness of his temper, and to his dislike of contention!

We venture to hint, that neither the lay, nor ecclesiastical members of the Church of England, are by any means aware of the full extent of their obligations to Bishop Watson. When counting up the items of our gratitude to the deceased

prelate, we are strongly reminded of a watchmaker, in some play, which we remember to have seen, when we were young, who recommends a fair helpmate to one of the sons of Israel; not by describing the lands, the jewels, and the gold which she would bring him, but by enumerating a long and fearful list of expences, to which she would not put him. In the same manner would we act, were we called upon to make out the Bishop's claims to the gratitude of the public: we should remind our readers, however, not of what he did grant; but of what he did not, which we consider infinitely greater. His positive claims, or what he did, stand, we believe, nearly thus—Three admirable tracts, which few, perhaps, could have written so well, and none better; some chemical essays, which, in the present state of the science, are probably, but little read; and a few occasional sermons, with two or three party pamphlets.

Now, with every disposition to acknowledge the great merits of the three tracts which he published in defence of Revelation: and we conceive that his public claims as a literary character, must rest solely and exclusively upon these tracts; it still appears to us not a little singular, that, upon the strength of this alone, he and his friends, whenever he appears, should vociferously blow the trumpet, and command the world to fall down and worship.

But, although we will not go as far as some of his admirers, in extolling the merit of what he did, we are persuaded that none of them will go farther than ourselves in acknowledging our obligations to him for what he could have done, for what he asserts, ought to have been done, but what he declined doing: and we call upon all those who feel an interest in the stability of our ecclesiastical institutions to contemplate the full extent of their obligations to the forbearance of the deceased Prelate. They have now a full view of the danger which they have escaped; but till his "Life" appeared, they were, we presume, but little aware, that a battery lay concealed in the wilds of Westmoreland, which, if unmasked, would have blown them into the air. The political admirers of the Bishop have the same ends in view, and lament that they do not possess the means of effecting their object; but, we conceive, that their admiration must be considerably diminished when they reflect, that he wickedly neglected to apply the power, which he acknowledges he possessed, of bestowing upon society, the blessings which they so ardently covet. For our own part, we must be permitted to declare, that had we been among the number of his admirers, the mildness and peaceableness of temper which he

attributes to himself, and to which alone he ascribes the safety of the English Church, would have excited in us feelings of bitter regret; we should have been tempted to have exclaimed, in strong terms, against the humble meekness which restrained him from effecting the destruction of institutions which may now exist for ages, simply from the want of those splendid and commanding talents which he neglected to employ for their overthrow. It is hardly possible to conceive a circumstance more cruelly mortifying to the enemies of our establishment, than to learn, that the idol whom they extol, possessed ample means to gratify their most sanguine wishes, but for some unaccountable reason, declined to use them. To feel an ardent desire to effect any object, and at the same time to feel destitute of the power by which it may be accomplished, must be sufficiently galling: but our vexation must rise to the highest pitch, when we discover that the cup has been dashed from our lips by the treachery or supineness of a friend and an associate.

As he cannot now answer for himself, this is a subject which we touch upon with extreme reluctance: but since he left behind him a work for publication, which must convince, we think, the most partial reader, that he was, through life, the lukewarm friend, if not the concealed enemy, of that establishment, in which, for more than thirty years, he filled most important stations, we do not think that we can be justly charged with the imputation of violating the decent consideration which is due to the memory of the dead, by endeavouring, as far as lies in our power, to unbarb the shaft, which, with a refinement of malignity, he aimed at our Ecclesiastical Establishments with his dying hand.

We have devoted so much space to demonstrate the indispensible necessity of requiring subscription to human articles of faith, as the only ground-work on which a national establishment can be permanently secured, that we have but little room to bestow on the second chapter of the publication before us, in which the author proceeds with very minute detail to point out "the means of exciting and maintaining among the members of the Established Church, a spirit of devotion, together with zeal for her honour, stability and influence." But this we consider less to be regretted, as we have not been able to discover that many of the author's observations on this subject, embrace any novel views calculated to provoke discussion: we cannot say, that any of his observations are either uncommon or profound. The whole chapter is made up of practical hints, for which the reader must be referred to the book itself. We shall, in this place,

subjoin a passage, which may serve as a specimen of the author's style and manner, as well as an illustration of the general view which he takes of this part of his subject.

"In endeavouring to point out the best specific measures for the attainment of the desired end in immediate reference to our own Church, it may be well to remark, as a preliminary caution, that no novel system of ecclesiastical doctrine or discipline is at all requisite, but only, that the Church as already established, should assume greater efficiency, and avail itself more fully of every due means for increasing its utility. It is not by a few violent efforts that the Church of England is to be preserved or dissent annihilated: nor is it by any species of moral magic that devotion is to be fostered, or irreligion quelled. As our disorder has been chronic our recovery must be gradual. The only wise or reasonable plan for increasing devotion and *Churchmanship* throughout the country is by the systematic combination of all those various means which the Church herself has placed within our reach, under a constant recognition of the divine agency, and with a humble spirit of devotion and dependence upon God's grace and heavenly benediction. The Church asks for no projecting or innovating spirit; the power of renovation is placed under God, in the individual and collective agency of her ministers and members. Our wise and holy reformers have amply provided for casual decays and dilapidations, and have instituted a system, which, if fully acted upon in their own spirit would soon restore the Church of England to that primitive glory which she derived from the blood of her martyrs and the suffrages of an admiring people." P. 113.

We regret that we are obliged to add that the tone in which the work is written does not appear to us to merit commendation. It savours of a school of divinity on which we can bestow no approbation. We shall feel much pleasure in being undeceived in the opinion which we have formed: but the impression made upon our minds by the perusal of the whole book, rather than by the tenor of any one passage leads us to suppose that Mr. Wilks wishes to be connected with a party in the Church which modestly arrogates to itself exclusively the claim of being evangelical, and which involves at least indirectly, the great body of the English Clergy in the charge of departing from the tenor of that Gospel which they have undertaken to teach. The disorder of which he speaks in the passage just quoted, and which he describes as being chronic, must, we presume, refer exclusively to the opinions which are held by a very large majority of the English Clergy on some disputed points of speculative and polemical divinity: and the gradual reco-

very to which he looks forward must, if our conjecture with respect to the nature of the disorder be correct, imply on his part an expectation that they will gradually renounce the liberal and, as we conceive, scriptural sentiments which they entertain on these subjects at present, and embrace in their stead the morose, illiberal, and mystical dogmas of the Genevan reformer.

ART. II. *A Description of the Antiquities and other Curiosities of Rome. By the Rev. Edward Burton, M. A. Student of Christ Church.* 8vo. pp. 590. Murray. London. Parker. Oxford. 1821.

MR. BURTON passed four months in Rome in the year 1818-19. By the opportunities which he enjoyed during this personal visit, and subsequently by a diligent perusal of the account of modern travellers, and the labours of the Italian antiquaries, he has produced the most interesting manual with which we have hitherto met, as a guide to the fireside explorers of the marvels of the Eternal City. His volume indeed displays less enthusiastic love of the arts and of literature than those of Mr. Eustace; nor is it by any means so sparkling and antithetical as that of Mr. Forsyth. Than the last, however, it is decidedly more good humoured; and to the scholar, we think, it is more satisfactory than either. As for Mr. Hobhouse if he should be inclined to complain that Mr. Burton has borrowed some of that unwieldiness of manner which distinguishes the "Historical Illustrations of the IVth Canto of Childe Harold," he must, at least, confess that the charge of plagiarism stops here, *in limine*. Beyond their common heaviness there is no similarity between the two authors: and even in this their resemblance proceeds from very opposite causes. Mr. Burton is evidently indifferent as to his mode of expression. He overflows with knowledge of his subject, and lets his words fall into any order which they chuse to assume; little solicitous of their arrangement so as they clearly convey his meaning. The intention of the Illustrator on the other hand, as we suspect, is to be obscure. He builds up an inverted pyramid of huge and cumbrous wordiness on a very slender basis of learning; and ostentatiously inlays the mis-shapen mass with arabesques of his own peculiar fancy in religion and politics,

While we incidentally happen to be on this subject our readers perhaps may be amused if we recal to their remembrance, one or two of Mr. Hobhouse's notable discoveries in Rome, before we proceed to the direct examination of Mr. Burton's work. We may never have so good an opportunity again: and indeed it is but a part of the debt owing to this latter gentleman for the mass of sound information which he has afforded us, to point out to what extent the hardihood of a certain shew of scholarship may carry a pretender, until scholarship without shew comes to set him right.

" ' The name of the Roman Forum,' says Mr. Hobhouse, ' seems to have been obliterated in the earliest times, and when it re-appears, the modern denomination by a singular coincidence shews that time had accomplished the repented vow of Totila.' ' Totila,' continues the note, ' said he would make Rome a *sheep walk*, μηλόβοτον. The coincidence would be more striking, if, as the Latin translation interprets it, and *as Mr. Gibbon has apparently copied from that translation*, the Gothic King had used the words, ' *in gregum pascua*,' a ' pasture for cattle.' " Hist. Ill. 243.

Now we say nothing of this " puny whipster," this " hungry Græculist," this overgrown sixth-form boy taxing Gibbon with the use of a *Crib!* Gibbon, who drew from stores of learning almost inexhaustible; who never mistranslated without well knowing that he did so, and even then only when Christianity stood in his way. In the present instance he had no such temptation; and therefore, as usual, he is right. The passage in the " Decline and Fall," is as follows: " the world was astonished by the fatal decree that Rome should be changed into a *pasture for cattle*," (VII. 369.) And into what else was it to be changed, whether we look to the Latin or the Greek authority? What else is *gregum pascua?* Or what else μηλόβοτος? Unless in the Lexicons of those VV. DD. who, with Mr. Hobhouse, do not distinguish very nicely between the compounds of βοσκω and βαινω. But perhaps to make " the coincidence more striking," Il Campo *Vaccino* should be rendered a *sheep* walk.

A still more ingenious statement regards Trajan's column: and for this we shall quote Mr. Hobhouse's words at length.

ST. CX

" ——— And apostolic statues climb
To crush the imperial urn whose ashes lay sublime."

" Sextus Quintus raised the statue of St. Peter on the summit of the column of Trajan: a liberty has in the above verses been taken with the probable position of the urn of Trajan, in compliance with a tradition that the ashes of the Emperor were in

the head of a spear which the colossal statue raised on the pillar held in his hand. But the remains of Trajan were buried in a golden urn under the column and continued in that depository in the time of Theodoric." Hist. Ill. 214.

Whether the ashes "lay sublime," or low we pretend not to decide; our only business is with "*the head of the spear*;" and Mr. Hobhouse cites his authority for this in a note adjoined to the passage with all due pomp of circumstantial reference.

"τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανου ὀστᾶ ἐν τῇ κίόνι αὐτοῦ κατωτέθη. Dion. Hist. Rom. Lib. LXIX tom. II. p. 1150 Edit. Hamb. 1750, 'sunt qui in *pila* quam tenebat colossus cineres conditos dicunt, quo fundamento adhuc requiro.' See Comment to Lib. LXVIII. tom. II. p. 1133, of the Scylandro Leunclavian version."

Now the plain fact is, that the ashes, as our readers will already have seen and as Mr. Burton tells us, were supposed to have been deposited in a *golden ball* held in the hand of a colossal statue; and so Ainsworth would have told Mr. Hobhouse if he had looked out *pila pilæ*; instead of *pilum pili*. But thus it is with men of genius: they prefer the hazardous facility of a guess, to the patient drudgery of thumbing a dictionary, till they are sure of their word, its sense, its declension, and its gender.

Enough of this, which however by contrast will be advantageous to Mr. Burton. We think this gentleman's volume not only well adapted to the purpose for which it immediately professes to be written, but that it may be read also with great use as a running commentary on the Roman historians. Thus in treating on the population of the ancient city we find a clear exposé of every thing which is known relative to that intricate subject, the *Census*.

The vast difference in some of Livy's numbers is reasonably accounted for. At first it is clear that the *census* included those only who were capable of bearing arms. Slaves therefore with women and children must not be reckoned in the computation; though from the particular exception of widows and widowers (may not these words *orbos orbasque* be rendered orphans of both sexes?) in one passage (Liv. III. 3.) it may be argued that *all* women were not excluded. In the six years which elapsed between the fourth and the tenth year of the Punic war we find a frightful, but by no means an incredible diminution of numbers. Rome had lost 133,205 citizens: four years afterwards the *Census* gives an increase of no less than 76,892; and this rapid advance while

the same calamity was acting as a drawback, might stagger our belief, if we were not told that the Censors went to the armies, and there numbered the naturalized allies. The last *Census* which we find in the *History* of Livy, U. C. 579 gives 269,015 (XLII. 10.) In the *Epitome* of the CXVth. Book, the numbers just before the battle of Munda, U. C. 707 are stated to be only 150,000. Brotier thinks that this sum which is manifestly too small, includes not the *whole* population, but only such as were privileged to have a public allowance of corn: and Mr. Burton adduces it very fairly as an additional proof that the Epitomes of Livy, are not by the hand of that historian.

Tacitus (Ann. XI. 25.) makes the citizens of Rome in the time of Claudius amount to 5,984,072; this must be received of all who in any place held the right of Roman citizenship, or else we must admit that after the reign of Augustus the *Census* extended to the suburbs; for it cannot be doubted that the reading in Pliny which gives XIII miles as the circumference of the walls must be reduced to VIII; the corruption is plain to the eye and might readily take place; and we agree with Gibbon, that "it is easier to alter a text than to remove hills or buildings." Now a circuit of eight miles, particularly when we call to mind the vast number of detached mansions, the *insulæ*; the public edifices and gardens which existed in Rome, could never contain six million inhabitants; but we may easily include that number within the city and the suburbs which in some direction, as towards *Ocriculum* extended forty miles.

We have given these facts with some variation from Mr. Burton's statement, in order that we may add his inferences from them, since we think he has decided the question as to the real mode of enumeration. He excludes minors, slaves, and mechanics, although residing in Rome; sometimes also such citizens as were absent on military service. The allies although possessed of the freedom of the city, he thinks might be reckoned or not, as the senate and people pleased. The original purpose of the *Census* was not so much to ascertain the direct numbers of the population, as to determine what portion of it could bear arms, and contribute in different gradations to the support of the State. Hence though *none* but Roman citizens could be included in it, *all* Roman citizens were not *always* included in it.

"To be a citizen of Rome, that is, to have a vote in the Comitia, three things were necessary; that the person should be domiciled, that he should belong to one of the thirty-five tribes, and that he should be capable of filling the public offices. The Jus Latii

and the Jus Italiæ, which were privileges granted to the allies, were short of actual citizenship, and did not make a person a full citizen, or cause his name to be taken in the Roman census. Sigonius says, that the very act of being enrolled upon the censor's list conferred all the rights of citizenship; and slaves with the consent of their masters sometimes entered their names, and thus became free citizens. But no persons could vote in the Comitia, nor could they be taxed for the relief of the State, unless they resided in Rome; so that it was optional with the censors to take the provinces into their survey, or not. After the extraordinary census in 549, we have seen that 12,000 of the allies were ordered to quit Rome, although their names had been admitted with the rest: for the cities, to which they belonged, complained of their absence; and the only way, by which the Romans could exclude them from the census, was by making them cease to reside in Rome. Another decree followed, that their names should in future be taken in their respective cities; and these numbers were sometimes transmitted to the Roman censors, though not taken into the general account *.

"As the citizens of Rome became to be dispersed in various provinces, the numbers returned by the census naturally fluctuated, because there was no fixed rule as to what constituted residence. In U. C. 658, the Licinia Mucia Lex was passed, which ordered all the inhabitants of Italy, who were Roman citizens, to be enrolled in their respective cities †; but no mention is made of the provinces out of Italy. In 662, by the Lex Julia all the inhabitants of Italy were made to belong to some tribe, and became full citizens. This will fully account for the vast increase, which we find in the reign of Augustus, compared with former returns. A census was held in the different towns, and transmitted to Rome: some authors have added these to the Roman census, and some have not; which may account for the different enumerations of the same return; and we are therefore authorized in concluding from the whole, that at first the census only included the citizens resident in Rome, but was extended, if required, to citizens in foreign service: in later times all the free inhabitants of Italy were numbered in their respective cities, and the census transmitted to Rome." P. 64.

It has been remarked that no jockey was ever satisfied with the horses at St. Mark's in Venice; and spirited as it is, we doubt whether the head in the Elgin marbles ever had a counterpart in nature. We have no objection however to a Hipperoic style of sculpture, provided always that the animal is represented with qualities *above* his instinct,

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* Vide Liv. lib. xxix. c. 37.

† Vide Cicero de Officiis lib. iij. et pro Balbo, 21, 24.

not such as are *contrary* to it. After the statue of his late Majesty with the sword and shield reversed in the pediment of the East India House, we cannot be surprized to hear of sundry celebrated steeds who have both legs on the same side off the ground at the same time. Such is the case with the above named Venetian horses, with those of Castor and Pollux (as they are called) on the Capitol, and that of Nonius Balbus, at Naples; but we *are* a little surprised to hear that such a mode of ambling has been supported as natural; and that two writers, Boul and Baldinucci, have gravely argued in favour of a practice, of the non-existence of which they might have satisfied themselves *inter equitandum*.

The obelisk in the area of St. Peter's, stands about eleven feet south of a line drawn from the centre of the dome through the middle door; this is a singular error, which we do not recollect to have seen noticed before. Mr. Burton mentions the following interesting anecdote, relative to the erection of this obelisk.

"So great was the interest excited by this undertaking, and so much importance was attached by the pope to the solemnity of its execution, that during the elevation of the Obelisk, it was ordered, that no person should speak, under pain of death. One of the Bresca family of the ancient Republic of S. Remo being present at the time, and seeing the ropes on the point of breaking from the great friction, violated the order for silence by calling for water. The pope, instead of inflicting the sentence upon him, asked him to name his reward. He selected the privilege of supplying palms for the Papal Chapel on Palm Sunday: a privilege, which is still claimed by the Bresca family. A painting of the operation of the removal is now in the Vatican Library, in which the seizing of this man by the guards is represented *." P. 235.

In the year 1615, a tablet was dug up near the *Porta Capena*, with an incription in memory of *L. Scipio*, son of *Scipio Barbatus*. We give the two first lines below.

"HONC. OINO. PLOIRUME. CONSENTIUNT. R DUONORO. OPTUMO. FUISE. VIRO," &c.

Or in Augustan orthography,

"HUNC UNUM PLURIMI CONSENTIUNT ROMÆ BONORUM OPTIMUM FUISSE VIRUM," &c.

"This inscription," says Mr. Hobhouse, "was neglected as bad grammar, and an evident forgery. The objectors

* Vide Angiolo Rocca, de Biblioth. Vat. 250. Taja, Descrip. del Palazzo Vat. 140.

quoted Cicero to prove that the tomb of the Scipios must be *without* the Porta Capena, &c." 170. The objectors might have quoted a less obvious passage from Cicero, than that in the Tusculan questions, to prove that the inscription was *not* bad grammar. Mr. Burton has cited the words, and by an error of the press, or the pen, has given a false reference, *De Senectute* XVII. It is in the treatise *de finibus bonorum et malorum* II. 34. that Cicero speaks of the monument of Calatinus, which he declares to be *ad portam* (Capenam) bearing these words. *" Uno ore cui plurimæ consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum."* When Cicero, who must have known the matter perfectly, speaks of these words as engraven on the tomb of Calatinus, we see no reason to agree with Mr. Burton, that he was thinking of the tomb of Lucius Scipio: but we see strong reason for not agreeing with the antiquaries, who hold that to be bad grammar which Cicero has quoted without vituperation.

The broken walls in the Circus of Caracalla, shew several large earthen vessels inclosed in the brick work. Mr. Burton ingeniously conjectures that they were placed there to assist the voice of the actors; and he cites Vitruvius to prove that this contrivance was used in theatres. We have no doubt that such was the custom; but we do not think him equally happy in endeavouring to refer to it;

Audiat ille
Testarum crepitus.

It is of dancing girls from Gaditania, the South of Spain, that Juvenal (XI. 170.) is here speaking. The lascivious movements of the fandango, still in use, are clearly described by him; and the fandango, as is well known, is danced with castagnets—we recollect the occurrence of the word *testæ* in somewhat of a similar sense only in one other place. Suetonius, describing the rabble of applauders (they exceeded 5000) which Nero distributed over the theatre whenever he sung in public, says they were called *bombos et imbrices, et testas* (Suet. Nero, XX). The two first words are plainly derived from the hum of bees, and the plashing of rain; the third may fairly be assigned to the clinking of castagnets. Such probably was also the *scabellorum crepitus*, to which Caligula was used to dance; not to mention the ὀξυβάφων μουσικὴ, which has given Casaubon so much trouble in Athenæus. In his account of the voyage of the Egyptians to the feast of Diana at Bubastis, Herodotus informs us, " ἀι μέν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κροτάλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι" (II. 60.) and the

same instruments are twice referred to by Euripides, as used in the rites of Cybele and Bacchus.

κρόταλα δὲ βρόμια διαπρύσιον
ἱέντα κέλαδον ἀνεβόα.

Helena. 1307.

οὐχὶ Διόνυσος τάδε,
οὐ κρόταλα χαλκοῦ τυμπάνων τ' ἀράγματα.

Cyclops. 204.

We have perhaps multiplied passages very uselessly, to explain a matter which scarcely admits of doubt; but our respect for Mr. Burton's scholarship is so sincere, that we would not seem to differ from him, unless we were backed by most ample authorities. Whatever the *testæ* may signify, that the ancients excelled us in practical acoustics, must be readily admitted by any one who frequents the boxes of our patent play-houses: for Mr. Burton assures us, that he has stood on the highest seat in the remains of the theatre at Taormina (Taurominium) in Sicily, and not only heard distinctly the sound of a voice speaking from the stage, but even the tearing of a piece of paper on it, appeared quite near him.

Horace Walpole named a circular room at the end of his great gallery at Strawberry Hill, a *Tribune*. The title has often puzzled us; and as Mr. Burton explains its origin, Horace Walpole was guilty of a misnomer.

"The nave or *Testudo* in a *Basilica* was finished in a curved form, and called Tribunal, because causes were heard there: hence the term *Tribune* is applied to that end of the Roman churches which is behind the high altar, and which in the oldest churches generally preserved the curved form. "Thus we find in Prudentius;

Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime Tribunal
Tollitur, Antistes, prædicat unde Deum.

Hymn. S. Hippolyti.—P. 384.

Mr. Burton considers St. Peter's to be "a monument much more vast and magnificent than any which Republican or Imperial Rome has left." Even, the Colosseum, which as an uncovered building is no great wonder of art, exceeds it in length but by fifteen Roman palms, and is far inferior in splendour of decoration. The dimensions of the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, were but 200 feet by 185; the Parthenon was 230 by 98. In height too, St. Peter's overtops the great Pyramid of Gyges, by 37 feet; and in turn, St. Peter's was surpassed by the spire of old St. Paul's, which at one

period arrived at the stupendous altitude of 520 feet. In the Via delle IV. Fontane is a church dedicated to S. Carlo, the area of which covers exactly the same space as one of the four pillars which support the dome of St. Peter's; nor does this appear particularly small in the inside. M. Angelo, when the pillars were completed, insisted that nothing should be altered, or added to his design. Bernini undertook to make a stair-case within each of the columns. He finished that which still remains behind the statue of St. Veronica, when the whole building gave a crash like thunder, and frightened the daring architect out of any farther attempt.

"It was calculated, that 500 pounds weight of rope was used in the finishing of this dome, and 30,000 pounds weight of iron. Above 1100 beams were employed in one story only of the dome, 100 of which were so large that two men could not embrace them." P. 411.

"To bring St. Peter's to its present form required three centuries and a half; and up to 1694 it was calculated, that forty-seven millions of scudi (upwards of ten and a half millions sterling) had been expended upon it." P. 412.

The Mosaics cost between 4 and 5000 a piece.

In the monument of Paul III. are two fine marble images of Prudence and Justice. The naked figure of the latter has been spoilt, by being covered with a drapery of bronze to satisfy the supererogatory delicacy of one of the later pontiffs. We remember a magnificent Titian, which underwent a similar fate, but with better luck in the end. It was a rape of Ganymede, in which the rich azure of the clouds, finely contrasted with the dark plumage of the eagle, upon whose back the shepherd boy was striding. When the picture passed from the Colonna gallery, the fastidious purchaser requested a confidential artist to cover the limbs of the cup-bearer with a scarlet shawl. The painter's occupation was at stake: he did as little as he could to save his employer's prudery; and the picture is now in its original state, having got rid of its temporary veil of body colour. It was from the expression of a wish to the same effect, respecting M. Angelo's Last Judgment, that Pius IV. acquired the name of *Brachettone.*

In the Church of St. Paul is a series of portraits of the Popes, from St. Peter to Pius VII. It had terminated, in a manner, with the last Pontiff, having gone round the Church, and his picture being next to that of St. Peter. The tradition, that whenever this occurred, the Popedom was to be abolished, was well nigh verified. His present Holiness has commenced a new cycle. The Roman Catholics however

possess, by anticipation, a catalogue of all the Popes from A. D. 1143 till Doomsday. It was framed by St. Malachy, who was born at, and Archbishop of, Armagh, and was the first saint who received regular canonization.

"Among other proofs of his supernatural powers, he left a list of all the popes from Celestin II. 1143, to the end of time. The fact is now pretty well ascertained, that this was an invention of the cardinals assembled in conclave to elect a pope upon the death of Urban VII. in 1590. The partisans of Cardinal Simoncelli, afterwards Gregory XIV. brought forward this list as a prophecy of St. Malachy; and the words which were considered indicative of his election were, 'de Antiquitate Urbis,' as the Cardinal was a native of Orvieto, the Latin name of which was *Urbs Vetus*. No mention is made of the existence of such a prophecy till 1600, when it was published by Arnold de Wyon, a Benedictine of Douay: and if we look to each prediction and its completion before the time of Gregory XIV. we shall see very clearly, that the framers of it went upon good historical grounds; but after his time the application of the prophecies is extremely forced. To make this clear, I will give the three popes who succeeded each other immediately after the death of St. Malachy, and then the three who followed Gregory XIV.

1143. Ex castris Tiberis.	Celestin II.	Born at a castle on the Tiber.
1144. Inimicus expulsus.	Lucius II.	Of the family of Caccianemici in Bologna.
1145. Exmagnitudine montis.	Eugenius III.	Of Grandimont near Pisa.

"In these cases the agreement is very evident: but in the three cases which immediately follow Gregory XIV. there is a striking difference.

1591. Pia Civitas in Bello.	Innocent IX.	A native of Bologna.
1592. Crux Romulea.	Clement VIII.	Of the Aldobrandini family, said to be descended from the first Roman Christian: they bear a crossed branch in their arms.
1605. Undosus Vir.	Leo XI.	He was tossed, as a wave, only reigning 26 days.

"The last pope, Pius VI. had the symbol *Peregrinus Apostolicus*, which of course was accomplished by his journey to Vienna.

His Holiness now reigning is designated by *Aquila rapax;* and though his own character would deserve a much more amiable description, yet the rapacity of the French Eagle has certainly made his history singular among that of all the successors of St. Peter; and it is well if the rapacity of the double eagle of Austria does not make it more so. It is interesting to know, that our countryman did not anticipate more than fourteen popes from the present time, who are predicted under the following emblems.

1. Canis et Coluber.
2. Vir Religiosus.
3. De Balneis Hetruriæ.
4. Crux de Cruce.
5. Lumen in cœlo.
6. Ignis Ardens.
7. Religio depopulata.
8. Fides intrepida.
9. Pastor Angelicus.
10. Pastor et Nauta.
11. Flos. Florum.
12. De medietate Lunæ.
13. De Labore Solis.
14. De Gloria Olivæ.

The concluding words of the prophecy are these: 'In the last persecution of the holy Roman Church, Peter of Rome shall be on the throne, who shall feed his flock in many tribulations. When these are past, the city upon seven hills shall be destroyed, and the awful Judge shall judge the people* .'" P. 472.

One or two orthographical reforms have pleased us in this volume. Mr. Burton writes aquaduct; we are surprized that Johnson ever permitted himself to write aqueduct. The unmeaning term Coliseum is exploded; and though we hail with joy the restoration of a word which we can understand, Colosseum, we should be still more satisfied if the Flavian amphitheatre was spoken of under its ancient legitimate designation only. Mr. Burton is inclined to call the Pontine marshes, Pomptine, as he derives their name very correctly from the Volscian *Suessa Pometia.*

Our opinion of this work may be collected from the length into which we have been seduced in its consideration. It is one which is indispensable to the student, and to which the riper scholar will often refer with equal advantage and amusement.

ART. III. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, at the Primary Visitation in August,* 1821. *By William Lord Bishop of Llandaff.* 4to. pp. 24. Rivingtons. 1821.

AT the very commencement of this useful and interesting Charge, we meet with a statement to which we think we may

* A treatise has been written upon this prophetical catalogue by Menistrier.

be justified in attaching a more than ordinary degree of importance; not only because in these days of calumny and misrepresentation, the approving testimony of their official superior must be doubly grateful to the Clergy in whose favour it is given; but for other reasons, in which the character of our whole Church may be in some degree involved, as well as the welfare and respectability of that particular portion of it, of which the Bishop has felt himself justified in holding a language so satisfactory.

"I am happy," he says, "to state, even in this early stage of our acquaintance, that I find myself connected with a body of Clergy generally well affected to our Constitution in Church and State, attentive to their pastoral duties, observant of ecclesiastical discipline, and disposed to receive with kindness my endeavours to maintain that zeal and diligence, that order and decorum in the discharge of their spiritual functions, without which the clerical character cannot be sustained with dignity or effect. Very few complaints have come to my knowledge of misconduct or neglect; and if in any instance reprehension seemed to be called for, the purpose has been effected rather by amicable than by authoritative interference. Such, I trust will continue to be the case, among those whom I shall ever be anxious to attach to me by ties of affection and good-will." P. 6.

We may perhaps be expected to state, why we have thus dwelt on a testimony which establishes no more in favour of the diocese of Llandaff, than may perhaps be affirmed with equal justice of every other diocese in the kingdom.

We are undoubtedly disposed, not more we trust by our professional partialities, than by an honest conviction of its truth, to admit this position to its full extent. We certainly believe, that in speaking thus favourably of his own Clergy, the Bishop of Llandaff has drawn the portrait of the whole body of Clergy in the land. And we doubt not, that the more jealously their conduct is scrutinized, the more honourable to them and satisfactory to the nation at large, will be the result of the investigation. Still, we repeat it, we have read this passage with peculiar pleasure; and we hope we shall not be deemed to speak invidiously of any body of men, nor with unnecessary severity of any individual, while we produce the reasons of this feeling.

The Clergy of the diocese of Llandaff have long been obliged to struggle with peculiar difficulties. Besides the disadvantages resulting from the poverty of their ecclesiastical endowments, from the limited means which they have possessed of access to the great sources of information and improvement, and the impediments presented by the verna-

cular language of their congregations to their official and pastoral communications: they have long been deprived of all the benefits to be derived from the watchful eye, the presiding mind, the encouraging approbation, the ready advice, and influential example of a resident diocesan.

It was notorious to the whole kingdom, and a subject of regret to all who had the interests of the Church at heart, that for thirty four years, during which the see of Llandaff was filled by the late Bishop Watson, his communications with his Clergy were for the most part limited to the brief periods of his stated visitations, or to an occasional correspondence with individuals by letter, upon topics on which his official interposition was indispensably necessary. Of the character or conduct of his Clergy, he could know little but by report: and of their Bishop the Clergy had scarcely more information than that which they shared with the whole nation; by which he was known as a disappointed and querulous, though able man, who had buried himself in the wilds of Westmoreland, and then complained that he was forgotten: and had signalized himself upon two occasions as an able apologist for Christianity and the Bible. Under such circumstances, had the Clergy of this secluded and deserted district, thus left to their own guidance and discretion, been less attentive to their pastoral duties, less observant of ecclesiastical discipline, less zealous and diligent, less orderly and decorous than their fellow-labourers in the ministry who enjoyed advantages denied to them; it would have been a subject rather for sorrow than surprise. And, though the enemies of the Church might have watched the defection with malignant joy, and her friends observed it with deep though silent regret; unprejudiced persons would have been more fully convinced of the indispensable necessity of the episcopal office, by remarking the injury which the Church had sustained even from a partial dereliction of its solemn duties. That such injury was in fact sustained, we do not mean to deny: but, while we admit the fact, we admit it only in a qualified sense. The Clergy were deprived of their official head, and the whole body in all its faculties, functions and exertions, suffered by the loss. But the injury was neither vital, nor permanent. And, though the immediate successor of Bishop Watson did not reside upon his see; yet his zealous and active mind feelingly alive to the situation and wants of his diocese, communicated a kindred spirit of zeal and exertion to his Clergy, and did much to compensate for his personal absence. "His vigilance and ability were

successfully applied to the better regulation of several matters in which some amendment had become necessary." P. 6. and better evidence cannot be given of the value of his labours, than is contained in the satisfactory opinion which his successor has expressed of the Clergy, over whom he had for so short a time presided.

After paying this merited tribute to the conduct of his energetic and active predecessor, the Bishop notices the useful labours of the rural deans; a body of ecclesiastical officers, whose operations have been found to be so beneficial in every diocese in which they have been called into action, that we are anxious to see their appointments become more general. As subsidiary to the Archdeacons they would be very serviceable, in vigilantly superintending the state of ecclesiastical buildings; for the extended sphere of an Archdeacon's authority as well as the very inadequate provision in general made for the support of his official dignity, must render a parochial visitation of his Archdeaconry an undertaking too laborious in itself, and too ruinous in the expences attending it to be often repeated. The Bishop makes a favourable report of the state of the existing Churches in his diocese. The proportion of those now in decent and respectable condition being nearly as five to one; and of the rest several are stated to be actually under repair. At the same time, the want of Church room in some parts of the diocese, in which mining and manufacturing speculations have congregated multitudes, is feelingly deplored. The extent of the deficiency in one instance, that of Myrthyr Tydwl, which from an inconsiderable village has been raised by its extensive iron works to the size and importance of a large town, and peopled with a singularly rude and uncultivated multitude, is thus stated:

"Till lately, there has scarcely been accommodation in the Church of this parish for more than one fortieth part of the number of inhabitants. By the recent erection of galleries, the number of seats has been nearly doubled; but for a population exceeding eighteen thousand, there is now room for only about nine hundred persons. (P. 9. note.)

This, though in itself a case of such pressing necessity as to call the attention of the legislature to the propriety of speedily replenishing the exhausted funds of the Commissioners for building new Churches, is only one, and not perhaps the most importunate of the claims, which almost every manufacturing district in the kingdom might prefer. By the last Report of the Commissioners to parliament, it appears, that twenty-five applications from different parishes

had been postponed on account of the state of the fund. All of these are cases in which aid would probably have been granted, had the commissioners possessed the means. We will select four of these cases, which occur in four different dioceses; and we will leave our readers to judge, from this specimen, of the still existing deficiency of Church-room in the more populous districts of the kingdom, whether a farther call may not be made upon the national purse, too loud to be disregarded by any who wish to support the Established Church, and are prepared to allow that the welfare of a state depends upon the religious principles of its inhabitants. In the diocese of York, the parish of Bradford has applied for aid; and has stated that a population of 48,113 souls is resident within its limits, of whom its Churches can accommodate only 6,004. That part of the district of Norwood, which lies within the boundaries of the parish of Lambeth, and in the diocese of Winchester, is inhabited by 50,000 persons; and its Church-room is only adequate to the accommodation of 1600. In districts in the parish of Rochdale, in the diocese of Chester, were contained 37,229 persons in 1811; and the population has probably increased there in the same ratio as in other manufacturing districts. Of this multitude, only 4,620 can attend public worship in the Churches within the district.

Sedgley, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, according to the census of 1811, contained a population of 13,987; and its Church will hold no more than 406!!! In none of these cases have the commissioners the power of affording relief: and these, we repeat, are four only out of 25, which they have been obliged to postpone for the same reason. They are indeed four of the strongest cases which they have so reported; but all which they repeat evidently in their opinions require aid, and we have no doubt that very many more still remain behind unreported and unknown. It is indeed in itself a lamentable proof of the inveteracy of the evil under which the country is suffering, that where the deficiency is the greatest, there it is least observed or complained of. The apathy which prevails on this subject in some large manufacturing districts, can only be conceived by those whose lot it is to witness it. Neither the turbulent and ferocious spirit of insubordination, which in the hour of adversity threatens their property and their lives; nor the idleness and drunkenness, which in a more thriving state of trade is so prejudicial to their interests; nor the perpetual occurrence of petty and vexatious depredations, to which under all circumstances they are subjected, has yet awakened the master manufacturers, generally speaking, to any adequate

sense of the danger which they are preparing for themselves and their country, by thus drawing multitudes of the poor and ignorant around them, without providing for their moral culture and religious instruction. We know that splendid examples of a better spirit may be produced; and of such examples we would speak with all the respect and reverence which they deserve: but, comparatively speaking, they are rare; and their effect upon the great fermenting mass of ignorance, and vice, and disaffection, which is spread around us, is so confined as scarcely to be felt. In districts thus circumstanced, the weekly returns of the sabbath, instead of producing the gratifying spectacle of assembled thousands of intelligent, civilized, and contented beings, offering up their prayers and praises at the throne of grace for the aids they want, or the blessings they enjoy; pour forth upon the surrounding country herds of pallid and scowling artisans, in all the tattered filthiness of the manufactory, or reeling from the midnight debauches of the ale-house or the gin-shop, to spend the sabbath of rest in idleness, in mischief, or in plunder. A sight so appalling as this, might be supposed sufficient to arouse the most listless and indifferent from their dream of security; and force them to consider the danger to which they must sooner or later be exposed, if such a state of moral depravation is suffered to continue. But such, unfortunately, is not the fact: The scene has lost its monitory virtue from its frequent recurrence; and even in such a district, scarce a few perhaps will be found to solicit the aid which a liberal government has provided; and when it is spontaneously offered, the indifference of some, or the selfish cupidity of others, will interpose obstacles in the way of its acceptance. May we not say of such places, *dum tacent clamant?* Their silence is more eloquent than words; and it proves the *effect* of an evil, the existence of which is too notorious to be denied. It shews that men may live without the visible forms and ceremonials of religion before their eyes, until they cease to think of its obligations; and forget that it is the best remedy for moral evil, the surest consolation under physical calamity, the most efficient safeguard of property, the harbinger of industry and peace, of cheerfulness and content. But we have wandered from our subject. The remarks of the Bishop of Llandaff upon one pressing case within his own diocese, brought the general evil so powerfully before us, that we could not restrain our pen. We trust that the body of evidence now before Parliament, a small portion only of that which might be produced, will induce the Legislature

to persevere in the good work which it has so munificently begun. Thousands will bless those who have already bestowed upon them the means of attending upon public worship; and if the pious labour is completed, posterity will reap its benefits in all those advantages which the bounty of Heaven is wont to dispense to a religious nation. For, if from time to time, as opportunities may serve, and the returning prosperity of the nation may warrant, new grants are made to the Commissioners, until every proper application has been duly attended to; we shall not be deemed too sanguine if we anticipate the gradual, but complete restoration of that temperate, orderly, and religious character which was once the honest boast of Englishmen; and under Providence will ever be the best support, as it has been the greatest glory of their country.

From the state of the churches in his diocese, the Bishop proceeds to speak of the houses of residence for the clergy. And here deficiencies present themselves the more lamentable, because, under the circumstances in which the clergy are at present placed, little hope can be entertained of their being supplied.

"More than two-thirds," the Bishop says, "of the livings in this diocese have no glebe-house whatever: and of those which have any, a large portion are so mean, and so unimproveable, as to afford but too good a plea for non-residence. I am well aware, that the poverty of the benefices, in most instances, opposes an almost insuperable obstacle to an effective application of the provisions of the Legislature in this respect; since much can neither be done by raising money upon the mortgage of such benefices, nor by the friends of the individual incumbents." P. 9.

At a time, when many of the public journals are endeavouring to awaken the vilest passions of the needy and unprincipled against the church, by descriptions of its opulence as false as they are mischievous; it is always desirable to oppose them by a plain tale, told by the voice of authority.

The view which the Bishop of Llandaff has taken of the accommodations of the clergy in his own diocese, but too truly describes the situation of a very large portion of this calumniated body, in every diocese in the kingdom. Few incumbents perhaps in English dioceses are quite so scantily provided in this respect as those of whom he speaks; but the general state of glebe houses throughout the kingdom is, we believe, accurately represented by the terms "mean and unimproveable;" and is such as affords but too good a plea for non-residence. Could the worst enemies of the Estab-

lished Church but know, how ill provided the clergy are with residences during their lives; and how sore and crushing a burden these "mean and unimproveable" residences entail upon their families after their decease; they would scarcely think it worth their while further to embitter their unfortunate lot, by taunting them with riches which they neither possess nor covet; though it might still serve their purposes to dwell with malignant exaggeration upon a few striking instances of ecclesiastical opulence, (instances which are most valuable as they often afford remuneration to learning and talent, and always hold out motives for their exertion) that they may the more easily inflame the covetous, or incite the plunderer.

It has been a frequent practice with such writers, to compare the presumed humility and poverty of the Scotch establishment, with what they are pleased to call the lordly splendour of the English Church. And when a Presbyterian Minister in his humble manse and quiet retirement is contrasted with the Palatine Bishop of Durham, the difference no doubt is apparent; and with those who will admit the justice of the comparison, it may answer the malignant purposes for which it was framed. But if the parallel is fairly drawn, by placing side by side the average situation of the parochial incumbents of the two establishments, the result will be widely different. It will then, we suspect, be found, that the balance of income inclines somewhat in favour of our northern brethren, and that in all which constitutes comfort, they have greatly the advantage of us. Indeed, this single fact, that the manse of the Scotch Minister is repaired by the landholder, and that he is thus happily exempted from such a burden while he lives, and his family from the fear and penalty of dilapidations after his death, would alone turn the scale in his favour.

The other local topics, to which the Bishop of Llandaff thinks it necessary to direct the attention of his clergy, are the state of the Parochial Schools, and the evident increase of dissenting places of worship. On the first of these subjects, it is with great pleasure that we observe the Bishop employing terms of commendation and encouragement.

"I have peculiar gratification in adverting to what has already been done towards extending throughout this Diocese the benefits of Education upon the principles and plan of the National Society. Incalculable, I am persuaded, are the advantages already felt from the extension of this admirable system; which promises to bring a blessing upon the whole community, by upholding our National Church in its genuine purity, and attaching to it, in the strongest

bonds of affection and of interest, that great mass of the people, upon whose good dispositions the strength and welfare of the State essentially depend. It might appear invidious to select any of these schools in particular for special commendation; although some have more immediately fallen under my own observation, which might be justly holden up as models of excellence. For this they are greatly indebted to the personal superintendance, as well as munificent patronage, of many among the *Laity*, who are zealous in encouraging every design that may promote the real welfare of their country. Aided by such co-operation, it is for you, my Reverend Brethren, to pursue this object to its fullest extent. But, besides promoting these larger Institutions, your labour will be well bestowed in endeavouring to establish in your respective cures those humbler Village Schools, by which *some* portion of instruction may be imparted to every individual of your flock. These it will be in your power to take under your own immediate direction; and by so doing you will contribute more, perhaps, to the general diffusion of pure and sound Religion, than by any other exercise of your pastoral functions. I press this the more earnestly, because it appears to me, that the number of Parochial Schools in this Diocese is somewhat less than might be expected. Upon the best calculation I have been able to form, scarcely more than one-third of the parishes are provided with Schools of any description. And great as the advantages may be of those which extend to larger districts, I cannot think that they are such as to supersede the utility of these lesser Institutions." P. 10.

The great evil under which the Principality now labours, is doubtless the comparative state of ignorance which prevails among the lower classes; an ignorance which their native, and to them only-known tongue, renders it very difficult to remove. This we may, perhaps, consider to be the chief cause of the great increase of dissent among them. The sanguine temperament of the people exposes them indeed, in a peculiar manner, to the inroads of fanaticism; which, among them, assumes an extravagance of tenet and expression, of which the more phlegmatic and reflecting Englishman can scarcely form an idea. But, did they enjoy the same opportunities of intercourse with the higher and more educated classes which are possessed by the English poor; and were the stores of religious instruction contained in our printed religious tracts, equally within their reach; this tendency might be counteracted. But, cut off in great measure from these advantages by their ignorance of English*, they fall an

* We are aware that some valuable tracts on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are translated into Welch: but their number is but inconsiderable, and scarcely sufficient to affect our statement.—*Edito*

easy prey to the lowest and most unlettered itinerants, whose only recommendations to their attention, are to be found in a knowledge of their language, a volubility of utterance, and a wild enthusiasm, well calculated to influence the imaginations of a rude, simple, and secluded population. True it is, that this ignorance of all but their aboriginal tongue, renders "the wretched effusions of impiety and sedition, daily issuing from the presses of the metropolis, to them almost, if not altogether, inaccessible." And, in this respect, a great and permanent evil has been, for a time, counterbalanced by an accidental good. But, much as we honour the feeling which induces the educated Welchman to look with pride and affection upon his ancient, and in many respects, we believe, beautiful language, and to be anxious for its preservation; we cannot but think, that the sooner it ceases to be a *spoken* language, the better. Until that period, a great and almost insuperable obstacle will be interposed to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people: they will not be able to keep pace with their fellow-subjects; nor will the local prejudices and prepossessions be removed, which render them a distinct and separate tribe in the midst of those, to whom they ought to be bound by a community of interests and feelings, as they are united with them by a full participation in constitutional privileges. We wish to see them completely admitted to a share in all the advantages which the progress of education, the diffusion of science, and the cultivation of the best qualities of our nature, is gradually bestowing on the other inhabitants of this favoured island; and this never can be the case, until the whole land is of one language and of one speech.

Having adverted to the several topics which seemed to call for more especial observation, as connected with the state of his own diocese, the Bishop proceeds to make some remarks upon those subjects which are of general concern; inasmuch as the prosperity of the nation at large, and not only the comfort, but even the personal security of each individual has been, and ever will be deeply involved in the struggle between loyalty and disaffection, between sound morals and licentiousness, between the pure religion of the Church of England, and the fanaticism of some, and the scepticism of others, who stand opposed to her Establishment.

On each of these subjects, the observations of the Bishop are worthy of the most attentive consideration by every clergyman, who, in these feverish and unstable times, would know how to guide his words with discretion; and keep steady to that line of conduct which, as a minister of peace, a guide to

the ignorant, a reclaimer of the erring, and a reprover of the vicious, it becomes him to pursue.

The following word of seasonable exhortation, with which the Bishop closes the important pages of warning and instruction which he had opened, will testify at once to the spirit and the value of this Charge.

"I have touched upon these topics, my Reverend Brethren, as cursorily as might be, chiefly for the purpose of recurring to those points of your professional duty which such meetings as the present are intended more especially to enforce. The remedy for all these evils, the preservative against all these dangers, so far as *we* are personally responsible, will be found in that diligent, faithful, uncompromising, and, undeviating discharge of our respective functions, which, while it must raise us in the estimation of all impartial observers of our conduct, will also lay the best foundation of our own individual satisfaction, and of the general welfare. Even the retired and unobtrusive labours of your profession cannot but greatly advance the public good. But your sphere of usefulness may be more widely extended, by uniting your efforts with others of the Clergy and Laity who are now carrying on, with a zeal and energy proportioned to the exigency of the times, the great works of National Education, and of promoting Christian Knowledge, both at home and abroad. The establishment of Diocesan and District Committees, in union with the Parent Societies instituted for these important purposes, has of late years been successfully adopted throughout this, as well as other parts of the Principality. The contributions, too, which have been raised in your respective parishes, towards the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, bespeak a liberal spirit, and an ardent desire of doing good. While this spirit prevails, we need not be dismayed by any efforts of our adversaries. These great public institutions, together with the Society for the Enlargement and Rebuilding of Churches and Chapels, may be regarded as main bulwarks of our Ecclesiastical Establishment. They provide for the instruction of the great mass of the community in every way in which it can be administered; by training the infant mind to a knowledge of Christian duty; by supplying the adult with every assistance to a right faith and practice; by providing for the wants of our fellow-countrymen separated from us in distant countries; by scattering the seeds of Christianity in every climate and in every soil; and by affording to those among ourselves, who might otherwise be debarred of such benefits, the means of attendance on the public ministrations of the Church.

"*With these* advantages within their reach, let us hope the *time is at hand*, when none among us need complain that Evange*lical light* and truth must be sought elsewhere than within the pale *of the Church* of England. Not that we would depreciate the *good that is done* by others, nor regard them with an invidious eye.

Towards our Dissenting brethren, intent as many of them undoubtedly are upon promoting in common with ourselves the great purpose for which the Gospel was imparted to mankind, it behoves us to demean ourselves with charity, with good-will, with respect. But while *they* pursue their course unmolested and unreproved, let it be allowed to *us* to do the same. We concede toleration freely and fully: we claim only to be equally unmolested in our own privileges, and thus to preserve the relations of peace and amity. What more does Christian Charity require? Or what further advances can be made towards an interchange of good offices, without a compromise on one side or the other, or perhaps on both, of sincerity and truth?" P. 21.

This excellent advice will not, we are confident, be thrown away upon the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff. They will know how to appreciate the advantages they now enjoy in having their Bishop resident among them for some considerable portion of the year; and they will shew their sense of these advantages, by their readiness to adopt every measure for the dissemination of sound doctrine, and the cultivation of Christian charity, which he may recommend. We could expatiate with delight on the benefits which not only that diocese, but the Church at large may, under Providence, derive from the continued exertions of that discreet and discriminating zeal which characterizes the Charge before us. But motives, which our readers will not fail to understand, restrain our pens. The Bishop of Llandaff is too well known to the Church in which he deservedly fills so distinguished a station, to require our feeble testimony to his merits—"A city set on an hill cannot be hid;" its fair proportions will be seen, and its strength appreciated, even though no man stand forward to "count its towers," to "describe its bulwarks," and to "consider its palaces."

ART. IV. *Letters of Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey; with a Memoir, and illustrative Notes.* 8vo. pp. 344. 9s. 6d. Murray. 1821.

EVERY body knows that there are three sorts of human beings: "Men, Women, and Herveys." And if any body were inclined to doubt the assertion, the lady before us, though only incorporated into the family by marriage, would sufficiently prove it. She writes dog-latin and demi-deism

as glibly as any half-educated he-philosophist; and yet loves her husband and children with the tenderness of a household hen. Strange as it may seem, with all these recommendations, her Letters are immeasurably dull; and no elderly gentlewoman who ever gossiped through a common-place correspondence has more to lay to the charge of the Varius and Tucca who neglected to burn it.

It is difficult to believe that the Lady Hervey of these Letters is the Mary Lepel, whose "merit, beauty, and vivacity," extorted homage even from the virulence of Pope's resentment; and who had the extraordinary distinction of being celebrated in English verse by Voltaire. Our readers, perhaps, may quarrel with us if we do not transcribe this singular effort of the muse of Ferney:

"TO LADY HERVEY.

"Hervey, would you know the passion
You have kindled in my breast?
Trifling is the inclination
That by words can be express'd.

"In my silence see the lover:
True love is by silence known:
In my eyes you'll best discover
All the power of your own." P. ix.

These lines are light and elegant; and from the known difficulty of English composition to a foreigner, they must be regarded as a great display of that quality which, after all, was Voltaire's chief possession, cleverness. If they are not precisely such as a confiding husband of our own days would wish to see addressed to a brilliant and attractive wife, we must remember, that they were written at a time in which he who was not poetically in love with every woman to whom he wrote verses would have been chased from Parnassus. Just at present our bards are less individually amorous; and the young ladies who chaunt love sonnets to the piano, must be content to substitute general views of the tender passion for private and particular gallantry. We do not know that they are gainers either in pleasure or in modesty.

Mary Lepel was born in 1700. She was the daughter of Brigadier-general Nicholas Lepel; and was early initiated into the highest mysteries of the *beau-monde* as maid of honour to Queen Caroline, at that time Princess of Wales. At twenty years of age she married John Lord Hervey, eldest son of the Earl of Bristol. Lord Hervey was called

up to the house of peers in his father's life time, and died before him in 1743. The marriage was one of much happiness, and Lady Hervey every where speaks of her living husband with admiration, and of his memory with tenderness. Her ladyship's days were passed in the most brilliant society of the time; and she was transferred in succession from one generation of wits to another. Of Pope and Voltaire we have already spoken. Lord Chesterfield mentions her to his son as having acquired all the easy good breeding of a court without its frivolousness; as "having all the reading that a woman should have, and more than any woman need have;" and of shewing above most of her sex "*le ton de la parfaitement bonne compagnie, les manieres engageantes, et le je ne scais quoi qui plait:*" and Horace Walpole, himself, lays aside his cynical sneer wherever he speaks of her even in her old age.

The Letters in the present collection were written during the last five and twenty years of her ladyship's life, to the Reverend Edward Morris, a country clergyman, who had been tutor to her sons George, Augustus, Frederic, and William; the three first each successively Earls of Bristol; the last a general in the army. We are taught by the editor of them not to expect "the gay graces" which fascinated the celebrated men whom we have before mentioned, and which, "even now give a traditionary splendour to the Augustan age of the court of England." In this the editor is right; how far he may be so in predicating their "good nature, good sense, good feeling, and good taste," our readers may presently determine for themselves.

We believe Mandeville, however deservedly he is neglected now, was a popular writer in his day. The present taste in blasphemy is somewhat coarser than that of our forefathers; for we regard the flavour less than the strength of the article; and swill sheer alcohol where they sipped cinnamon water. Still at no time should we have expected to find the champion of private vice as the companion of a fine lady's toilet; or his sophistries assimilated to the reasonings of a Christian divine. *Mais voici.*

"I am very much obliged to you, Sir, for all the news you send me, but much more so for your own reasonings upon it; it reminds me of the pleasure I took in reading the Fable of the Bees, in which I only considered the text as what led to the comment: let the former be ever so trifling or uninteresting, the latter was always lively, instructive, and agreeable." P. 20.

But Lord Bolingbroke. Bishop Hoadley, and Conyers

Middleton, are among Lady Hervey's favourite English theologists. Helvetius, the great contributor to, if not the original framer of the most infamous forgery which ever issued from the French Pandemonium, is a man of "wit, learning, probity, and every amiable quality any one can be possessed of;" and she absolutely sent a commission to Paris, *sous le manteau*, to purchase two copies of his dull dissertation *de l'esprit*, for three times its original cost price, for no other reason than because she heard it was suppressed and forbidden. Rousseau's Emile, "the more she considers it the more she finds to admire;" and though she does not hold his system of education, *taken exactly*, to be quite *practicable*, yet she "firmly believes a much better plan of education may be struck out (from the hints given by it) than has hitherto been made use of." This is a point to which her ladyship again refers: the fashion which has since become more prevalent was then commencing, by which the little dancing, little French, little science, and much infidelity of Geneva, is substituted for the sound and sober discipline of English education. How far the exchange succeeded in the immediate instance which Lady Hervey so warmly approved, may be fairly estimated, by the character of the subject upon whom the experiment was tried. We will not say that the late Lord Stanhope's eccentricities were caused, but we may be permitted to say, that they were not corrected by the unfortunate resolution which sent him to Geneva at eleven years of age: a place in which Lady Hervey assures us he "may be much better educated than first at one of our great schools, and after at one of our universities." Another of her favourites is extolled in a strain which we must not venture to paraphrase.

"There is no one but the King of Prussia who is worth thinking of, or turning one's eye towards. What a persevering spirit, what courage, what sagacity, how able a legislator at home, how formidable and humane an enemy abroad; a pattern and a model of arts and sciences! *In short, something in the great scale of beings between a man and a Deity!* and whatever the weak admiration for antiquity may be in general, I make no difficulty in preferring him to Cæsar, and consequently very much before Alexander. He has the virtues of both without their vices, and they wanted some of the virtues that he has." P. 235.

With this catalogue of pets we are not surprised to find Lady Hervey somewhat to seek in her conceptions of religion.

"*One only* thing seems pretty evident to me, which is, that the

fathers and the protestants can hardly be supported together. All those things which we call superstitions and innovations of the Roman Catholics, were, undoubtedly, the practice of those primitive Christians; and, though I believe the papal power was an innovation, yet their ceremonies and faith were to my apprehension not so; therefore I must stick to my old opinion, that the Reformation, as managed by Henry VIII. was warrantable, according to Christianity; but that introduced by Luther and Calvin, and adopted in the time of Edward VI. was not quite so clearly founded in authority. P. 153.

"I pass evenings with people of a more serious, but not a less agreeable turn. I was, a few days ago, agreeably entertained by meeting, at a third place, a very deep, acute, determined Deist, who undertook me and a very sensible, cautious abbé: after arguing, twisting, and turning about our several arguments very cleverly, and showing what he called our different, but continued inconsistencies, he very dexterously turned us upon another; ridiculed both our tenets; and ended by saying, my antagonist the abbé was determined to believe more than he could; and that I was ready to give up as much as I dared. I wish you had been there to have heard it all, and to have assisted me; for I own I sometimes wanted it. Altogether, it was very agreeable, and very entertaining, as there was warmth enough on all sides to keep up a spirit, and not heat enough to produce any ill-humour. P. 184.

Now without any bigoted hostility to legitimate freedom of discussion, we cannot but feel that there are some points too sacred in their nature to be submitted to the sport and play of gladiatorial conversation. If the truths of Christianity lie deep in the heart they will not be lightly bandied upon the lips; and equal offence will be given, whether the words of the sanctuary are degraded by the slang of puritanism, or polluted by the sarcasm of infidelity. There is, or ought to be, a time of life, (and if it does not come before fifty it will never come at all) at which we rather seek to add to the superstructure our best days have been employed in raising, than, by needless experiment, to hazard the foundation, of the strength of which we ought to have assured ourselves before we began to build; and at which we look for consolation from our own conviction, rather than amusement from the doubts of others. It would be unmannerly to say that Lady Hervey was indifferent to Christianity; and it would be unjust to her editor if we were to omit saying, that he reprobates every expression which might expose her critics to this charge of being unmannerly. We shall content ourselves, therefore, by shewing, first, what, upon the principles she had been taught, was her ladyship's estimate of

life; and secondly, upon what authority she founded her hopes of immortality; the first shall be taken from a Letter written within a year, the last within three months of her death-bed.

"In short, I find life, after sixty, is but a burthensome affair; not only unproductive of pleasure, but full of such inconveniences and disorders as make existence hardly supportable. All one can do is to *suffer* life; to *enjoy* it is impossible. This is a bad prospect, and an unpleasant lesson for you; the use you should make of it is to live whilst you can, and make the most of the little scanty allowance afforded you." P. 327.

"What you seem most to apprehend is not a subject of horror to me. I think about it as I do about death; 'tis not *that* I fear, but 'tis the way to it; 'tis the struggles, the last convulsions that I dread; for when once they are over, I don't question but to rise to a new and better life. Dr. Garth, I remember, used to say, '*I vow to God, madam, I take this to be hell, purgatory at least; we shall certainly be better off in any other world.*' I think I am of his opinion." P. 330.

Having entered this necessary *caveat* against the serious part of her letters, we shall proceed to collect such lighter matter as they afford which has any novelty. Those who spent a month or two in Paris before the velocipede mania had reached London, will perceive that our ancestors were as much content as ourselves to borrow a *rage* from our more inventional neighbours.

"As to a full explanation of this *Pantin* * mystery, that is quite impossible for me to give; and though you desire it of me, you seem to admit the impossibility, by terming it a mystery: however, as much as I know I will communicate to you. This amusement began at Paris about a year and a half ago; and, as is supposed, owed its rise to some trifling accident or joke, which, being adopted by some lady very much in fashion, soon became so itself. *Pantins* and *Pantines* were made in ridicule of some people whom they were designed to burlesque and expose, and were caricatures of those people: they then were the vehicles of satire, of compliment, of ridicule, and even of *gaillardise*, having little ballads

* "These *Pantins* were pasteboard figures, the limbs of which were fastened and moved by threads, like the harlequins and scaramouches which children play with now-a-days. They had a great vogue, both in England and France, and were in every lady's hand. An indignant moralist, in the Gentleman's Magazine, for May, 1748, doubts whether posterity will believe the prevalence of such a folly; and he attributes the invention and the name to Mlle. Pantine, one of Marshal Saxe's ladies! I have met, somewhere, a song of the time, called 'Monsieur Pantin,' the meaning of which I did not understand."

and stanzas annexed to them, the burden of which was *pantin, pantine*, like our own Derry down, &c. The English who heard of this fashion by the time the French were tired of it, according to their usual custom, took it up, without any *finesse*; and so have only the amusement of twirling about a card scaramouche, as I have seen a thousand children do of three years old. In the French there was at least some humour and entertainment in it, but our people mean nothing by it but an awkward dull imitation, and put me very much in mind of Jack Pudding, who, when some very dexterous tumblers have been showing all that the most exact equilibrium can do, comes, and, endeavouring to imitate them, puts himself into the most ridiculous attitudes imaginable, and gets two or three falls, or breaks his head by his clumsiness and awkwardness. So much for *Pantin*." P. 130.

We had occasion in our last number to mention the proud Duke of Somerset: we are now indebted to Lady Hervey's editor for calling to our minds a singular fact relating to him. The garter was conferred on him by King Charles II. and on his Grace's death the vacant ribbon was given to his late majesty, then Prince George. So that, had it not fallen to the sovereign, this garter, under the original statutes of the order, would have been bestowed but once in 140 years.

Few instances of suicide are on record more deliberate than the following:

"Lord Montford's * strange end surprised me a good deal, as he seemed as happy as a great taste for pleasure and an ample fortune to gratify it could make him, with many friends, few disappointments, and a cheerful temper. I never heard of more coolness than that with which he put an end to his life. I as yet hear no reason assigned for this event, but that *tedium vitæ*, which is so frequent in this country. He had supped and played at White's, as usual, the night before, but sent to a lawyer he made use of, to come to him the next day at eleven o'clock, having himself *business* at twelve. The lawyer, with Lord Montford, read over his will three times, examining very carefully every word, that there might not be any flaw or room left for a dispute. He then sealed up the will and the duplicate, putting the one into his drawer, and desiring the lawyer to take care of the other; went immediately into his bedchamber, and before the man could take his papers and get down stairs, Lord Montford shot himself through the head." P. 206.

And, except Aladdin's wedding, we have read of none to equal Mr. Spencer's in splendour and discomfort.

"* Henry Bromley, first Lord Montford. He died on the 1st of January. He had been member for the county, and was, at his death high steward of the town of Cambridge. He left an only son."

"One has heard of nothing for some time past but the magnificence, or rather the silly, vain profusion on account of Mr. Spencer's * wedding; and, what is the most extraordinary is, that it was quite disagreeable to both the young people, and entirely the effect of the vanity and folly of a daughter of Lord Granville's: I mean Lady Cowper, Mr. Spencer's mother. They came to town from Althorpe, where they were married, with three coaches and six horses, and two hundred horsemen: the villages through which they passed were put into the greatest consternation: some of the poor people shut themselves up in their houses and cottages, barricading themselves up as well as they could. Those who were more resolute, or more desperate, armed themselves with pitchforks, spits, and spades; all crying out it was the *invasion* which was come; and, to be sure, by the coaches and six horses, both the pretender and King of France were come too. In short, great was the alarm, and happy they were when this formidable cavalcade passed by without setting fire to the habitations, or murdering the inhabitants." P. 214.

We have often felt, during the hey-day of electioneering licentiousness, the sentiment of an old gentleman whom Lady Hervey mentions; but we never yet have been able to express it so forcibly. He was passing through the streets of Westminster during the contest between Lord Trenthum and Sir George Vandeput; and when his coach was beset on both sides by the opposite mobs, bawling out for the opposite candidates, he put his head out of the window and shouted, G—d d—n them both!

One other *bon mot* must suffice to this department; it is too good to be omitted, and it comes from lips celebrated for hereditary wit; those of Claude Charlotte, daughter of the Compte de Grammont, and *la belle Hamilton*. She married Henry Howard, Viscount Stafford, who was raised to an earldom, a week or two before James the Second's abdication, and followed the fortunes of his master. When other people were wondering at or accounting for any extraordinary act of folly, she used gravely to say, "*mais pourquoi etonner? il n'y a rien de si naturel; c'est que les sots font toujours des sottises.*"

During one of her residences at Paris, Lady Hervey was in the habit of meeting Fontenelle, who at that time had completed his ninety-second year †. He presided over a

* "He married, 27th Dec. 1755, Margaret Georgiana, daughter of Stephen Poyntz, Esq. His mother, mentioned in the text, was Lady Georgiana Carteret, who, on the death of Mr. Spencer, remarried with Lord Cowper, and died in 1790."

† We suspect he was still older; Lady Hervey's Letter bears the date of 17

coterie of *beaux esprits*, and is described as having no mark of old age but wrinkles and a degree of deafness. At this advanced time of life he retained his cheerfulness, vivacity, and gallantry; and even his taste for other people's poetry, as well as his own, which he repeated and applied agreeably, continued in its vigour.

Of his late majesty, at his accession, Lady Hervey speaks in that tone of applause and hope which his opening virtues rendered so general. She pays also a just tribute to a nobleman to whom we are probably not a little indebted for the formation of George the Third's character, however much as a minister he was the victim of party rage while in power, and has suffered from the echoes of political rancour since his decease.

"Every one, I think, seems to be pleased with the whole behaviour of our young king; and indeed so much unaffected good nature and propriety appears in all he does or says, that it cannot but endear him to all; but whether any thing can long endear a king * or an angel in this strange factious country, I can't tell. I have the best opinion imaginable of him, not from any thing he does or says just now, but because I have a moral certainty that he was in his nursery the honestest, true, good-natured child that ever lived." P. 271.

"I think the king's whole conduct and behaviour unexceptionable; and if it is in any degree owing to Lord Bute, we have the greatest obligations imaginable to him. So much I know of him, though not personally acquainted with him, that he has always been a good husband, an excellent father, a man of truth and sentiments above the common run of men. They say he is proud; I know not; perhaps he is; but it is like the pride they also accuse Mr. Pitt of, which will always keep them from *little, false, mean, frivolous* ways; and such pride may all that I love or interest myself for ever have!" P. 275.

The length of our article, which is, perhaps, somewhat disproportionate to the value of the book to which it relates, warns us to conclude. We must, however, stop to notice a

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Fontenelle died in 1756, and if we may trust the *Siecle de Louis XIV.* (which we very seldom do trust) he was somewhat above a hundred years of age at the time of his death. EDITOR.

"* George III. Again we have to admire Lady Hervey's excellent judgment and the treatment which his late Majesty met with, at different periods of his reign, justifies, in the most painful manner, her doubt whether the virtues of an angel can endear 'its king to this *strange factious country.*' But how happy did his majesty's long and admirable life justify the estimate which Lady Hervey had made of his disposition and character!"

remarkable coincidence of expression, which the Editor has pointed out in the characters given by Lady Hervey and Mr. Burke, of two very celebrated men. The death of Charles Townshend occurred about the time of Lord Chatham's political demise. Lady Hervey, speaking of the two events conjointly, observes,

"Certain companies, at certain times, will regret the one, but a nation suffers in the loss of the other. Mr. Townshend was a shining sparkling star, Lord Chatham, an invigorating vivifying sun: we miss the one, but can hardly subsist without the other," P. 325.

Now for Mr. Burke.

"Look here upon this picture, and on this."

The passage is from one of his best speeches.

"Even, Sir, before this splendid orb (Lord Chatham) was entirely set, and while the western horizon was on a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and for his hour was lord of the ascendant; but this light is passed too, and set for ever. You understand that I speak of Charles Townshend," &c. &c. P. 325, note.

We cannot part without expressing our satisfaction at the manner in which this volume has been edited. The explanatory notes are just what they ought to be, sufficient to assist the reader, by the light which they throw upon obscure allusions, and not sufficient to tire him by an ostentatious display of the annotator's research. Lady Hervey's false opinions are no where supported, and with the exception of a single note, which might have been spared (we mean the defence of Lord Chesterfield) they form in general a good corrective to the text.

ART. V. *Thucydidis de Bello Peloponnesiaco, Libri Octo, ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Accedunt Scholia Græca et Dukeri Wassiique Annotationes.* J. Parker, and R. Bliss. Oxford.

FEW writers, so well worth reading as Thucydides, present so many obstacles to the reader; arising chiefly from the intense atticism of his style and thoughts, which cannot easily be expressed in modern phrase or apprehended by modern understandings. He imposes upon the student a necessity of

thinking closely, and what is more, of thinking in Greek. Yet, as he is not one of those authors, whose difficulty is their principal recommendation, it is extremely desirable that every possible facility should be afforded to that class of scholars, who may wish to become acquainted with his manner and sense, without any unnecessary embarrassment from the peculiarities of his diction. The present edition so far as it contains any thing new, proposes only to remove those impediments which the course of years and the carelessness of transcribers have superadded to the original stock: in short to restore rather than explain the text. This, Mr. Bekker assures us, (in Teutonico-editorial Latin) was the whole of his primary purpose. At the request of his publisher, he has subjoined the Scholia, as corrected by himself, with the notes of Wassius, Duker, &c.; somewhat compressed by the omission of trifling or erroneous matter. The work is indebted to Messrs. Parker and Bliss for the advantages of paper and printing, and is on the whole highly creditable to their spirit and liberality. Mr. Bekker has shewn a commendable diligence in the collation of manuscripts, of which he gives a long list in his preface, and has examined some of the highest authority, never before accessible. If the new readings he proposes are not numerous, or very important, it is at least satisfactory to be convinced, that not much remains to be done for Thucydides, in the way of critical emendation; and that in all probability we possess his writings nearly as he wrote them. But the main difficulties of this historian do not depend upon corruptions, from which, considering the length of his work, and the occasional intricacy of his style, he is remarkably free. Mr. Bekker exhibits a great variety of readings; some perhaps not before noticed; but few of them materially affect the sense, however they may improve or impair its attic neatness. Nor can Thucydides be justly charged with that sort of obscurity which results from indistinct thoughts, interrupted logic, forced combinations, or imperfect metaphors. Some allusions he certainly has, which time has rendered inexplicable, and several, for the explanation of which we must refer to other sources; yet few writers depend so little on foreign aid, or so generally explain themselves. He does not presume on the learning of his readers, so far as to omit important facts, because they were known; or essential links of argument, because they may be easily supplied. He does not hint at what was said or done, but relates it. Nothing indeed can excel the order and perspicuity of his narrative; notwithstanding the variety and complexity of

operations which he records as taking place at the same time, and the necessity of treading cautiously, as it were, upon hot ashes.

What is it then, which makes the study of his works so arduous, that many are discouraged from proceeding through them, and many more receive an impression of their extreme difficulty, which deters them from recurring to this author at a maturer age, when the fund of political wisdom which he contains, may be justly appreciated, and beneficially applied? We have already alluded to our opinion, and shall here repeat, that the secret of understanding Thucydides, is to think in Greek, and like a Grecian.

The wonderful versatility of the Greek language, enabled every writer to pursue to excess his peculiar bias; whether it were to amplification, or compression. What in another tongue would be baldness was in this only simplicity; and what cannot be imitated without bombast, was here sustained magnificence. Thucydides understood the privileges of his native tongue, and in one direction he pushed them to their utmost extent. We may indeed consider his style as the ideal of atticism, from which other writers have declined, in exact proportion as they become translateable, or conformed to the rules of universal grammar.

It must be remembered that the Greeks knew, or at least studied, no language but their own. They were not, therefore, led to consider what forms or phrases, as arising out of the necessities of natural logic, must be found in every cultivated nation, and what belonged to the genius of each particular tongue. It was not likely to be fashionable, to write or speak a style, which with the simple alteration of the words, would be as good Persian, Egyptian, or Phœnician, as it was Greek. On the other hand, the rivalry of the several races would induce each to value what was peculiar in their own dialect. The most idiomatic diction would be esteemed the best—a Dorian would studiously avoid atticism; an Athenian would pride himself on speaking ὡς ἀττικώτατα. Now every language is difficult to foreigners, in proportion as it varies from the general laws of all languages, and possesses powers, and, as it were, bye laws exclusively its own.

We are not uninformed, how much the Athenians prided themselves on distinctive nicetics of speech;—and it is very probable that the Euphemists among them might adopt a mode of discourse, that almost bordered upon solœcism, as that which most defied successful imitation. It is little short of certain, that where the marks of rank are few, the great and wealthy will eagerly avail themselves of all that offer

and the exactness of polished phrase is one of the most obvious and the least invidious. Rhetoric was at Athens a principal branch of study: and this would induce a degree of conscious attention to the choice of words, and the structure of sentences, far greater than is habitually paid in modern times. From these causes we may reasonably expect a style idiomatic in the extreme; bearing the traces rather of thought than of feeling; equally remote from the plainness of unpremeditated discourse, and the familiar figures and unjointed fabric that characterize the language of low life; in which every clause and every word shall demand an exercise at once of recollection and anticipation, at once referring back and looking forward. A style both Attic and Patrician, which none could be supposed to use or even readily to comprehend but an Athenian of birth and education; differing widely from the eloquence of the demagogues, and still more from the conversation of the people. And such is the style of Thucydides, who seems to speak not as a man addressing men, nor an orator working upon a multitude; but as a statesman composing a memorial for the use of statesmen; he does not seek to win attention, but demands it as his due. He exercises an absolute controul over his own mind, and requires the same of his readers: his brevity may be construed into a compliment to the subtlety of their understandings, but it is no accommodation to the shortness of their memories. It is not the brevity of a wit, nor of a man in a hurry, but of a grave and orderly politician, whose moments were all numbered, and who, having previously determined what he should say, and how long he should be in saying it, fixes for each particular communication a rigid measure, which no feeling induces him to exceed. The mind of Thucydides is never passive; he is always master of his subject, and his subject is never master of him.

We are too apt to consider perspicuity as something positive, the same in all ages and to all persons. But in reality that is most perspicuous to each individual, which is most accordant to the habits of his mind.—The language of thought, to the thoughtful; of feeling, to the passionate; of association, to the fanciful. The severity of logic, which renders a discourse perspicuous to an academician, would probably be not a little perplexing to a country congregation whose ideas must be forced out of their accustomed train in order to follow the line of its arguments, or arrive at its conclusions. Abstractedly perhaps, that is the plainest language, which expresses its meaning most strictly in the fewest words; but to an undisciplined mind, that will appear

most plain which expresses it in the manner in which it would have presented itself to a similar mind, with all the common circumlocutions, repetitions, unnecessary circumstances, and accidental connections. Thus, till the student has subdued his mind to the preciseness of Grecian dialectic, the very cause which we doubt not, made Thucydides peculiarly lucid to those for whom he wrote, will probably give him the air of obscurity.

One word more, as to his diction. It is the characteristic of modern tongues, and of the English especially, to be intelligible in fragments; the Greek and Latin are only intelligible in wholes. The entire clause, sometimes the entire period, must be remembered, in order to affix a meaning to any part of it. This, which is true of most ancient authors, in some degree applies to Thucydides, κατ' ἐξόχην. You cannot conjecture at his meaning from half sentences, and least of all, from the latter half, supply the first. The power which the classic dialects derive from their cases, he stretches to the utmost, to the no small perplexity of those imperfect scholars, who judging of Greek with English associations, think cases mere substitutes for prepositions.

We have dwelt long on the words of our author, but we are unwilling to dismiss him without a few comments upon his matter, which cannot be too well known, or considered.

It is we fear too common to study the Greek historians in early youth, solely or chiefly for the sake of the language, and in after life to neglect them as containing nothing that may not be more agreeably derived from modern sources. But modern histories of ancient states are to be used with extreme caution. Some of the most popular are intended as decent vehicles for opinions in religion or politics, which it might be dangerous to apply directly to existing circumstances. Others compiled chiefly from the declamations of late writers, or if they derive their main facts from cotemporary authorities, borrowing many anecdotes and all their judgments from the thoughtless and ostentatious rhetoricians who turned all history into a series of themes; have given to the transactions of ancient times a fallacious glitter, which makes such history more dangerous, because more delusive than romance. And these being generally read in childhood, take so strong a hold on the imagination, that plain truth seems ever after distasteful. Hence in part at least, we may account for the circumstance, that neither Herodotus, full as he is of marvels, nor Thucydides, nor even Livy, have ever become popular in translations; while Plutarch like Seneca, has become almost an English book, a fire-side favourite of young

and old. Biography, it is true, is more interesting to most readers than history, properly so called; and the old Boeotian is unrivalled, for the variety and vividness of his portraitures, and his happy union of the fresh and enthusiastic feelings of youth with the garrulity and retrospectiveness of age. The characters he describes are among our earliest acquaintance; we know them, understand them, like or dislike them: they have a constant abode in our memory, a form and substance in our imagination; but what resemblance they bear to their historical prototypes, we seldom care or consider. Yet from Plutarch, and other writers of as late an age, and far less authority, the current opinions or rather the prevailing feelings in regard to heathen times, are mainly derived; and from these high coloured narratives we frequently form conclusions which continue to sway our minds long after we are convinced of the fallacy of the premises on which they depend.

A notion has crept in, that the Christian Religion is unfavourable to public virtue; that filial piety, conjugal affection, and devoted patriotism, have declined in proportion as their grounds have been understood and enforced; that all existing institutions are absurd and tyrannical, and that for the perfect model of government and manners we must go back to the Greeks and Romans. It is needless to say that this last opinion is supported neither by credible history nor by probable fiction: and this removed, the foundation of the rest is no more. But the high flown style of certain authors produces an impression of pagan excellence which insulated facts appear to justify, and fancy supplies the rest. There is a time perhaps when unmingled love of all apparent greatness is a healthful exercise for the mind. But there is also a time when those who would draw practical inferences from the records of the past, and learn from thence to augur wisely of the future, must submit to have the veil of enchantment withdrawn, and look truth in the face; more especially, when the reverence for antiquity is made a plea for undervaluing present blessings; when errors which had descended from father to son, as harmless as the rusty match-locks in an old armoury, are made the murderous weapons of faction and unbelief, it behoves all whose thoughts and studies are directed to the investigation of classic times, to form and promote a correct and rigorous judgment of their boasted advantages, and, with this view, to apply themselves to cotemporary sources of information, wherever such remain to us.

A cotemporary historian must always be valuable, though his work should deserve no higher character than that of a mere diary, or a party pamphlet. His very prejudices are

instructive, as they partake of the spirit of his age, and make us acquainted more perhaps than the most dispassionate survey, with the moving causes of the transactions he narrates: whereas, a writer of an after period will often be influenced by prejudices equally strong, and quite alien from the times which he undertakes to describe. Even the most diligent, and the fairest compilers in treating of a state of manners different from that under which themselves have grown up, will find it difficult to avoid occasional anachronisms of sentiment, anticipations of knowledge, misrepresentations of motives, and false valuation of actions, the merit or demerit of which depends much upon circumstance and opinion. It is almost a public misfortune when later historians by their very excellence induce a neglect of the original sources of information: much more, when all history is served up in the form of flowing declamation, as under the Roman empire, or of specious reasoning, as has been too much the case among ourselves: whereby the public mind is filled with notions and conclusions, not immediately derived from facts, and a habit is formed of rash and unsupported judgment, that materially influences practice, and weakens the respect to truth. The dustiest chronicle, that with dull plodding fidelity records whatever is to be heard or seen, is far preferable to such history. Indeed, the worst defect of those honest gossiping annalists, whom with all their faults, we would fain see more in fashion is, not so much their recording follies, superstitions and falsehoods, which form an essential part of the character of most ages and countries, as their representing all events as of equal magnitude and importance. Their sphere of vision admits but one object at a time; just as any body, a small one as well as the greatest, held close to the eye, will exclude every other: or as a little hill and a high mountain appear much of the same height to those who stand immediately beneath them. There is no keeping or perspective in their picture, it is all foreground.

But Thucydides, though deeply concerned in many of the transactions he relates, and (if we except the introductory sketch, which occupies not quite half of his first book) a living witness to them all; and though there can be little doubt, that the greater part of his history was written during the progress of the war it commemorates, is neither a pamphleteer nor a chronicler. He has neither the prejudices of an interested partizan, nor the incoherence and want of proportion that distinguishes the narratives of political diary-keepers. He stands, as it were, at the most favourable point of distance; near enough to discern ea

part distinctly, yet far enough off to observe the relation of the several parts to each other, and to the whole. Yet, with the clearest perception of the drift and tendency of every act and incident, he has not been seduced into the fancy of imparting to history the regularity of a tale constructed by rule, the end of which may be conjectured from the beginning, and where one event is introduced solely for the sake of another, like the rhymes in some copies of verses. He has not suppressed any occurrence in itself worth relating, because it did not manifestly forward or retard a foreseen conclusion; much less does he omit, or slightly touch upon whatever makes against a particular theory. He was aware that "the infinite doings of the world" are not to be reduced within such precise and intelligible limits. He knew too much of the world to imagine, that contingencies will accommodate themselves to human expectations, or human maxims.

Indeed, after his strict impartiality, and the extent and minuteness of his information, nothing is more remarkable than his utter disregard of *probability*, i. e. of that correspondence of events to certain general axioms, which some speculators have endeavoured to set up against sound historical evidence. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, the excess of this sort of probability, more than any thing else, distinguishes well-contrived fiction from matter of fact. Thucydides never led astray by love of the marvellous, neither a partizan nor a system-builder; neither greedily credulous, nor fastidiously sceptical, is too confident of his own veracity to take pains to be credible.

This stern fidelity, neglecting all those arts with which speculators endeavour to impose on the judgment, and orators to engage the fancy and affections, has given a cold, unromantic air to his narratives, even where the situations he records are susceptible of the strongest interest. He never aims at effect, and suffers every thing to speak for itself. He has few metaphors; few, if any, similes. His descriptions are not numerous; and, what there are, are not intended to render his relation more striking, but more intelligible. Yet, perhaps, from this very plainness, he has an air of reality beyond all historians, ancient or modern. Others we believe, him we feel, to be true. Others, present us, as it were, with the spectres of transactions, as vivid, often more vivid, than their living likeness. There is an unnatural glare about them, and no evidence of substance or solidity. No wonder then that we regard them as apparitions, which we wonder, tremble, or weep at, but

scarcely believe that they existed, even while we fancy that we see them." But Thucydides shews all things in open day-light, the persons he introduces to us are tangible flesh and blood, and their actions, good or evil, are the actions of men, not of heroes or demons.

Yet, by the mere directness and accuracy of his narration, by telling all that is necessary, and nothing more, he often presents a scene to the imagination almost as distinctly as Scott or Homer. Indeed, in one point of view, he furnishes a valuable model to poets. His action never stands still. But his descriptions are not like pictures, representing but a single point of time, but rather like dramas, which imitate the progressiveness of reality. Take, for instance, his account of the capturing of Sphacteria; or the defeat of Demosthenes, in Ætolia. Scarce a circumstance is mentioned, which an observant commander would not have included in his dispatch; and yet, the imagination misses nothing, and can scarce suggest an addition. The plague at Athens, the sedition at Corcyra, and the retreat from Syracuse, are, perhaps, still stronger instances of the fullness with which he records whatever took place, of the judgment with which he disposes his relation, so that the leading facts should occupy the most prominent place, and of the austerity with which he refrains from all comment, and from every expression of his individual feelings. He almost attains to the ideal of Spinoza, who requires an historian, *neo lugere, nec indignari, sed judicare.*

Even in the speeches which he puts into the mouths of the leading personages of the time, rather to communicate, in a lively form, the prevailing politics of the different parties, than to give any notion of the manner or personal character of the supposed speakers, he preserves the same hard, unimpassioned dignity. It is as if the great interests of Greece were personified under the names of the several orators, and of those interests the orations are characteristic. Each has a distinct line of argument, reasonable or sophistical, according as the point to be proved requires: but of individual feelings, habits, or tempers, there is scarcely a vestige; and little more of the rank or country of the speaker. Lacedæmonians are not more laconic than Athenians, and Cleon, in the phrase and fashion of his discourse, is scarcely distinguishable from Pericles. There is but one physiognomy in all these harangues, and it is Thucydides' own. Perhaps we ought to admit, the funeral oration of Pericles, and the speech of Nicias to his army, after their defeat before Syracuse, as partial exceptions. But it is probable

that in these instances, the matter really belonged to Pericles and to Nicias; the style and diction little varied from that of the other addresses, is evidently the historian's.

In all there is a remarkable absence of imagery and pathos; and if the passions are appealed to, it is not by assuming an emotion in order to excite it, not by endeavouring, in short, to create a sensation, for a temporary purpose, but by calmly addressing those permanent dispositions of the popular mind, that ambition, that avarice, that jealousy, which, from long continuance, had gained the force of habit, and almost the authority of reason.

Indeed, were we to judge of the Athenian character from the history of Thucydides, we should attribute to that sprightly people a coldness of heart scarcely reconcileable with the sensibility they are known, on many occasions, to have displayed; at least in relation to works of taste and genius. True it is, that human misery partakes but little of the Καλον; and it is ill for the dependents of those, whose fine taste keeps the door of their charity. Yet, where so much of excellence appears, we are loth to impute innate or deliberate cruelty, and look around for some external cause, some unlucky circumstance, which "turned their milk to gall."

Now nothing tends so much to harden the heart as the sense of insecurity; and, perhaps, few states have attained to civilization, in the midst of such continual alarm and danger, as Athens. Their religion was a source of terrors —their Gods were jealous and irritable, offended alike with accident and intention, and punishing the innocent always *with* and often *for* the guilty. They were surrounded with enemies who were all but their equals; and supported by subjects, whom they could scarce, in the imperfect condition of their policy, retain without making them enemies by oppression. And what was worst of all, they felt that the law could not, in many cases, protect innocence, but might be perverted to destroy it.

The real effects of the Athenian Democracy are set forth by Thucydides with an evidence of truth above suspicion. Its elasticity, its vigour, its fickleness, its insecurity, its capricious and unfeeling despotism, its unprincipled ambition, its cupidity, its extravagance, are manifested, not by single facts and particular cases, nor by slanderous tales, and secret histories, but by a plain continuous statement of actions and events, with their preceding and attendant circumstances, so narrated in their natural order, that one accounts for the other. The picture is doubtless a gloomy one; but

before it is concluded that *all* the evils of Athenian Democracy are inherent in every popular government, it must be considered what peculiar features distinguished that extraordinary constitution, which has been the subject of so much unmerited praise, and, perhaps, of a little mistaken censure.

Now, we think the Athenian government to have differed essentially from whatever has been conceived, attempted, or realized elsewhere. An unbalanced democracy, which survived every attempt of its own citizens to subvert it, carried on extensive foreign wars, recovered from unexampled losses, and only fell at last before a power, which proved equal to the conquest of an empire nearly as large as Europe, is of itself a surprising phenomenon.

No modern republic has entrusted an unlimited power to the multitude without the intervention of representatives, or made the public functionaries their servants at command. But when, instead of that grossness and ignorance, that vulgarity of taste and pleasures, that aversion to whatever is elevated, graceful, or intellectual, which are the common, and have been supposed the inseparable accompaniments of democratic ascendancy, we find the learning and refinement of the world to have proceeded from the little turbulent state of Athens; and even to have grown up and flourished in the very midst of her cabals and seditions, we must confess the case unparalleled in the annals of history. Whether the taste and genius of this people were not, of themselves, an antidote to some of the deleterious effects of their government, we will inquire hereafter.

No recent work has done more to introduce just views of the manners and condition of the Grecian republics than the history of Mr. Mitford. Yet we cannot but think that that acute and laborious writer, has occasionally overlooked the wide difference between Greek and French Republicanism; and observing much resemblance in practice, and some phrases, such as liberty, equality, &c., common to both, has undertaken to expose the one in order to confute the other. Demagogues, it is true, like heroes, are much the same in all ages and countries. There is a strong family likeness between Cleon and Hyperbolus, and some of the friends of the people in the present day; but the idea of Greek Democracy, was not the French chimæra. No such notion as that of natural indefeasible rights, inherent in man, as man; no principle of universal equality between all the possessors of speech and reason, was ever broached by the flatterers of the Athenian many; no orator sought favour by maintaining, that the slave and the freeman,

citizen and the sojourner, the Greek and the barbarian, were all entitled to equal privileges, like enjoyments, or an even measure of justice. The sovereign people would not have relished such positions, which, however antichristian in their perversion and abuse, are doubtless the offspring of Christianity. So far were they from forming the creed of the Athenian vulgar, that they scarce found a place among the paradoxes of the sophists, who ransacked the whole encyclopedia of folly for new absurdites, wherewith to astonish their hearers. Even they disputed not but that man might lawfully be made the property, the disposable goods and chattels of his fellow-creature. That the free should be served by slaves, that the ruling commonwealth should be supported by its subject allies, that foreigners had no other claim to human charity, than what they might derive from some express compact, and that, in relation to enemies right was might, were points as readily admitted, as eagerly and practically maintained as the right of the meanest citizen to vie in political importance with the noblest. Indeed we suspect the Rights of Man would have been little to the taste of the Greek public; and the Rights of Woman still less. The modern scheme of indiscriminate levelling would have been as ill received among the lordly multitude, as among a company of planters. They would not indeed admit of superiors; but it was as Athenian citizens, as descendants of the conquerors of Marathon, not as human beings, or Sons of Deucalion, that they claimed the exemption.

In modern states the multitude are, for the most part, opposed to the government; in Athens they constituted it. Hence, while there is a striking resemblance between the mob-leaders, there is a considerable difference in the arguments they employ.

The ancient orators addressed the many as a Lord in possession; the modern, as a rightful owner, excluded from his property by fraud or violence. The former were large upon the greatness of the people, their wealth, dominion, and victories; the latter remind them of their number, their wretchedness, and their wrongs. The cry of retrenchment would have been little popular, where the populace, were half-maintained out of the treasury—and where they were fed upon sacrifices, and amused with religious pageantry, there would be small complaint at the expensiveness of the national religion. The splendour of individuals might excite envy or suspicion, but the magnificence of the state, a frequent subject of murmurs under monarchies, was in Athens,

a gratification to popular vanity. Except a few light imposts, Taxes were almost unknown. The burdens of government, and the heavier expense of treating, and amusing the lower orders, fell exclusively on the wealthy, or the tributary cities. War, when successful, was a palpable source of gain to individuals—and when adverse, brought calamity which none could escape. The most common topics, therefore, of public discontent were wanting at Athens—and as few of the citizens were in absolute want of sustenance, except when supplies were cut off by the accidents of war, the circumstance which with us gives the highest plausibility to inflammatory harangues was of rare occurrence. But Athens, as we have already stated, had dangers and hardships of her own, which, if they cannot palliate the oppressions of which, in her days of greatness, she was guilty, may at least account for them.

Perhaps the best idea of the political state of the Greek Republics may be formed, if we consider the metropolitan city in each, as a huge oligarchy, and the slaves and dependent states as corresponding to the lower rank in modern kingdoms. The governing party might admit more or less of distinction among themselves, but in relation to the governed, they always maintained a truly Aristocratic superiority. The citizenship of the leading state was itself a sort of nobility; and attended with greater comparative advantages than appertain to the privileged orders in any European monarchy.

The Athenian Empire in some degree resembled that of the East India Company; less extensive indeed, and far less beneficial to its foreign subjects; exercising a more despotic control over its ministers, and often delegating to them a yet more despotic authority. But ancient notions of equality, and claims to equal division of property, were far more suitable to a self-formed society, than to a constitution, the result of time and accident. The Senate was their court of directors, and their generals and ministers, accredited agents.

In our own country, the efforts both of the real and pretended advocates of liberty, have been for the most part directed to limit the executive, to lessen the discretionary powers of government, and to enlarge the sphere of individual free agency. The Patriots of old pursued another course. The modern definition of freedom would seem to be the greatest possible independence of each. The ancient notion was rather—the most absolute power of all over all. Accordingly, under the notion of liberty, the sovereign people claimed and exercised powers which it is the pride of

dern liberty to abridge or rescind. A habeas-corpus act would have been esteemed a dangerous infringement of popular prerogative, and the claims of a suspected Revolutionist to fair trial, would have been heard with most suspicion by the greatest sticklers for the rights of the people. That noble, though sometimes perverted feeling of the English commonalty, which makes the cause of each the cause of all, which follows the law in presuming the innocence of the accused, and resents the oppression of individuals, as a public injury, was little felt among the sovereign people; and the opinion that the escape of the guilty is a trifle, compared to the suffering of the innocent would have been condemned as a dangerous political heresy, where the continual peril of an unstable constitution had blinded men's eyes to the inconveniences of personal insecurity. The ruling faction, seldom moderate in the exercise of power, had every thing to dread from the loss of that power: small republics, especially. Such as are circumscribed by the walls of a city, are in constant jeopardy from conspiracies. A mercenary troop or a company of partizans, may overthrow their institutions in a night; and he that went to bed the busy member of an injurious democracy, might awake the subject of an avenging cabal.

Wherever, as in modern Europe, domestic slavery is unknown, where freedom is the growth of commerce, when political rights arise from the exercise of trades or professions, and political influence is connected with property which industry may acquire, the laborious ranks will be respectable, and a regular gradation, a stream of honour will descend from the nobleman to the freeborn peasant or artizan.

But in Greece, the really useful classes, (according to a modern notion of utility), were excluded from all participation in government, and held in almost universal contempt. To work was the office of a slave. Solon should have abolished slavery when he made idleness a crime.

We never find the Athenian populace calling themselves the industrious classes, or the useful order; they reproach not the wealthy with uselessness, nor, except in a military or naval capacity, do they dwell on their own services to the few. They were almost universally tax eaters, consumers of the fruits of others industry; a crowd of sinecurists, who expected to be paid for the exercise of the very privileges for the possession of which they were so clamorous.

But Athens, was not the Utopia of Democracy; for the aristocratical leaven was strong. Indeed, if a few small and poor Swiss republics be excepted, perhaps the American

Government is the nearest approach to pure Democracy that was ever realized. The boastful pretences to antiquity, the hereditary sanctity of the sacerdotal families, the regard for high birth, and ancestral fame, which never seems to have been extinguished, the historical feeling so strong in Greece, and cherished as it was by poets and orators, by feasts and games, by periodical ceremonies and splendid exhibitions, combined with that instinctive love of the beautiful, the fairest point in the Grecian character, to furnish a moral check to the Democratic spirit which was wanting in the forms of their constitution. Democracy can never be itself, but in a new state; around whose institution no rust of antiquity has grown, whose glories are recent, and whose origin is such, as might, without loss of honour, be forgotten. Where there is any regard for ornamental acquirements, any sense of intellectual delight, any reverence for antiquity, any attachment to established ordinances, there exists a counterpoise to Democracy. The Religion of Greece, so much an historical and commemorative Religion, so intimately connected with music and poetry, so splendid and mysterious in its forms, supplied some counterpoise: and the temples, statues, altars, holy places, though no check upon the violence of mob-rule, prevented it from sinking to vulgar brutality. Later innovators seem to have felt this; and hence their fury against churches, crosses, cathedrals, and all relics of former times; as if they were conscious, that while aught remained to carry back the mind into antiquity, the respect for rank and ancestry could never be totally extinguished. A modern Liberal should have a world to work in, "without form, and void."

From the remains of Aristocracy in Athens, much, it must be confessed, of the jealous and cruel spirit of its Democracy arose. The strange anomaly of permitting inequalities in wealth and rank to co-exist with an equality of political power, was a continual source of jars, plots, treasons, and revolutions; evils which the controuling mind of a Pericles could only for a while avert, and which the talents of succeeding orators who too are often employed to multiply.

After all, too much is attributed to the defective constitution of Athens, if we suppose, that her recorded crimes arose solely from that source. The imperfect notion of the law of nations, the insecurity of all small states, especially such as exercise a power, they have no natural means of maintaining, the military character of all the ancient Republics, the little value of human life, and the want of

connection between morality and Religion, would not have been remedied by an oligarchic, a monarchical, or a mixed constitution; a far more extensive change was needed: knowledge, which the Greeks, with all their learning, had not; and motives to which they were strangers. There is a marked difference between the contests of the Oligarchal and Democratical parties in the Grecian Republics, and those of the Patricians and Plebeians at Rome. The Plebeians, if we may trust the narrative of Livy, strongly resembled our own populace, and are neither injuriously nor unfaithfully represented by our great Dramatist in his Coriolanus, and Julius Cæsar. Yet some wise critic has censured him for attributing the coarse manners of our own citizens to the citizens of Rome. To whatever lengths the Democratic ambition may finally have gone in that conquering city, there is no doubt that the first demands of the Plebeians were just, and the pride and oppression of the Patricians intolerable. The Roman mob were far more vulgar and tasteless; but at the same time they were less tyranically bloody, and less unreasonable than the lower Greeks. The Roman Polytheism seems to have afforded more aid to morality than that of Greece. The domestic virtues were in more esteem. The condition of females was more respectable; and, on the whole, there was probably more common sense in the Roman than the Grecian character. Perhaps, after all, we should judge too harshly of human nature, were we to decide on the characters of nations by those public acts which is the task of an Historian to record. No country ever was, or can be governed by numerical majorities. The real directors of the public must always be few, not often the best under any state; under a popular constitution generally the most ambitious, and the least scrupulous. The decisions of mobs and popular meetings are not the fairest test of the dispositions of the individuals composing them. A multitude has no conscience, no sense of responsibility; for the act of all is the crime of no one. We should not therefore infer that the Greeks were as unprincipled in private as in national transactions, or that a people of taste so refined, and sensibility so keen, were as devoid of humanity as some of their proceedings would induce us to imagine. The best virtues of human nature are not matter of record; and often the best men die and leave no memorial behind them. The havoc of the storm is marked and remembered, while the healing operation of nature passes unnoticed, and known only by effects too gradual to be generally observed.

ART. VI. *The Testimonies of Nature, Reason, and Revelation respecting a future Judgment, plainly summed up; in four Discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge in May,* 1821. *By the Rev. John Lonsdale, M.A. Assistant Preacher at the Temple, and late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.* 8vo. 80 pp. Rivingtons. 1821.

THE subject which Mr. Lonsdale has selected for these Discourses, is inexhaustible in itself, and in its powers of awakening our attention, and interesting our feelings. The mightiest minds which have yet undertaken to discuss it, have been unable to fathom all its mysteries; and the most eloquent preachers have but faintly and inadequately illustrated its glories and its terrors. Although the arguments, by which our faith in the doctrine of a future judgment may be confirmed, and the inferences which may be drawn from it for the regulation of our practice, have been stated by Isaac Barrow, with all the acuteness and penetration of his comprehensive intellect; still he has left ample materials either untouched, or only in part employed, upon which the noblest faculties of our reason may be usefully exerted. Nor will the orator find, that, even the eloquent copiousness of Jeremy Taylor's celebrated sermons on this awful subject, has anticipated him in every topic, which it will suggest, of power to arouse the master feelings of our nature, and enlist our hopes and fears in the service of true religion. It must then be a strange fastidiousness, which will turn away with indifference from the labours of men confessedly able, because, in chusing this for the subject of their arguments or exhortations, they have taken their position on ground, which has been already often and powerfully occupied. Many indeed are the illustrious labourers who have preceded them in its cultivation; but the soil is not impoverished, and every one who digs in it shall find a treasure, fully equal to reward the greatest degree of industry and ability, which he may be able to exert.

Mr. Lonsdale is not an every day thinker or writer; and if he has chosen what some may call a trite subject, he has not been contented with illustrating it by merely stringing together the common places of divinity. If his arguments are not entirely original in themselves, he has rendered them his own by his manner of treating them; and while the common reader will find the important doctrine of a future judgment placed before him, in a point of view which to him may perhaps be novel; the student of a higher class will be gratified, by recognizing Mr. Lonsdale as his fellow-labourer, in those deeper mines of

theological science, which have been opened by our most learned divines; and will allow him all the merit of having fitted their pure bullion for the purposes of currency, by the impress of his own simple and perspicuous language.

In his two first sermons, Mr. Lonsdale brings forward the testimony afforded by nature and reason, in support of the doctrine of a future judgment: considering first, the internal evidence in its favour given by our sense of free agency, and by the suggestions of conscience; and then, that external proof contained in the actual state of the moral world, as it is a scene of trial, and to a certain extent a scene of justice also. In his brief observations on free agency, Mr. Lonsdale purposely avoids the course of those, who have entangled themselves in the endless mazes of metaphysical discussion; and contents himself with appealing to the common sense and daily experience of every sober and dispassionate man, for an answer to this one plain question; whether he does not know and feel himself to be so far practically free, as to be accountable for his actions, and capable of praise or dispraise, reward or punishment, for them? The conclusion then from this palpable certainty is, that man, thus virtually accountable, is destined, either here or hereafter, to be called to an account. A conclusion which cannot be evaded, but by supposing, in opposition to the plainest dictates of reason, that God, who in the natural world has adapted means to their ends with admirable propriety, has, in the constitution of the moral world, acted otherwise, and fitted man for being a responsible agent, with no intention of ever calling him to judgment. Appealing in the same way to the universal feeling, experience, and confession of mankind for the existence of conscience; Mr. Lonsdale brings it forward as a witness to the vital truth which he is considering, not the less real, because its natural influence over human conduct may be weakened, or for a time wholly interrupted; nor the less valuable, because it may sometimes judge according to a wrong rule, or be blinded by prejudice and passion, or perverted by a false philosophy.

The conclusion from the nature and operations of conscience, is thus ably drawn:

"Is it not then highly probable, that one great end, for which the feelings in question have been interwoven with the very frame of our minds, is to keep up in us a constant sense of our moral responsibility? Can it be supposed, consistently with a due regard to the divine attributes, that God has so dealt with us, as that we should be perpetually tormented with apprehensions which have no solid foundation, and compelled to pass sentences upon ourselves

which shall not finally be ratified? It is a remarkable circumstance in the records of pagan philosophy, that 'the poet who beautified the sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest *,' having painted the avenging power of Conscience in vivid colours, saw how naturally this conclusion followed; how commonly in fact it had been drawn, and how greatly it had tended to produce a general expectation of future punishments. But then he was compelled at the same time, in defiance of reason and probability, to pronounce it all a dream and a delusion; that he might be consistent with himself in the maintenance of that miserable system, built upon the ruins of God's moral sovereignty, which he had undertaken to recommend to the world †.

"But far be it from us, my brethren, who have no such scheme of folly and impiety to uphold, far be it from us to imagine, that the *God of truth* deceives us with false hopes and visionary fears. Looking up, through the medium of an honest and well-informed conscience, to its great Author and Employer, let us rest assured, that the judgments passed upon us now by his deputy, will one day be confirmed by Himself: whether to our infinite good, or evil, must depend, under his grace and mercy, upon ourselves." P. 16.

In the second discourse Mr. Lonsdale shews, how the external state of the moral world confirms the testimony borne by our own hearts to the doctrine of a future retribution.

He remarks, that the more seriously and accurately men examine into their present condition, the more they will be convinced that they are in a state of trial: of trial, as he properly distinguishes, with reference, not to a future existence, for that would be to beg the question, but to this very world in which we live, and in which all our present business lies. Having established this point, and shewn the light which it throws on the momentous subject under his notice; he illustrates it further, by placing before us the moral world, according to its present constitution, as a scene of justice to a certain extent; and shewing us that the scheme of distributive justice which it exhibits, while it is sufficient to prove that God loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity, that he is a rewarder of them who diligently seek him, and an executor of wrath upon all the workers of evil, contains also in its incompleteness and imperfection a strong proof, that the judgment which is begun in this world, shall be perfected in the next.

"By the retributive system which we see even now established, God declares himself to be a judge: by its imperfection, he teaches us, that he suspends his arm, and defers the fulness and consummation of his justice." P. 33.

"* Lucretius, as characterized by Bacon."

"† See Lucret. III. 1024—1036."

minds of all men ;' and has been 'universally acknowledged in all nations, ages, and religions.' He will naturally therefore be led to conclude, that he is in no way indebted to Christianity for the inculcation of it. But let him enquire a little further, and he may be somewhat startled, to find another of these philosophers *, not inferior in celebrity to the former, exerting his utmost endeavours to explode this very same doctrine: representing it as a mere human invention, the joint offspring of policy, and superstition, and nothing less than an impious arraignment of the justice of the Deity, in his present government of the world. Perplexed by these contradictory judgments, coming from equally high authorities, what course shall the free enquirer take? Shall he reject Bolingbroke for Herbert, or Herbert for Bolingbroke? Will not the bewildered and thirsty sceptic turn in disgust from these *broken cisterns*, and hasten back to that *fountain of living waters*, which in an evil hour he was tempted to *forsake* †? Will he not say of his blind guides, in the language of the prophet, *The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed and taken: lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord; and what wisdom is in them* ‡?" P. 48.

Having thus established the necessity of a revelation for the confirmation of our belief, and the correction of our opinions respecting this great truth; in his concluding discourse Mr. Lonsdale contemplates his subject, as it is represented in the page of Inspiration: where the picture which Natural Religion had sketched with no feeble hand, has been finished by Revelation, and filled up with circumstances of unparalleled interest, and grandeur; and clothed with such glowing colours as may arrest the attention of the most cursory observer.

The following extract will be sufficient to afford our reader an opportunity of judging of the ability with which this portion of the subject has been treated.

"I come now, in the last place, to not the least striking feature in this most striking subject, the character of Him who is to be the Judge in the tremendous solemnity before us: upon which however I am compelled to speak with much greater brevity, than is agreeable either to the magnitude of the thing itself, or to my original design. That He who appeared once on the theatre of this world, as our Prophet, and our Example; our Law-giver, and our King; and above all, as our Priest, and our Sacrifice; that *this same Jesus* shall again appear personally as our Judge, is a truth, which the Gospel exhibits to us, written in such characters of light, *that he may run that readeth it*. And I suppose that no man, consulting the Scriptures in the simplicity of an unprejudiced understanding, ever called it into question for a moment. How then must such a man be startled, when he finds it argued, that, 'when Christ

* "Lord Bolingbroke. See Leland. Vol. II. 262, 243, 4, and 604, &c."
† "Jer. ii. 13." ‡ "Jer. viii. 9."

is represented as appointed by God to judge the world, nothing more may be intended by this language, than that the final states of all and every individual of mankind shall be awarded agreeably to the declarations of the Gospel;' and thus, that he is only 'figuratively a judge *!' But let it suffice to have barely mentioned this, to say the least of it, bold invasion of an established doctrine; not for the purpose of indulging in uncharitable censure, but only of shewing the natural consequence of going to the Oracles of God with a mind wedded to a preconceived system. To us, my brethren, it belongs to look at the wondrous object, here held up to our view, with very different eyes. And, in truth, the *despised*, the *rejected*, the *crucified* Jesus, (still alas! despised, rejected, and *crucified afresh*, by too many) appearing as the principal actor in that scene of final retribution, is an image which, if man would but contemplate it, might check the most hardened sinner in his career and rouse the most lukewarm professor from his lethargy of indifference. The Scriptures, with that extraordinary simplicity, which peculiarly distinguishes them, and seems of itself sufficient to establish their super-human character, have called our attention to, but not enlarged upon, the astonishing contrast between the circumstances of our Lord's past, and his future appearance; particularly in that remarkable passage, *Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him* †. What a train of overwhelming reflections do these last few words awaken; The *carpenter's son*, the *man of sorrows*, the wanderer without *where to lay his head*, the suffering malefactor, has vanished from before our eyes; and, in his place, we see the *King of kings, and Lord of lords; from whose face the earth and the heaven flee away, and have no place found for them.* But I will not expatiate upon a theme, which has exhausted the richest and the holiest stores of human eloquence. Let us view then the character of our Judge, rather as adding softness, than grandeur, to the picture. The prospect of a tribunal, before which the secrets of all hearts will be laid open, where no subterfuges will avail us any thing, no false pleas can be put in, is so full of terrors, that a far better man than Felix may well tremble at it. But when we remember, who is to be our Judge, when we consider that it is no other, than the mild and merciful Saviour, *who went about doing good*; who was ever

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" * See Belsham's Calm Inquiry into the Person of Christ, p. 335—347. animadverted upon by Dean (now Bishop) Magee. Disc. and Dissert. on Atonement and Sacrifice, Vol. II. p. 493. What was the process which led to this interpretation might easily be conjectured; even if the interpreter himself had not told us, that 'this [the judgment of the world] is an office of such transcendant dignity and importance, and requires powers so far superior to any thing which we can conceive to belong to a mere human being, however meritorious and exalted, that to many it appears utterly incredible, that such an office should be assigned to one who was himself at one time a peccable and pliable man, and, as such, liable to appear at the tribunal of eternal justice.'——How strongly is the doctrine of our Lord's divinity confirmed, by such an attempt to get rid of it!"

" † Rev. i. 7. Compare John xix. 37. and Zech. xii. 10."

ready to say to the penitent, *Thy sins be forgiven thee*; who prayed for his murderers from that cross, where he was paying the penalty of our sins; then indeed hope comes to our relief, and reminds us of all his gracious sayings, all his rich promises; but chiefly of the mighty efficacy of his atonement. It is in his human character too, that he is more than once spoken of as our Judge. He is the *man ordained* for this purpose: And we are expressly told, that *the Father hath given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the son of man* *; 'that is,' (to use the exposition of one of the greatest in that numerous host of great divines, who have adorned and enlightened this place) 'because of the Three Persons which are God, he only is also the Son of Man; and therefore, for his affinity to men's nature, for his sense of their infirmities, for his appearance to their eyes, most fit to represent the greatness, mildness, and sweetness of equity, in the severity of that just and irrespective judgment †.'" P. 70.

After the specimens which we have given of Mr. Lonsdale's style, and power of reasoning, it will scarcely be necessary to say more in recommendation of these discourses, which certainly entitle their author to an honourable station among those able and eloquent Divines, who have confirmed and illustrated the fundamental doctrine of a future judgment.

ART. VII. *Paramythia; or, Mental Pastimes: being Original Anecdotes, Historical, Descriptive, Humorous, and Witty, collected chiefly during a long Residence at the Court of Russia. By the Author.* Lawler and Quick. Crown 8vo. pp. 184. 6*s*. 1821.

Παραμυθία, if we seek the interpretation of the word in Plato, is an adhortatory and soothing expression: if we look to the Rhetorician Hermogenes, it is a figure of speech which softens asperities; but unless Hermogenes so explained it before he was five and twenty his authority is nought; for after that age he lost his memory, and his heart became covered with hair. Plutarch has used it as the confirmative of a doubtful position; and the good Bishop of Ptolemais is inclined to think it means consolation.

"The Author" before us therefore has a wide range for his "Mental Pastimes;" and may readily pass

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe,"

* "St. John v. 27."

† "Pearson's Expos. of the Creed, Art. VI."

in compounding a work which the first word of his title-page proclaims to be of an adhortatory-soothing, asperity-softening, doubt-confirming, and consolatory tendency.

Mr. Walker, for such we are told of him by others, is the name of the writer of this volume, resided for a long time as an Artist in the Court of St. Petersburg. We learn of him, from himself, that he is nearly sixty, that he is not well educated, and has a bad memory: that few people have travelled more, or enjoyed more frequent opportunities of mixing with good company; that he is a man of observation, and for many years was daily honoured with the confidence and conversation of a truly great and amiable sovereign; and lastly, that every story which he relates is "a well authenticated indubitable fact, and new to the public." We learn of him, from his book, that he is a good-natured gossiping old gentleman, who, we doubt not, is a very agreeable companion in a post chaise, or over a bottle of port. And we intend, for the sake of our readers, very freely to elicit from his pages such parts as strike us to be the most "humorous and witty," with less regard for those which are "historical and descriptive."

In reading Æsop's Fables, we always skip the moral; for though we like very much to hear birds and beasts' talk at their ease, it is dreary work to be obliged to listen to gravity and sense. Mr. Walker therefore will pardon us if we omit his "Introductions," and hasten at once to his "Scraps." Whether or not the first story which we shall cite is *new*, we care but little; it is enough for our purpose that it is *good*.

"General ——— was one of the parvenu's, lifted, by the French revolution, from obscurity; his father having held the situation of Swiss, or porter, to Louis the Sixteenth. When appointed, by Bonaparte, ambassador to the court of Russia, he was much in the habit of boasting, in society and at court, of his estates and possessions in Languedoc, Champagne, &c. &c.; upon which a very witty and beautiful lady, the Countess Valerien Zoobhoff, said to him, with great naïveté, "*Languedoc, Champagne! mon cher general, et moi je vous croyois toujours Suisse.*" P. 8.

The next are highly characteristic; and, as they happen to be "historical" as well as "humorous," we more readily extract them.

"I have, in one of the following scraps, said, that the Emperor Paul was not completely master of himself: this trifling occurrence will further evince it. The late Mr. Frazer, of the King's Road, Chelsea, used, almost every summer, to bring out a large investment of curious plants, flowers, and shrubs, of which the pre-

dowager-empress, Paul's consort, was a great amateure and purchaser. One year, he brought out, on speculation, one of the long slap-bang stage-coaches, to carry sixteen insides; thinking they might be substituted for the very heavy lumbering calashes, then used for transporting the court-servants from the town palaces to those in the country, when they changed their dejour or service. The emperor was apprised of the carriage being at the door, to which were harnessed six horses. He came down to see it; laughed at its appearance; and, seeing me loitering about, asked me, with another or two he selected, to take a ride in it. We were no sooner seated, than, to my utter astonishment, up jumped the Autocrat of all the Russias on the coach-box, with the coachman, and away we drove for several versts. When about to return, whether the Tzar of Muscovy thought the carriage ridiculous, his own conduct somewhat so, or was splenetic at having so far committed the imperial dignity, I know not, but he tapped at one of the little windows in the front, where I sat, which, as the reader may suppose, I immediately opened, and on seeing me, he, half laughing, said, '*Savez vous, Mons. W., que si je voulois je pouvois vous cracher dans la figure.*' 'Do you know, squire W., if I chose, I could spit in your face.' The reply it deserved might have packed me off to Siberia, and, therefore, I pocketed the affront." P. 12.

"The Emperor Paul, though sudden and capricious, was at the same time very gay and lively. He one day, puffing and blowing out his cheeks, (as was his custom,) strutted up to Doyen, who was painting a large picture of Cupid and Psyche, and told him he would set to him for the head of Psyche, which was then wanting. The painter, though taken by surprise, was not thrown off his guard; but, making a very low bow, replied, that had he wanted the head of an emperor, he would not have desired a better model, but for a Psyche, he must beg to be excused. The sprightly monarch, patting him on the shoulder, told him he had acquitted himself better than he expected, and had come off, like a true courtier, with flying colours." P. 60.

There is more of real dignity in the kindness which Catherine displayed below. The Empress with all her faults, well knew how to play the part of a great monarch; and there is more in this than is commonly imagined.

"Such is the awe that dignified majesty impresses on the beholders, and so peculiarly eminent was it in the striking manners and deportment of her imperial majesty, the Empress Catherine, that even a Frenchman was overcome by it. The Count de —— was appointed ambassador by the court of Versailles to that of St. Petersburg: on the day of his audience and presentation, the empress was seated on a splendid throne in the marble hall, surrounded by the imperial family, the chevalier guard in silver

armour, her generals, admirals, great officers of state, and of the court; foreign ministers, ladies of rank, and other distinguished characters, &c. &c. The Count de ——— entered the saloon, but was so completely astonished and overawed by the magnificence of the scene, that, instead of delivering the speech he had studied, he could only kneel down at the foot of the throne, and stammer out, "*Le roi, mon maitre, — Le roi, mon maitre,*" and could absolutely get no farther. The empress, pitying his confusion and distress, rose with her accustomed obliging affability, and said, "My dear Count—The king your master, feeling the most friendly disposition towards me and my empire, and wishing me all the happiness this world can bestow, has honoured you with the appointment of his ambassador so to tell me." Then stepping from the throne with the utmost grace and ease, gave him her hand to kiss, and walked out of the hall." P. 38.

"During the reign of the Empress Catherine, whose court establishment was profuse, and the abuses excessive; she was sitting one day at a window of the palace, from which she could see a passage that led to the court kitchen, and observed an old woman come with a sledge, and load it with fowls, partridges, fish, &c., which had been delivered, but never cooked. Just as the old dame was driving off with her booty, the empress rang the bell for her valet-de-chambre, and desired him to go to the old lady with her best respects, begging her to make all the haste she possibly could, and get off with her treasure, for if the grand chamberlain of the household saw her, she dared not tell the dreadful punishments that awaited her." P. 55.

We have somewhere seen a similar anecdote of George the Third, and a sentinel at Buckingham House, who used to milk the royal cows for his own use and diversion, during the morning watch.

One anecdote of the Emperor Alexander must conclude our citations: it is in equally good taste with those of Catherine.

"When the present emperor came to the throne, and people were allowed to walk, ride, and dress rationally, and not like the old-fashioned wax-figures of the fifteenth century, her Imperial Majesty enjoyed, in common with others, this national reformation. She was walking in the summer-gardens, dressed with tasteful simplicity, and being really a beautiful, well-formed, interesting person, was noticed by an officer in the guards, who, having only seen her at court in a hoop-petticoat, lappets, and all the other cumbrous paraphernalia, did not know her. He was much struck with her, accosted her, and went a step too far in his behaviour and importunities. The empress was obliged to call a court servant to assist her escape from this enterprising knight, and, when she got to the palace, mentioned the circumstance to the em-

person. He soon discovered the offender, but contented himself with saying, next morning, on the parade, that some officer in his guards had greatly insulted a lady who was dear to him in the summer-gardens: that when he relaxed the strict sumptuary laws which lately existed, he meant his subjects should enjoy a rational liberty; but he was sorry to find it had already degenerated into licentiousness. He further added his hope that such improper conduct would never be repeated; and concluded by trusting the gentlemen around him would think him mild, when they were told it was her Imperial Majesty who was the unfortunate lady so offended." P. 137.

Doyen's critique on Sir Joshua Reynolds's style, though sarcastic was not wholly unjust. The picture which called it forth, was the infant Hercules strangling the Serpent; a subject which the Painter had not unaptly chosen as allegorical of the progress of the Russian Empire. Doyen disregarded the voluptuous colouring, and looked chiefly to the undecided drawing, and the varied distribution of effect, light and shadow. At length when asked his opinion, he burst out, "*Superbe tableau! magnifique! grand effet! beau coroli! plein d'expression!* and then with emphasis after a short hesitation, "*Renversez le, c'est toujours un beau tableau.*"

One or two of Mr. Walker's "Pastimes" might have been omitted with advantage; but perhaps the standard of delicacy varies some little in the different temperatures of London and St. Petersburgh.

ART. VIII. *The History of the Plague, as it has lately appeared in the Islands of Malta, Gozo, Corfu, Cephalonia, &c. detailing important Facts, illustrative of the specific Contagion of that Disease, with Particulars of the Means adopted for its Eradication. By J. D. Tully, Esq. Surgeon to the Forces, Member of the Ionian Academy, late Inspector of Quarantine, and President of the Board of Health of the Ionian Islands.* 8vo. 304 pp. Longman. 1821.

IT is well known that an opinion has of late years been revived by some eminent medical practitioners, which is inclined to refer the communication of the plague rather to an infected state of the atmosphere, than to contagion. The subject,

naturally enough, has been deemed of sufficient importance to form a branch of Parliamentary inquiry. With the *hypotheses* which have been produced before the Committee appointed to investigate this question, we have little concern; but the mass of *facts* which Mr. Tully has collected in the volume before us, chiefly on his own personal knowledge, will, we should think, be sufficient to convince the most reluctant scepticism.

Two brigs from Alexandria anchored in the port of Malta on the 28th of March, 1813. They were furnished with foul bills of health, notifying the existence of the plague in the city which they had left, and two persons on board one of them had died suddenly during the voyage with symptoms of a violent pestilential nature. The crew of this vessel, the St. Nicholas, was immediately transferred to the lazaretto, where, in little more than a week, the captain and the sailor who attended him, died under all appearances of the plague. The St. Nicholas on this calamitous event, was immediately sent back to Alexandria.

In a few days the plague broke out in the house of a shoemaker of Valetta; a man whose principal occupation was smuggling. Himself, his wife, and daughter, were victims to the disease. In all the cases of plague which immediately succeeded, communication with the shoemaker's family was distinctly traced; and no doubt was entertained that infected goods had been clandestinely landed in his house from the stores of the St. Nicholas.

During the whole of the following summer and autumn, the disease was propagated and kept alive in various parts of Malta, by the plunder and concealment of infected property. The vigilance of government at length succeeded in checking these dangerous outrages through the greater portion of the island; but the wretched inhabitants of Casal Curmi continued to set at nought all ordinances, and made their town a depôt for the malady. Sir Thomas Maitland's vigorous measures succeeded in extirpating it; but not until he had erected double walls round this town, which was put under martial law, and surrounded by cordons of troops repeated at intervals. It was some time before the germs of the plague were completely eradicated in the town itself; but they ceased to spread around it from the moment of circumvallation; and not a single instance of the disease occurred among the soldiers who were employed in preventing escape from it.

On the 7th of January, 1814, all other towns in the island were emancipated from quarantine; so rapid was the effect

produced by the stoppage of communication. Curmi, in which place we might reasonably expect to find the disease more obstinate, did not recover its full liberty till the 7th of March.

The island of Gozo was too near not to feel great alarm; but the strict exercise of the quarantine regulations, preserved it unharmed till free pratique was proclaimed at Malta. It was then, when all suspicion of danger had ceased, that the criminal indiscretion of an individual imported this horrible scourge from the neighbouring coast. One Angelo Galea, a temporary inhabitant of Casal Curmi, before the town was invested with military, concealed a box of wearing apparel in its neighbourhood. When the restrictions were taken off, he carried this chest to Gozo. In two days he died suddenly; in six more his daughter followed him, and in rapid succession many inhabitants of this village shared the same fate, among whom were the priest who attended him and the person who assisted at his burial. By an immediate adoption of measures similar to those used at Malta, the farther ravages were suspended; and out of a population of 15,000 souls, only ninety-six died. Among them we regret to include the name of Dr. M'Adam, Physician to the British forces, whose exertions were unremitted, but who unfortunately neglected his own security through disbelief in the power of contagion.

In December, 1815, the authorities in Corfu were informed that a malignant fever was raging in the village of Marathia, and that thirteen persons, out of a population of fifty, were already dead. The superstition of the inhabitants attributed their sufferings to the evil agency of the spirit of a man who had been recently murdered in their neighbourhood. Prayers and processions were eagerly offered as atonements; and all who died were said to be attacked either in the night, or returning from their field labours in the evening.

Under the inspection of Mr. Tully, the few huts of Marathia were immediately destroyed; tents were pitched for the houseless inhabitants, and a cordon was drawn round them. Unhappily but a few days before these precautions were used, some *papâs* from different villages in the neighbourhood had assisted the Marathians in a religious ceremony, calculated to appease the angry spirit. The disease was thus communicated, and traced to the residence of each individual who had been present. It became necessary to prevent all egress from the infected districts, and strong additional barriers were established for the purpose.

In the course of this service, Assistant Surgeon Toone fell a victim to his zeal. Of the troops dispersed over the whole

line, about thirteen died of the plague: and in each separate case, the source of contagion was satisfactorily traced. In one instance an entire guard entered an infected house for the sake of plunder. The most guilty were immediately executed, and several other of the offenders suffered under the consequences of the disease.

The leading principle which guided Mr. Tully's operations was as much as possible to concentrate his hospitals, and circumscribe the encampments. The suspected or diseased persons in the district of Leftimo, comprizing seven villages, were gradually removed to the plain of Perivoli. During three successive days the sick, who filled three pest hospitals, were transferred to the central depôt. The distance was nearly three miles, the march occupied several hours, and *not a man in the numerous escorts, who closely guarded the procession, was seized with infection.* We think this fact conclusive; notwithstanding we have been told that "a single infected person is sufficient to contaminate the air of a whole city."

Under these prudent measures the virulence of the disorder seemed to abate, when Maria Canta, an interesting girl in Melicchia, who had scarcely attained her seventeenth year, and was to have been married as soon as the quarantine was removed, died under the most decided symptoms of plague. She had been attacked, as usual, in the evening after working at the back part of her house. An elderly relation of the deceased, who resided in an opposite part of the village, was next taken ill. The members of the family were examined by a Greek priest, under a threat of excommunication. It appeared that the son of the old woman was in habits of intimacy with the unhappy girl, had passed some time at the house when she was taken ill, had assisted her in the first moments of her indisposition, and unconsciously had conveyed the disorder to his aged parent.

As the precautions taken in all instances were the same, we need not repeat the method by which the disorder was stopped: but under the difficulties with which Mr. Tully had to contend, we are not a little surprised at his success. It will scarcely be credited that, in spite of the most rigid ecclesiastical as well as military prohibition, the three principal churches in Melicchia were clandestinely opened, and service performed in them before large congregations. The priests and their families were immediately hurried to the camp.

Through the medium of confession, the primary source of infection at Melicchia was at length ascertained, and it

evinced the subtlety of the poison—a relative of Maria Canta, who lived in the proscribed village of Potami, had escaped the vigilance of the sentries; and observing the deceased and her mother *on the opposite bank of the river* requested them to prune his vines, and to insure their service, threw four piastres, wrapped in a small piece of linen, across the stream. The mother, who carefully deposited this parcel in her bosom, escaped its venom; the daughter, to whom it was afterwards given, was taken ill on the very day on which she received it from her mother. Two days after this transaction, the man, who had thrown the money, was attacked with the plague in the worst degree, and himself and his whole family died under it. Thus it is clear that he was secretly under its influence at the time of communication with Maria Canta's mother.

Many of the details given in this volume, are of the most heart-rending description; and confirm in all its points the close attention which Defoe has paid to fact in his most extraordinary work. The Primate of Melicchia in vain attempted to conceal the nature of the disorder which attacked his son, a child ten years of age: the general welfare demanded his removal, and the separation was eternal; he died soon after his transfer to the hospital. The mother's indisposition was in like manner attributed by the distracted husband to her anxiety for the child: but shortly after her arrival in the camp, she was no more, having survived her attack only twenty hours.

The origin of the disease in this island was afterwards satisfactorily traced to a chest, containing infected articles smuggled from Corfu, which was not opened in the district to which it communicated the disorder *for more than a year* after its arrival.

It is obvious, that in the hasty sketch which we have given of this volume, we have necessarily been compelled to omit many particulars, not only of great interest in themselves, but also eminently conducing to the proof of Mr. Tully's opinion. He writes in a clear, plain, manly style; and we rejoice to find that he is preparing to communicate to the public the medical treatment of the plague in the Ionian islands, in a directly professional work. In the mean time, we shall briefly subjoin the leading particulars of his plan; and the chief deductions which he has made from the facts which came under his observation.

The grand object was to prevent the smallest communication with the infected districts; for this purpose, every suspected family was put under sentinels, locked in at night, and

compelled to handle and air the whole of their susceptible effects. The persons employed in conveying provisions, were selected from families most removed from suspicion; they were carefully separated from the mass of the population, and placed under a guard. Each family received its supplies in reservoirs formed at their respective doors, so that no personal communication took place.—Meat, eggs, fruit and vegetables, were previously steeped in water. Those, whose duties called them into hourly contact with the sick, were protected by the free use of oil and tarred dresses; and few, who persevered in this system, were attacked—no length of intercourse however hardened the constitution of any who ultimately neglected these precautions; and, after two months exposure in safety, an over confidence brought many to the grave.

We shall conclude, with a single additional proof which Mr. Tully quotes, on the authority of Dr. Greaves. It was communicated to Dr. Maclean, the author of "Results of an Investigation respecting Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases;" but as the *fact* militated against the learned Doctor's *theory*, it was unnoticed in his publication. The lower apartments in the military hospital at Valetta, during the plague in Malta, were occupied by sick inhabitants of the town: between fifty and sixty of these patients died of the plague. Of the inmates of the military hospital, between whom and the tenants below all intercourse was effectually prohibited, not one sickened of the disease. We will not weaken this statement by any unnecessary comment.

ART. IX.—*A Letter to Charles Abel Moysey, D.D. Archdeacon of Bath, on the Subject of an Attack made by him upon the Catholics, in a Charge to the Clergy of the Deanery of Bedminster, at the Visitation of the Archdeacon, June* 21, 1821. *By the Rev. Peter Baynes.* Second Edition. 1s. 6d. Gye. Bath.

X.—*A Letter to the Rev. Peter Baynes, in Reply to one lately addressed by him to the Rev. Doctor Moysey, Archdeacon of Bath.* Wood and Co. Bath. 1821.

SOME thirty years ago, there lived in the west of England, in a part of the country where the habits of the people were remarkable for propriety and innocence, a Mr. M——, a very consequential petty magistrate. It was impossible to

converse with him, without hearing a long discourse upon the weight of his official duties, and the importance of a strict enforcement of the laws. And yet, there never was a magistrate, for the exercise of whose functions there was less occasion; and in his whole vicinity, there was not one person who was so great a violator of the laws, as his worship himself.

When he was sitting in an open window of his parlour, reading an order which was just published, for a more rigorous enforcement of the act of Parliament, imposing fines on profane swearers, he overheard, but with much indistinctness, part of the conversation of a group of honest villagers, who were assembled at a short distance from his house. One of the rustics was assuring another, of the strict attention he should pay to some business entrusted to him; and declared that he was determined to set about it "by sun-rise next morning." "*By what?*" exclaimed the magistrate, who had just heard enough to fancy that an oath was sworn by the peasant—"*By what?*" he exclaimed, springing from his seat, and brandishing the printed order in his hand. His anger suddenly rose, for he was extremely choleric: "the act of Parliament," said he, "is insulted even in the hearing of the MAGISTRACY!" He rushed from his house, uttering, according to his constant custom, when he was angry, a volley of imprecations and oaths, of which, from the effect of vicious habit, he was unconscious; and vehemently he *swore* to the innocent rustic, that he would "*fine him for swearing.*"

With feelings somewhat similar to those which we experienced on hearing this anecdote of the unfortunate blustering magistrate, have we perused a Letter addressed to Dr. Moysey, Archdeacon of Bath, by the Rev. P. Baynes, a Priest of the Church of *Rome*. It may well be classed with those examples of excessive inconsistency and folly, which produced the most copious flow of tears from *Heraclitus*, or gave the fullest play to the risible faculties of *Democritus*. By the way, as we have mentioned, those very observant and philosophic personages, we take leave to remark, that according to our apprehension, even the feeling and sentimental *Heraclitus* might have found better employment, in turning occasionally his observant powers upon *his own* errors, and *weeping* for *his own* follies, than in shedding *all* his tears for the weaknesses of his *neighbours*; and that the smiling *Democritus* might have passed his time at least as well as he did, if he had sometimes amused himself with looking into his own bosom, and *laughing* at *himself*. But, to hope to find *self*-condemnation in the conduct of these conceited

philosophers, or perhaps of any philosophers, (we beg the philosophers' pardon,) would be as vain as to expect from another class of persons far more interesting, and on whose errors we should touch with much more reluctance, (we mean the fair sex,) that they should use their *mirrors*, for the purpose of discovering, if possible, personal deformities in themselves, as lessons of humility.

In truth, such is the inconsistency, such the unreasonable selfishness of human nature, that they who deal most largely in the abuse of their neighbours, may be generally observed to receive with the greatest degree of soreness, and to resent with the greatest degree of acrimony, any censure directed against themselves; and the faults for which men can least endure the voice of just reproof, are often found to be precisely those with which they are in the habit of reproaching others.

Strong proofs of this inconsistency and selfishness may be seen, in virulent publications, which have lately issued from the press, grossly maligning our religion and our Clergy. Some of these performances, in which the ESTABLISHED CHURCH and her ministers are described as uncharitable, intolerant, slanderous, persecuting, are the handywork of certain *Popish* Clergymen amongst us, who make this grateful use of the liberty for which they are indebted to the mild and tolerant spirit of that CHURCH. We rejoice that our fellow-subjects of the Church of *Rome*, do enjoy the blessings of toleration and liberty: but we suggest to the reverend advocates of *popery*, if they must be censorious, to seek for *other* subjects of abuse than the CHURCH of ENGLAND and her Clergy. They seem resolved to declaim against intolerance and persecution: let them look to *their own* system, and discuss the deformities they may find *there:* and then let them abandon those most intolerant and persecuting dogmas, to which they still so obstinately adhere; and which, by their influence over the powers of the State, once afflicted England with the most cruel tyranny, and left a fearful brand upon her history. This advice we should give to *all* the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* in these countries, and particularly to a Rev. Mr. *P. Baynes*, whose curious and angry production we are to introduce to the notice of our readers.

Previously, however, to the consideration of the causes which have excited this irritable gentleman's wrath, and produced the effusion with which he has favoured the public; we beg leave to make a brief statement of some of the charges contained in authorised books of the Church of *Rome*, now

published and circulated in these countries, against the PROTESTANT RELIGION, her members, and ministers.

The charges, to which we particularly allude, are as follow—that, the Protestant Religion is an *heresy*, inspired by the Devil, a damnable revolt and rebellion against the rightful Spiritual Governors; that the Protestant Service is *heretical* and *damnable**; that all voluntary and stedfast Protestants are *heretics*, and *schismatics*, and that on each account they must all be damned hereafter†; that even the prayers of such Protestants (meaning voluntary and stedfast Protestants,) cannot be heard by heaven‡: that since they are *heretics*, their "deadly tongues" are to be considered as "the gates of hell §," which, the Redeemer foretold, should not prevail against his Church, viz. the *Church* of *Rome* exclusively; that this *heresy*, of which all voluntary and stedfast Protestants are guilty, is a crime than which there is not one more black in the sight of heaven: that the Protestant Bishops and Clergy are leaders of a damnable revolt and rebellion, against the Redeemer's Catholic Church; preachers of *heresy* and *blasphemy*; rendering even the good creatures of GOD execrable by their consecration; profaners of the churches; intruders and usurpers; cast off by the Apostles, as enemies; denounced by the Divine Word, as *thieves* and *robbers*; *murderers* of souls; and ministers of the *Devil*; that "to receive the bread and wine of the *new*," (meaning PROTESTANT,) "communion, is a kind of *idolothyta*, that is, idolatrous meats;" that "though such creatures be good by creation, yet they are made *execrable* by the profane blessing of *heretics* or *idolaters*:" that "the good *must tolerate* the evil, when it is so strong that it cannot be suppressed without danger and disturbance of the whole Church," (meaning the Church of *Rome*,) "and commit the matter to GOD's judgment in the latter day; otherwise, where ill men, be they *heretics* or *other* malefactors, may be punished or suppressed, without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and *ought*, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed‖."

Such are some of the statements contained in authorised books lately published and sanctioned in these countries by Divines of the Church of *Rome*. It is unnecessary to go farther, in order to find all the above declarations, and many

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* Notes in the Rhemish Testament. † Divinity Class Book of Maynooth.
‡ Notes in the Rhemish Testament. § Divinity Class Book of Maynooth.
‖ Notes in the Rhemish Testament.

more of the same nature, than to the great and notorious depositary of their tenets, the Rhemish Testament with its persecuting notes, and the Divinity Class Book of the College of Maynooth.

And yet, while such monstrous and extravagant charges, such dangerous, intolerant, and persecuting tenets, are sanctioned by our Popish Priests, and circulated in their very Bible! taught in their Maynooth College, even from their Divinity Class Book, (we say nothing at present, of the liberal and tolerant Jesuits of Lancashire); while such charges and such tenets are thus maintained by our *Popish Priests*, they are forsooth fired with indignation, if a Protestant Archdeacon, in the honest discharge of his public duty, shall repeat to the Clergy of his Archdeaconry, the objections of his Church to certain corruptions in the *Popish System*, as being of an idolatrous nature and tendency; and if he shall presume to remark upon the *insecurity* in consequence of certain tenets of the *Church* of *Rome*, of trusting to oaths administered to her members *for the support of a Protestant establishment*.

To venture to give utterance to such objections made by Protestants to Popery, is, in the view of some of our meek and tolerant Priests of the Popish Church, malignant persecution. Let a Protestant Archdeacon express these objections, however moderately; and immediately a Mr. Peter Baynes is ready to spring up, with all the choler of the West of England magistrate, noticed in the commencement of this article, to complain of "the *persecution* * inflicted on" him by the CHURCH of England, of the "calumnies and insults of some "of its ministers †," of the falsehood and calumny of "Archdeacons and archfabricators, of those and former times ‡," and of his being "doomed" with other Roman Catholics to "wear their chains §" until the measure shall be passed, for yielding up the great offices of political power in these countries, to the influence of *their Church*.

The Letter written in reply to Mr. Baynes, which with that Reverend Gentleman's Letter is now before us, contains a complete refutation of Mr. Baynes's defence of Popery against the three objections which he proposed to meet; and which, we believe, were the only objections noticed in the Archdeacon's Charge: one, relating to the commanding influence in religious matters, of the *Popish* Priests over the lay members of their communion: a second, representing

* Letter of Mr. Baynes, p. 16. † Ibid. p. 34. ‡ Ibid. p. 34.
§ Ibid. p. 6.

the adoration of saints and images as practised in the Church of Rome, to be of an idolatrous nature and tendency; and a third, expressive of the *insecurity* caused by the tenets of that Church, in trusting to oaths administered to her members for the continued support of a Protestant establishment.

"I must not forget," (says Mr. Baynes, in his Letter to the Archdeacon,) "the important discovery which you have made, in a book . . . . . *commonly known to Roman Catholics*, you say, *by the name of the blue book*; and *this blue book*," you add, "*contains an account of endeavours that were made by the Roman Catholics of England, in a body, in the year* 1789, *to conciliate, and concede some of the most dangerous tenets of their persuasion.* . . . . . In the first place then, I must inform you that there is not any particular book called by Roman Catholics *the Blue Book:* but a series of pamphlets, which happened to be stitched up in blue covers, were by some persons called the *Blue Books.* . . . . . These blue books do not contain an account of endeavours of the Roman Catholics of England to *concede* any part of their religious tenets; for no such endeavours were ever made; but they give some account of a public disavowal that was made by the Catholics of England, Clergy, as well as laity, of certain odious and infamous doctrines, such as, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, which the Archdeacons and archfabricators of those and former times, had falsely and calumniously laid to their charge. They also treat of a dispute which took place amongst the Catholics themselves, not about the doctrines which were to be disavowed, but about the wording of an oath, in which this disavowal was proposed to be made. With great ingenuity, you attempt to deduce that the words of Catholic laymen are not to be trusted, because they are tyrannized over by their priests: *with such an instance*, you say, *of the absolute supremacy of their priests, of what value are the assurances of laymen?* I will not retort your reasoning upon the laymen of your own communion," (how good he is!) "but I must assure you, that if I, or any other Catholic Priest, or even Bishop, were to attempt such an exercise of authority over our flocks or inferiors, as it is said, truly or untruly, that the Archdeacon of Bath does exercise over his, I do not think we should be quite so successful in our attempt." P. 33.

To this the writer of the answer to Mr. Baynes, in vindication of the Archdeacon, replies:

"Really, Sir, it does appear to me, that your Romish Priesthood in England, stand in quite as much need of being roused to a state of independence, as the Protestant Clergy in the district around us. In proof of which let us once more bring forward that Depository of Roman Catholic sentiments, which seems to have afforded you so much cause for triumphant merriment. I mean the Blue Book, or Blue Books, if you please, for the plurality of the collection does not seem much to affect the argument. In this pamphlet then,

(whether stitched in blue covers or not,) is recorded a solemn protest, on the part of the principal Roman Catholics of England, against certain obnoxious doctrines and sentiments imputed to them, *truly or untruly*, by the Protestants: which protest is formally attested by the signatures of several hundreds of their body: and to nearly two hundred, if I mistake not, of this number, the title of *Reverend* is prefixed. The pamphlet also records a statement of their readiness to take an oath of security, to be prepared for the consideration, and to be ratified by the sanction of Parliament. After the document had been thus numerously and respectably signed, out comes an encyclical letter from three Vicars Apostolic, denouncing in the most unequivocal language the measures which had been adopted: declaring too, in plain unvarnished terms, that *none of the* FAITHFUL *Clergy or Laity ought to take any new oath, or sign any new declaration in doctrinal matters, or subscribe any new instrument wherein the interests of Religion are concerned, without the previous approbation of their respective Bishops*: and they required *submission to those determinations*. And what was the sensation, which this Apostolico-vicarial decree created? Why, the resolutions were rescinded, the declarations were made void, the oath was demolished, and, in passive obedience to the fiat of their spiritual governors, the greater number withdrew the signatures which they had previously affixed to the protest in question. Now these are stubborn facts. Let these then determine, whether the English Roman Catholic priesthood, or the Protestant Clergy in the Archdeaconry of Bath, are subject to the higher degree of ecclesiastical tyranny." *Reply to Mr. Baynes*, p. 7, 8.

Here it occurs to us to suggest to Mr. Baynes, that we have certain questions to propose respecting a solemn promise to "disclaim the odious doctrines" in the *notes of the Rhemish Testament*, made by the Board of principal Roman Catholic Laymen of the sister country. On the fourth of December 1817, it was declared at that Roman Catholic Board, that "*there was not a moment to be lost*—the Catholics should with one voice disclaim those very odious doctrines." A Committee for preparing the disavowal was accordingly appointed *on that day*. Four years have elapsed since the day on which the Committee was appointed, when "there was *not a moment* to be lost;" but *no* disavowal has yet appeared; and within a few days after they had passed the above resolution, the said Roman Catholic Board was *extinguished*. Now upon this transaction, and important subjects connected with it, we might propose some questions of rather an embarrassing nature to the Popish Priests, and calculated to add very important weight to the first objection which we have mentioned of the Archdeacon of Bath. Will Mr. Baynes and his brethren of the Romish priesthood, wish to

have these questions proposed, before the next discussion of what is called the Roman Catholic queston?

The next objection which we have stated, naturally produces a much longer discussion. Our limits necessarily prevent us from giving to our readers all that the writer of the letter to Mr. Baynes, says in that publication, of the adoration of Saints and Images as practised in the Church of Rome: and we feel, that were we to give abridged extracts from his arguments on this topic, we should do injustice both to the importance of the subject, and to his clear and convincing reasoning.

We come to the last of the three objections mentioned, by which Archdeacon Moysey has kindled Mr. Baynes's wrath. It appears that the Archdeacon referring particularly to the danger of entrusting political power to the Church of *Rome* in these countries, objected to that Church as justifying a *breach of faith* with those whom her authorities term *heretics*. Here Mr. Baynes fancies that he rides triumphant on the notorious answers of the Popish Universities to certain questions sent to them by direction of Mr. Pitt. It cannot detract from the acknowledged greatness of Mr. Pitt's character, to admit that he here shewed himself to be unacquainted with Popish casuistry. Never was a question proposed to Popish authorities, more open to Jesuitical evasion, than that which Mr. Baynes has adduced as sent by direction of Mr. Pitt to the Popish Universities. The object was to ascertain whether certain meditated oaths ought to be considered as a sufficient security against subsequent attempts on the part of the Church of *Rome* in these countries, to overturn the Protestant Establishment. With this particular view, a question was proposed *generally*: and we apprehend that the Archdeadon of Bath has in his Charge fallen into a similar error. He adverted to the danger of committing political power to the popish Church in the united kingdom; and though speaking with this particular reference, he seems to have expressed himself, as if he conceived that the Church of Rome held it as a general tenet, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics." We do not believe that this was the Archdeacon's meaning. But he avows his apprehension, that members of the Church of *Rome* may be bound to act according to such a principle, "if the good of their Church, which is a consideration paramount with them, shall be declared by papal infallible authority to require it."

To the answers of the Romish Universities on this subject, the writer of the letter to Mr. Baynes, opposes the decrees of Popish councils, and evidence of the authority of those

councils. The Popish doctrine, on the obligation of oaths which may interfere with the good of the Church of *Rome*, was laid before the Public, and its foundation explained, in a pamphlet * published by Rivingtons in 1818. We shall here give the explanation, in the words of the pamphlet.

"If salvation can be obtained *only* in the Church of *Rome*; if all other Churches are the work of the infernal enemy of man; are not the support and extension of the Church of *Rome*, and the suppression of all other Churches, the highest duties which a man owes to GOD and his fellow-creatures? The Church of *Rome* answers in the affirmative. Again: is that which the Roman Church calls *heresy*, a crime so great, that there is none greater in the sight of heaven? The Church of Rome answers in the affirmative. Then, I would ask, whether *according to these principles*, an oath to *support an heretical establishment*, should be considered obligatory, if circumstances should render its non-performance conducive to the advancement of the popish Church, and destruction of the *heresy*, which its observation would contribute to maintain? The common principles of morality inform me, that an oath, if its performance shall oppose my first and highest duties to GOD; and support the *greatest crime* in the *sight of heaven*, should be considered as a *rash* oath, and must at least cease to be obligatory: and if it were possible, that I should be infallibly certain, both as to the transcendent obligation of the duty, and as to the unexceeded enormity of the crime; there would (I conceive) be little room for question respecting the obligation of the oath above mentioned. But the Canon Law of the Church of *Rome* decides the point for her members: and (if her doctrines concerning infallibility, *exclusive* salvation, and *heresy*, be admitted) decides the point most justly. *An oath is not to be observed, by which a* CRIME *is incautiously promised:* corpus juris canonici. ed. colon. munatiæ, 1757. Tom. I. p. 765. *An oath taken contrary to the benefit of the Church, does not bind.* Ibid. de jurejurando. Tom. II. p. 297. Is it not, in the Church of *Rome*, the exclusive province of her *priesthood*, especially of her first pastor, to decide on *religious duties*, on the *meaning* of the Divine decrees of her councils, and of her sacred Canons? If we shall remember, that the Pope is the supreme authentical expounder of those obligations and laws; can we be surprised at reading one official document, stating what oath he will *permit* the Roman Catholics to take; and another declaring, on his authority, *what sense* shall be affixed to an oath, in case the oath were already enacted? Can we be surprised at various declarations on the subject of promises and oaths, with which the popish priesthood have, in different periods of the world, astonished Protestants who did not sufficiently consider the necessary *tendency* of the *doctrines* of the *Church* of *Rome*."

* Entitled, "An Inquiry concerning some of the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, in Answer to the Charge of Intolerance brought by Members of that Church against Members of the Church of England." Rivingtons, 1818.

And now a hint to Mr. Peter Baynes, before we take leave of the present controversy. He has been pleased to follow the examples of certain other popish priests who have lately favoured us with their effusions, in alluding to a delicate subject which, of all topics, it behoves him and his brethren to leave untouched. We mean the marriages of the Clergy. The popish priests, it seems, are shocked to think that a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues of the country should be employed in supporting and providing for the wives and children of the clergymen. This concern for the public interest, is very feeling and very good of Mr. Peter Baynes and his brethren. But, let them beware of the subject! All the reverend members of his order and fraternity; all the popish priests in England; and all the popish priests in Ireland; nay, all the fat and greasy monks and friars of all the popish convents in the world, may, for any question that we are now disposed to raise concerning the matter, be so many *miracles of chastity*: the practices of popish confession and popish absolution, may be the most moral things on the face of the earth, for any thing that we now mean to say to the contrary:—but, let those miracles of chastity; let those most pure and moral confessors, be very cautious how they venture to attack the marriages of the PROTESTANT CLERGY! They may be sure, that of all the subjects they could select, this would be the most ill chosen: and we strongly advise them, to rest satisfied with their own wonderful purity, and wonderful chastity, and with the very delicate morality of the system of female confession, as it has been so often practised in the Church of Rome; and to beware how they direct the base assaults of envy and malevolence, against the sacred rites of hallowed wedlock.

It is rumoured, that a great effort is to be made in the approaching session of Parliament, to carry the measure for conceding political power to the Church of Rome in these countries. The effort may be made: but we have not yet seen cause to alter our opinion of the danger of such a measure. What new circumstance has occurred to shew the prudence of abandoning the policy, to which this great Protestant country has so long and so faithfully adhered? Is it the late authoritative circulation of the atrocious and persecuting tenets re-published in the last edition of the *Rhemish notes*? Is it the declaration of Mr. Baynes and of his reverend brethren, that the tenets of their Church are *immutable*? Is it the conduct of the Popish *Missionaries* in France, now labouring under the sanction of great and high authorities in that country, to bring back by counterfeited miracles, and by all means in their power, the gross form of the most super-

stitious Popery? Is it the outrage against *Mr. Loveday*, demonstrating that those Popish Missionaries hold no rights to be sacred, when opposed to their schemes of proselytism, and ultimately of power? Is it the tolerant conduct of our Lancashire Jesuits inserting in the leases of lands which they grant, *clauses prohibiting the preaching of Protestant doctrines?* We really are at a loss to imagine, what new claim the Church of *Rome* has acquired to the *means of dominion* in any part of the United Kingdom. But it is not our intention to enter at present upon a discussion of the Roman Catholic question.

We recommend to the attention of our readers, the letter entitled a Reply to the Rev. Mr. Baynes, as being a complete refutation of that gentleman's effusion against the Archdeacon of Bath; and we advise that reverend advocate of *image-worship*, of *Popes* and *Popish Councils*, and of the *cœlibacy* of the Clergy, to remain satisfied with the unobtrusive exercise of his functions; and with the conviction of the peculiarly charitable and tolerant spirit of himself and his Church; and with the persuasion of the superior chastity and purity, which have ever raised and still raise all the popish priests, monks, friars, Jesuits and all, so much above the rest of mankind. Let him, if he will, be convinced of all this: but if it be his sincere wish (as we doubt not, it is) to serve the interest of Popery in this country, let him take care, not to write letters, and still more, not to publish his letters. By such publications as that of his letter to the Archdeacon of Bath, he will but expose himself and his Church; and provoke discussion which will defeat his object. He may also contribute to excite in the minds of the Laymen of his Communion, a wish to inquire more particularly into the system of their religious teachers. Need we remind him, what the result of *such inquiry* has generally been?

ART. XI. *The Pirate. By the Author of Waverley, &c. &c.* Edinburgh. 1822.

IN the advertisement prefixed to this performance, the author has thought proper to narrate a few circumstances connected with the capture of a real pirate, in the year 1725, who had during a considerable period annoyed the more wealthy inhabitants of the Orkney islands. The details stated there are as follows:

"In the month of January, 1724-5, a vessel called the Revenge, bearing twenty large guns and six smaller, commanded b

John Gow, or Goffe, or Smith, came to the Orkney islands, and was discovered to be a pirate, by various acts of insolence and villany committed by the crew. These were for some time submitted to, the inhabitants of these remote islands not possessing arms, nor means of resistance; and so bold was the captain of these banditti that he not only came ashore and gave dancing parties in the village of Stromness, but before his real character was discovered, engaged the affections and received the troth-plight of a young lady possessed of some property. A patriotic individual, James Fea the younger, of Clestron, formed the plan of securing the buccaneer, which he effected by a mixture of courage and address, in consequence chiefly of Gow's vessel having gone on shore near the harbour of Calfsound, on the island of Eda, not far distant from a house then inhabited by Mr. Fea. In the various stratagems by which Mr. Fea contrived finally, at the peril of his life, they being well armed and desperate, to make the whole pirates his prisoners; he was much aided by Mr. James Laing the grandfather of the late Malcolm Laing, Esq. the acute and ingenious historian of Scotland, during the seventeenth century."

After mentioning some other circumstances to which we may possibly return hereafter, the novelist insinuates, that the "dates and other particulars of the commonly received story are inaccurate, since they will be found totally irreconcileable with the following veracious narrative compiled from materials to which he alone has had access."

It happens however, that we have it in our power to prove that the particulars of the commonly received story are perfectly accurate, and of course, that the narrative given by the ingenious author is entirely the offspring of his inventive brain. By the kindness of a friend resident in Orkney, we have been put in possession of several original documents connected with the capture of Gow's ship and crew; and in particular, a memorial presented by Mr. Fea to the Lords of the Treasury; affidavits by the above-mentioned James Laing and a Mr. Scollay, shipmaster in the island of Stromsay; and lastly, a diary or journal of Fea's proceedings, during his stay in London, whilst prosecuting his claims for remuneration in the shape of a sum of money to cover the expences incurred, in securing the vessel and maintaining the prisoners.

The memorial addressed by Fea to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, sets forth the facts of the case in these words: viz.

"That about the 24th of January last, the pyrate ship called the Revenge, of twenty-four great guns and six smaller, John Gow, alias Smith, commander, having come into the road of Carston in the Orkneys, was soon after by intelligence gained from deserters

from her, and by the succeeding pyratical behaviour of the rest of the crew, in (amongst other things) plundering the house of he sheriff depute to the Earl of Morton, and ravishing women, discovered to be a pyrate.

"That on the first discovery of her being so, your memorialist animated with the hopes of the service he might do his Majesty, his country, and all good men, set about engaging the gentlemen at Kirkwall, the capital burgh of those islands, in measures with him for surprising if possible, and seizing the said pyrate where she then lay.

"That the consultations entered into for that purpose having reached the said Gow, by the correspondence his dissimulation of himself had obtained among the country people: and your memorialist having in the mean time found it necessary for a preparation of arms, &c. to go to his own house at Calfsound in the island of Eda, before he could set forward on his proposed expedition; he was immediately followed by an express from his friends, informing him that the said Gow, (who was bred in Orkney, and therefore well skilled in the navigation throughout the islands) had weighed from Carston, and had threatened to sail for the port of Calfsound, there by his ravages, to gratify his revenge on your memorialist.

"That but about ten hours after the receipt of the above express, the said pyrate ship was perceived to approach towards the harbour before your memorialist's house, on such short warning, that he had been able to get but nine or ten of his people about him for the defence of the danger he saw so imminent; and therefore to delude Gow into an opinion that his pyratical purpose was not suspected, and thereby to facilitate the execution of the stratagem your memorialist was now forming to supply the want of strength; your memorialist preferred a letter of seeming friendship to be sent by a boat to meet the said Gow, desiring he would forbear the ceremony of a salutation by his guns, in regard your memorialist's wife was in a bed of sickness, and might be much disturbed or affrighted at so unusual an alarm.

"That whilst that first step was putting in practice, and the ship stretching into the harbour, the strength of the tide, very forcible among those islands, occasioned her refusing the stays, and drove her stern-ways towards the shore of the opposite uninhabited island that faces your memorialist's house, where dropping an anchor under foot in hopes to get another further a-head to warp off on the tide of flood if he could be provided with a boat capable to carry it out; happening to be unappointed with one of their own large enough for that purpose, your memorialist had the happiness to see Providence favour his resolution to encounter so desperate and barbarous an enemy to himself and all honest men.

"That what your memorialist did in consequence of that in staving his own boat, and by ordering immediately all the other boats of the island to be hauled up to a proper distance from the shore, that they might not fall into the hands of Gow to assist his getting off the ship, or to convey himself and crew away; in his first seizing

the boat and five of Gow's men who came on shore armed, to force your memorialist's boat and assistance; by defeating all the arts the said Gow made use of to extricate himself out of the difficulty he was in; by preventing the said Gow and company from blowing up the ship and themselves together, which he found them determined to do, rather than to fall into the hands of justice; and that at last, (getting some more of his friends and people of the country to his aid) by drawing the said Gow and all his crew into his possession, will appear to your Lordships in the certificates hereto annexed, and in Gow's letters, and in your memorialist's answers to them.

"That having got possession of the ship, he put his own brother and 24 hired seamen, with two Custom House Officers on board, in order to guard her and her cargo, which, as your memorialist is informed, is of some value; and besides, provided and entertained men to guard the prisoners till they could be conveyed to the proper place of their confinement, and till his Majesty's pleasure concerning them should be known.

"That whilst your memorialist was thus in possession of the ship and of her crew, his Majesty sloop the Weasle, and soon after the Greyhound in quest of the said pyrate, came into the Orkneys; and Captain Robinson, Commander of the Weasle, having, as he said, orders from the Admiralty, took possession of the ship and cargo, and required from your memorialist the prisoners, but who were afterwards delivered to Captain Solgard, of the Greyhound, in number twenty-seven."

The memorial concludes in the usual way, praying indemnification and reward, neither of which did Fea ever receive from Government. We have now before us, as we stated above, a journal kept by that gentleman when in London, where he came immediately after the ship and prisoners were taken out of his hands, as just now described; but as it is not entire, the result of his application to the treasury, is not recorded in it. We are indeed informed, by the author of the Pirate, and we believe truly, that Mr. Fea, so far from receiving any reward from his Majesty's ministers, did not obtain even countenance enough in that quarter to protect him against a variety of sham suits, raised against him by Newgate solicitors, who acted in the name of Gow and others of the pirate crew; and "the various expences, vexatious prosecutions, and other legal consequences in which his gallantry involved him, utterly ruined his fortune and his family; making his memory a notable example to all who shall in future take pirates on their own authority."

The "sham suits" here alluded to, are narrated in the Diary with deep feelings of indignation and astonishment; and, as the style and manner of this record, have something in them extremely characteristic of the writer, as well as of the time in which he lived, we proceed to give a few extracts

from it, following therein the natural order of events. The paper is entitled, "Journall of my Proceedings anent the Pyratt Prise taken by me upon the 17th February, 1725."

"Wednesday the 17th March, I took my departure from Deansound, in Orkney, for London, on the board the Greyhound man of warr, Cap^{tt} Peter Solgard, commander, to whom, upon the 8th and 9th days of the said month, I delivered the prisoners, being 27 in number, viz.

"1 John Gow, *alias* Smith, Commander,
2 Philabart Joseph Lebyer, Mate,
3 John Bellon, Boatswain,
4 Timothy Murphey, Carpenter.

And so on to the number of 12 petty officers; adding, in a note, 'the prisoners are on board the said ship to be carried to London, in order to tryall.'"

"Wednesday, 24th—Wee arrived att the Bay of thee Nore, and this night Mr. Bell and I went to Shirenes, and lodged there all night.

"Thursday, 25th—This day, about ij of the cloack, wee sett out for London, in a passage boat, and att four of the cloack, att noon, we arrived at the Hermitage Bridge, and stayed there in on Mr Scotts that night.

"Fryday, 26th—I went to Mr Thos Lyell's house, in Cecil Street in the Strand, and delivered him the letters I had to him from my Uncle and Ant, and before ever he looked upon these recommendations, I was desired to stay at his house. But rather desireing to be recommended by him to lodgeings, that I might make bold with upon my pocket, he told me, that if I should offer to goe to any house, and not take wellcome to him, I would mightely deoblidge him, w^{h} I was obliged to comply with.

"Saturday, 27th—I come to Mr Lyell's, where I have handsome lodgeings allotted for me and my servant.

"Sunday, 28th—I haveing Gott a Suite of new cloathes, from the makeing, which cost me ——, and haveing gott myselfe in order, I went to company with Mr Lyell, and waited of Collonell Monro, &c. &c.

"Munday, 29th—This morning, about 9 of the cloack, I went with Mr Lyell to Mr Duncan Forbes, and consulted him with 3 guineas to himselfe, and 19^{s} to his serv^{ts}, he is to draw a petition to the King in my favours. I dined with Collonell Monro this day, in company with M^{r}. Jo^{s} ffforbes of Collen, who made me very much concerned with drinke."

Under date of Thursday the 8th of April, he says, "I wrote the following letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, in Behalfe of the Innocent Prisoners." These were a few natives of Orkney, some of whom had been forcibly carried

on board the Revenge, and others had entered voluntarily, not knowing the character of the ship. Fea's intercession appears to have been so far effectual, as only nine out of twenty-seven, found in the service of Gow, were ultimately brought to trial.

"The said day I went in company with Mr. Lyell, and se'ed the Prisoners, and Distributed 33 shill. Ster. among them and the Keeper to be kindley to them. I left a crowne to a churchman, who was a prisoner for debt, to preach to them, and I gave Robert Read 5 sh. upon credite of Collector B."

Gow had attempted to buy off Mr. Fea, by offering him £1000 in goods and money, if he would not appear against him on his trial; but, finding the Orcadian inaccessible to such a motive, he was induced to have recourse to a legal stratagem. The Journal exhibits the affair in the following simple terms.

"Fryday 21—As I am going to the Court of Requests, in order to speak with Captain Geddes, anent the appreciation of the ship, I am laid hold of by three Baylliffs, amongst whom was the fellow who called himself Gow's Relation, and by these I am arrested at Gow the Pyratt's Instance for the sume of £500 Ster. and from Cecill Street I am carried to Angell through the streets in a most ridiculous manner, the Baylliffs Refusing me the use of a coach, though desired. After I came to prison in one Clerk's house, I wrote to my friend Mr. Lyell, who very readily came himself, and sent for Captain Geddes."

After a good deal of trouble occasioned by the pettifogging expedients of Gow's agents, Mr. Fea was admitted to bail to the amount of 1000*l.*

"Wednesday the 26th—Coll. Douglass, Son, and I went to Doctors Commons, there to hear the tryall of the Prisoners, where John Gow Smith, James Williams, Peter Rollison, John Peterson, John Winters, Daniel M'Anly, Michel Moore, William Melvine, and Robert Read, all nine were arraigned for the murder of Oliver Furnoe, late commander of the George Gally, his Mate, Surgeon, and Scrivan. John Gow would not plead, for which he was brought to the Barr, and Judge ordered that his thumbs should be squeezed by two men with a whip-cord till it did break, and then it should be doubled till it did again break, and then laid threefold, and that the executioners should pull with their whole strength. Which sentence Gow endured with a great deal of boldness, and thereafter he was ordered against the next morning to be brought to the press yard and pressed to death. Robert Read was acquitted and the seven others found guilty.

"Thursday the 27th—This morning Coll. Douglas, Son, Mr. Lyell and I went to the court again, and Gow was brought to the Barr, and refusing to plead was sent to the yard to be pressed

to death. The Marshal of the Court being sent after him to see to prevail with him to plead, He told him he would not have given the court so much trouble had he been assured they would not hang him in chains. The Marshall prevailed with him to come back and plead, and having pleaded Not guilty, after a clear probation against him, he was found to be the Contriver and part actor of that barbarous murder for which he and the other seven were condemned, and James Bilbene and Alexander Robb for piracy.

"Munday 31st—I went to the Parliament House and seed the Parliament adjourned.

"Tuesday 1st June — I went to Mr. Walpole's with Mr. Robert Dalrymple, and haveing found Coll. Douglas there, he brought me to Mr. Walpole, Coll. Munro and Captain Abercromby being present, and He told Mr. Walpole that I was the Gentleman who had taken the Pyratts and expected he would take notice of me. His answer was there could be nothing done until the King was gone."

Immediately after this interview, poor Fea was threatened with four separate actions at the instance of as many pirates from among those who had been pardoned, under the pretence of recovering money and clothes alleged to be in his possession as the captor of the Revenge. As the Diary is not brought farther down than the 11th of June, we have no means of knowing how the litigation ended, or upon what pretence he was denied compensation for the expenditure of his time and property in what might be called the public service. We have been assured by the same Orkney gentleman, to whom we are indebted for Fea's Journal and other documents, that he obtained no remuneration whatever; whence there is the best ground for believing the statement contained in the advertisement prefixed to the "Pirate," that the spirited patriotic conduct of the heir apparent of Clestron, "utterly ruined his fortune and his family."

As the affidavits made by Laing and Scollay respect exclusively the means used by Mr. Fea for ensuring and securing Gow and his buccaneers, and had in short no other object than to establish the fact that Fea was the actual captor of the Revenge; they would hardly be regarded by our readers as worthy of the room which they would occupy in our pages. There are in them, no doubt, a variety of circumstances which tend to illustrate the fierce and desperate character of Gow. When taken prisoner, an event which was effected chiefly by craft and treachery, the bandit commander "was desired in a discreet manner to walk to the boat, but he rather *desired to be shot*." When invited to come on shore he declined, unless a hostage were sent

for him, and gave assurance that "he would never surrender himself prisoner, or should ever be taken by any ship of war, adding that he would rather set fire to all, and as they had lived so let them die."

It is obvious from the quotations which we have made from these Orkney papers, that copies of them must have some time or other been in the hands of the author of the Pirate. The outline which he has given in his "advertisement" is taken literally from Fea's Diary and Journal, with the exception of the love story there narrated, and which, we have been assured, has no foundation whatever in the facts of Gow's life. The story to which we now allude is expressed in these terms. "It is said that the lady whose affections Gow had engaged, went up to London to see him before his death, and that arriving too late she had the courage to request a sight of his dead body: and then touching the hand of the corpse, she formally resumed the troth plight which she had bestowed. Without going through this ceremony, she could not, according to the superstition of the country, have escaped a visit from the ghost of her departed lover, in the event of her bestowing upon any living suitor the faith which she had plighted to the dead."

As the chief object of the author is to describe the manners and characters which distinguished, at any given age, the several portions of the British dominions where he fixes the locality of his dramatis personæ, there is perhaps no just ground for complaint in regard to the freedoms which he takes with dates, names, and the other materials of historical truth. We still, however, question the wisdom of confronting his fictitious narrative with a statement of the real facts to which it bears a remote reference, and by which its aberrations may be so easily detected and exposed.

The author of Waverley, as every one knows, is remarkable for acute observation and a most retentive memory. He notes character, and stores up phrases, and slang terms, and technical expressions, in all the classes and divisions of low life. In the country, he walks with the shepherd on the hill, invites him to tell his story and recite the traditional ballad of his district: in town, he eyes the thief, marks his gait, the cast of his head, and the meaning of his looks; or goes to prison to sound the heart of the convict, to register his feelings, and to copy his language: at sea, he converses with the common sailor, learns the names of all the things the sailor has or does, makes himself acquainted with his superstitions, and in short, dives at once into the fantastic religion, and the not less fantastic philosophy of that hardy order of men. He has been seen to turn in the street to follow

a miscreant who had been tried for a capital crime, and escaped for want of evidence; to see, as he expressed it, how the fellow looked among honest men, and how he would move round at the sight of a lawyer. When at the sea-side again, the fisherman, and above all the fisherman's wife, noted in all countries for a strong and unsophisticated eloquence, enjoys the conversation, and replies to the numerous questions, of this singular person: and when sailing on the Highland lake, he oils the tongue of the mountaineer with a copious dose of whiskey, draws him into the history of his clan with all its exploits, thefts, and murders, and makes him exhibit in his own person the wild gestures and deep enthusiasm of a native Caledonian uncontaminated by Saxon intercourse and luxury. Every where, indeed, he reads the living book of the human character: and what he has once learned he never ceases to retain, and to render available to the purposes of description.

As might be expected, most of his characters are transcripts of individuals, most of whom are still alive; and many of his recitals are only amended editions of anecdotes which still float on the stream of Scottish tradition, constituting alike the dread and the amusement of the peasantry around the winter's hearth. The horrible story told in the "Legend of Montrose," in which the "Sons of the Mist" are represented as having taken off a gentleman's head, and placed it on the dining table of his sister's husband, with a piece of bread in the mouth is literally true; and the melancholy effect which the sight of that appalling object had upon the lady's mind (for she was the first who happened to come into the room) is described by the author in nearly the same words which were used by a relation of the family, who with many sobs and tears communicated the miserable details to the writer of this article.

The Norna of the Pirate, too, is the representative of an old Orcadian sybil, who died about a year ago, and who was well known to the sailors on the northern shores of Scotland by the name of FAIR-WIND MAG. Pretending to the same sort of power over the elements which the heroine of the Fitful-Head is described as having claimed, she earned a precarious livelihood by *selling wind* to the mariners and the fishermen; and such was the confidence which these persons reposed in Mag's influence over the wild tempests, that no boat departed for the *haaf*, or ship for the Greenland fishery, without procuring a certificate from the wise woman that the storm would not destroy, nor the whales upset their barks during the perilous enterprise in which they were about to engage. Her predictions and assurances were, of course,

often falsified by the event; and yet it not unfrequently happened that her prophesies secured their own fulfilment. For example, when consulted by the whaler how many fish he was to catch in a Davis Strait's voyage, she put into his hand a piece of thread, on which she had made a certain number of knots, and informed him that the answer to his request would be found on the thread when duly inspected. The success of the charm, however, depended on a great variety of conditions to be observed by the person in whose favour it was wrought, and among others, that the thread or twine was not to be looked at before a given day, or until the master of the ship had made up his mind to leave the ice. As the knots on the thread denoted the number of fish to be caught, it was, of course, to be expected that if, at the time specified by Meg, the predicted number was secured, the fisher would return home perfectly satisfied that the fates were accomplished; and that if, on the other hand, the number was not completed, they would persevere as long as the season would permit in order to realize their measure of good fortune. As a proof and illustration of what we have now stated, we were informed by the captain of a Greenlandman, with whom we had a good deal of conversation on this very subject, that about seven years ago he paid the usual visit to Fair-wind-Meg, and received the usual *fetiché*. Agreeably to her instructions he deposited the thread in a place of safety, and, as he remarked, thought no more either of the witch or her line, until his attention was recalled to the latter by the unanimous voice of his crew. The season was bad, and no fish to be got by strength or skill; and accordingly at the time when the vessels usually left the ice, he intimated to his people that he had come to the resolution of returning homeward with a clean ship. Upon hearing this, one of the men, deputed by the rest, came up to him and said, "Captain, have you looked at Meg's line?" "Nonsense!" exclaimed the captain, "who would mind the ravings of a mad old woman!" "You had better look," said the sailor; "for if she says we are to get no fish, then we will go home contented." To please the fellows, continued our informant, I did go down for the thread; brought it up, shewed them the number of knots, which amounted to seven; and asked them whether they thought there was any probability of catching seven fish at that advanced period of the year? The men begged a week or so, to have at least a chance of doing something to keep up Meg's credit; and the result was, that before ten days had elapsed, the seven fish were actually caught, barrelled up, and stowed away, to the great joy and triumph of the crew. Such an event established the reputa-

tion of the sybil among all the companies of the hundred ships which annually pass the Orkneys on their way to the different fishing stations within the Arctic circle; for these simple mariners, yielding to their superstitious bias and love of the marvellous, easily allowed themselves to forget the numerous cases wherein Meg's foresight was proved at fault.

A few years ago the reputed author of Waverley made an excursion to Orkney; and, whilst there, failed not, of course, to visit *Fair-wind-Mag*. It is said he spent the greater part of a day with her, listened to a description of the means she used to controul the hyperborean storms, and to a recital of the many wonders by which her power over nature had been signalized; and, in short, in her he found materials to constitute the ground-work of Norna's character—the enchantress of the Fitful-Head.

The originals of not a few of the heroic personages who figure in the Scottish Novels are individually known to the people of the north; and we have been assured, that several of the pictures which have most the air of *caricatures*, are, in reality, the most true and faithful to nature. Dominie Sampson, for instance, with all his extreme awkwardness and grotesque manners, does nothing more than represent the habits of a worthy minister in Scotland—a great lover of books and of mankind; generous and active in all works of benevolence—but at the same time entirely ignorant of the world and all its modes, and very much addicted to bawl out "*prodigious!*" We have even been told, that the change of *a* into *i*, in the first syllable of the name, gives the patronymic of the learned divine, who is immortalized under the feigned character of the pædagogue of Ellangowan.

Having occupied so much time in detailing the incidents connected with the real pirate, Gow, we had better not attempt any analysis of the history of the fictitious pirate, Captain Cleveland. The Novel itself will be very generally read; and those who do not read it would receive but an imperfect view of its merits from such a *prescis* and list of extracts as we have it now in our power to introduce. We therefore prefer to end our article as we began it, by producing from a work in Shetland, just published *, a few more of the materials employed by the "Great Unknown," as he is wont to be called, in the elucidation of Zetlandic manners.

In a chapter entitled, "Festivities of Shetland," Dr. Hibbert informs us that *Papa Stour* is the only island in the country where the ancient Norwegian amusement of the

* A Description of the Shetland Isles, &c. by Dr. Hibbert, to be noticed length in a subsequent Number.

sword dance has been preserved, and where it still continues in Thule to beguile the tediousness of a long winter's evening. At the shortest day, the sun is not more than five hours and a quarter above the horizon. To dissipate, therefore, the graver phantoms of the night, the careless Shetlander spends, in the conviviality of an assembled party, the hard earnings which he has received for his summer's labours on the seas of Shetland, and it is then that he invokes the spirit of conviviality,

> "Whose beauty gilds the more than midnight darkness,
> And makes it grateful as the dawn of day."

When the ancient Udaller gave an entertainment, it was open to the whole country; but strangers from the south, with more rigid notions of economy, corrected the generous custom, by rendering such feasts liable to the scrutinizing influence of the Ranzelman or bailiff, who was empowered to levy a fine to the amount of forty shillings Scots upon any one who came to feasts uninvited. Marriages also, which are chiefly contracted during the winter, serve to draw together a large party, who, not many years ago, used to meet on the night before the solemnity took place. It was then usual for the bridegroom to have his feet formally washed in water by his men, though in wealthy houses wine was used for the purpose. A ring was thrown into the tub—a scramble for it ensued, the finder being the person who would be first married. On the eve before the marriage the bride and bridegroom were not allowed to sleep under the same roof; and on the wedding-night the bridegroom's men endeavoured to steal the bride from her maidens, and a similar design on the bridegroom was made by the bride's maids—kisses being the usual forfeiture exacted from the negligent party. Last of all took place the throwing of the stocking, and "many other pretty sorceries." The bride, when in bed, threw the stocking of her right foot over her left shoulder; and the individual on whom it fell, was predicted to be the first who should be married. Many of these customs are, however, at the present day much laid aside; but there is a sport still retained on occasions of festivity that deserves particular notice.

A martial dance was practised by many early nations, as by the Germans and the Gauls; it was also known to the Curetes or priests of Cybele. Olaus Magnus, in his account of the manners of the Norsemen, describes an ancient military dance as being common to them, which from the illustration he has given of it in a plate, seems to have been achieved by six persons. It was accompanied by a pipe and song—the music being at first slow and gradually increasing in

celerity. The dancers held their swords, which were sheathed, in an erect position—they thence danced a triple round—released their blades from the scabbards—held them erect—repeated the triple round—grasped the hilts and points of each others' swords, and extending them moved gently round—changed their order, and threw themselves into the figure of a hexagon, named a *rose*. They again, by drawing back and raising their swords, destroyed the figure which they had made, in order that over the head of each other a four-squared rose might be formed. Lastly, they forcibly rattled together the sides of their swords, and by a retrograde movement ended their sport.

The revels at Burgh Westra, on the Eve of the Festival of St. John, described with so much spirit in the second volume of the Pirate, are evidently an imitation of the martial dance practised by the ancient Zetlanders. The mask, too, which follows the dance, is founded on usages equally well known; and although the pagan allusions of the Norsemen are now superseded by a dramatic romance, drawn from monkish legends, the actual pomp and pageantry of the scene remain still unchanged. The seven champions of Christendom occupy the arena formerly set apart for the sea-gods of Scandinavia; but the music which announces their approach and celebrates their triumphs, is the same Norse melody, so long sacred to the divinities of the rocks, and to those of the troubled sea which washes their base.

The sword dance of the Champions at John's Mass calls forth the utmost exertions of agility and address, which are only relieved by the occasional spouting of a little indifferent poetry, in praise of their own exploits. This done, the *guisards* are usually announced. "A number of men," says Dr. Hibbert, "enter the room dressed in a fantastic manner, their inner clothes being concealed by a shirt as a surtout, which is confined at the waist-band by a short petticoat formed of loose straw, that reaches to the knee. The whole are under the controul of a director named a *scudler*, who is distinguished from his comrades by a very high straw cap, the top of which is ornamented with ribbons," &c.

The great delight, however, of the ancient Udaller's convivial hours, was in the recitation of Norwegian ballads: and in Shetland, as elsewhere, the exploits and misfortunes of ancestry were kept in remembrance by a class of men, who, without the aid of letters, transmitted from generation to generation a series of rude rhymes, which, on the yearly festival, or the more frequent *waissail*, pleased the ears of the mandlin chief, and kindled the enthusiasm of his save dependents. In 1774, Mr. Low, that industrious tour

got into his possession what may be called the lay of the last minstrel of Hialtland, and which is still preserved in the Advocate's library of Edinburgh: and writing to a friend at the time, he says, "I wish you would try if Dr. Percy could make any thing of it. If you have no copy I shall send an exact one, though I cannot depend on the orthography, as I took it from the mouth of an honest countryman, who could neither read nor write, but had the most retentive memory I ever heard of. He, I am afraid, is by this time dead, as he was then old and decayed; but when I saw him, he was so much pleased with my curiosity—and now and then a dram of gin—that he recited and sang the whole day."

We have copied the above particulars chiefly with the view of shewing how true to antiquarian usage and tradition the Author of Waverley constructs his fables and delineates his characters. In regard to dates, indeed, and names, and even events, he uses a degree of freedom which has exposed him, as an *historical* romancer, to a severity of criticism not altogether undeserved: but, as to manners, opinions, and all those minute circumstances which constitute what may be called the *costume* of the mind, at a certain time and place, his writings are extremely correct; holding up to us a mirror in which we may peruse the lineaments of ages long gone by, and of which the general historian exhibits only the vague outline; the skeleton without the accompaniment of muscular motion or the colouring of blood; the form without the expression; the human species without one trait of personal individuality. As a farther proof of the author's attention to the actual habits of the people whom he describes, we quote from Hibbert the following passage illustrative of the rapacious and cruel dispositions of the Shetlanders, in regard to ships wrecked on their coasts.

"From Owzie Firth I ascended a high promontory, named the Neing of Bremdaster, beset with dangerous islets and stucks which have too often proved fatal to vessels that have been driven on this insidious shore. The rapacity exercised on such occasions by the natives of this wild district, has often been reprobated. Earl Pattrick Stewart issued forth an edict, the most cruel that perhaps ever entered into the code of any despot, imposing a personal punishment and a fine, the amount of which depended on his own pleasure, upon any one who should be found giving relief to vessels distressed by tempest. It is by no means improbable that so barbarous an edict, thus publicly proclaimed, should have been one of the first causes that produced that insensibility to the crime of stealing from a wreck which has been transmitted through successive generations to the present sons of Thule. Not long before I visited Owzie Firth, a vessel was stranded in the vicinity. The

vultures of the coast immediately flocked to the spot; the master loudly remonstrated against the object of the visit, and maintained that the vessel could be got off: the Shetlanders, on the contrary, as a justification for their meditated plunder, asserted that she came under their peculiar definition of a *wreck*. A scuffle ensued; when the captain overpowered with numbers was threatened with death, if he opposed the views of the savage and rapacious multitude by whom he was surrounded. But if the pillage from vessels driven on these shores be reconciled to a Shetlander's conscience as a *God-send*, or, if pilfering of sheep out of a scathold be considered by him as not belonging to the prohibition contained in the eighth article of the Decalogue, it would be an injustice to his character not to state that against other temptations to dishonesty, he is proof to a remarkable degree *. It is in fact from the earliest period of youth that the Shetlander is taught to regard an attack upon a wreck as no less commendable than was piracy to the ancient Scandinavian sea-kings, one of whom has by a northern Scauld been thus lauded:

"At twelve years began
The king to plunder."

The character and exploits of Bryce Snailsfoot, in the "Pirate," are therefore perfectly natural. The whole scene at the Roust of Sumburgh, disgusting and inhuman as it must appear, is strictly confined within the limits of historical truth; and the "folk of Jarlshof," rapacious and bigoted in the extreme, exhibit, we are sorry to say, only a fair specimen of all the inhabitants of Hialtland. "They," said the pedlar, "will make clean wark; they are ken'd for that far and wide: they winna leave the value of a rotten ratlin; and whats' waur, there is na ane o' them has mense or sense enough to give thanks for the mercies when they have gotten them. There is the auld Ranzelman, Neil Ronaldson, that canna walk a mile to hear the minister, but he will hirple ten if he hears of a ship embayed."

The descriptions, in the "Pirate," of the scenery and localities of Shetland, are admirably correct, and graphically minute. We have compared them not only with Daniel's "Views" of that country, just published, but also with Dr. Hibbert's letter-press details of the same wild region, and have found them astonishingly faithful. "From Sumburgh-Head we had a view of what is named the Roust,—this being a term of Scandinavian origin, used to signify a strong tumultuous current, occasioned by the meeting of rapid tides.—

* Not two miles from Ownie Firth, the contents of my trunks, owing to the loss of my keys, were indiscriminately exposed, in a small house, to more than a score of eyes, for several days together, but I was perfectly easy with regard to the safety of my property: nor was I in this, or any other instance of the like kind, deceived in the confidence I placed in the cottagers of Shetland."

A gentleman informed us that "he has been for five days becalmed in a sloop between Fitful-Head and Sumburgh-Head, which are only distant from each other about three miles, without being able to pass either point; one current carrying the vessel into the eastern, and the other into the western ocean: the sloop was often transported by the tide very near the shore, yet another tide always carried her off again.—Here there is always a heavy sea, but in a storm the waves are said to rise mountains high."

The following sketch applies, it is probable, to the residence of Norna, the seller of the winds. "In descending the heights of Fitful towards Quendal Bay, I crossed the small ridge of Garthness.—Close to the sea there was a piece of ground approaching to a semi-circular form, and naturally protected on the west by high banks, on the south by the ocean, and strengthened in other places by artificial embankments of earth. This fortification was probably the hasty workmanship of the marauding parties of Highlanders, who are said to have visited Shetland for a long series of years, and to have secured for themselves, within temporary strongholds, their booty of corn and cattle, until a sufficient freight of plunder was collected, with which they might sail away to the Western Isles."

As TRIPTOLEMUS, (the agriculturist,) expresses much indignation against the bigoted attachment of the Shetlanders to their old-fashioned ploughs and mills, we quote from Hibbert a brief description of each. Of the former, he remarks that "this implement of husbandry is of very ancient construction, being single-stilted, like one that is represented by Olaus Magnus, as common to northern nations. A crooked piece of wood, bent to a right angle, forms the beam of the plough, which has a length of six feet, and a height of two feet and a half: the single stilt at the top of it consists of an oak stave, seven feet long. A slender machine of this sort, which one man may lift with ease, is drawn by four oxen abreast. The draught, or chain, with which their necks are connected to the plough is from 18 to 24 feet long. With this strange instrument two labourers take the field; the holder of the plough stands on the left of the pliable stilt; the driver, or *culler* as he is named, goes before the oxen, walking backward; the sound of his whip sets the cattle in motion; the holder of the stilt lies on with his side; the earth is turned over; the work is executed to admiration, until a large stone encounters the coulter, and then crack go the joints of the frame-work. All hands are now pressed into service for repairs," &c.

The construction of the *mill* surpasses our understanding,

and could not be rendered intelligible to our readers. Suffice it to relate, that Captain Preston, the author of an old nautical chart of Shetland, was, during his detention there by the wreck of his ship, conducted to see a Shetland mill; being informed at the same time that the machine in question had been for many years a subject of dispute between two landed proprietors. The Englishman looked at his conductor with surprize, and significantly eyeing the object of contention, replied with a sneer, "I can certainly conceive of no dispute which such a structure ought to have reasonably occasioned—*but whether it be a mill or not.*"

The reader will no longer be surprised at the impatience of *Triptolemus* when amidst such a gross mockery of agricultural processes. Things are now fast changing for the better; and although the spirit of *Magnus Troil* continues to actuate too many of his countrymen, the *Yellowley* family are regularly gaining ground on the representatives of the bold open-hearted *Udaller*, and will in a short time extend their innovations even to the *outfields* and crofts of Burgh Westra itself.

Our readers will perceive that our object in this article has been twofold. In the first place, we meant to add one instance more to the many already adduced by other critics, to establish against the author of the Scottish novels the charge of violating historical truth in his tales; and of mixing his fictions and his facts together so freely, and without any warning, as to confound all our notions of the events to which his stories bear even the remotest reference. Our second purpose was a more generous one; it was to shew, by quoting from unquestionable authorities, that the views given in the "Pirate" of customs, manners, habits, and opinions, are true pictures of the character of the men, and of the general state of society in Shetland, at a period even more recent than that to which the fictitious narrative carries back the examination of the reader. The merit of the "Pirate" is therefore to be estimated chiefly on the ground now stated—an exhibition of local and peculiar manners now about to become extinct and estimated on this ground, the best judges, we venture to assert, will pronounce the most favourable opinion.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1822.

ART. I. *Private and Original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, with King William, the Leaders of the Whig Party, and other distinguished Statesmen; illustrated with Narratives Historical and Biographical: from the Family Papers in the Possession of Her Grace the Duchess of Buccleuch. Never before published. By William Coxe, F.R.S. F.S.A. Archdeacon of Wilts, &c.* 4to. Pp. 686. £3 3*s*. Longman and Co. 1821.

THE reign of William III. may be accepted as the era from which we are to date the commencement of modern English parties: and whatever documents can throw light upon a period which introduced a new system into our government, must be regarded with particular interest. Mr. Coxe, as has been the case in his numerous former labours, has had access to the most unquestionable authorities; and by his present work, has contributed not a little to elucidate a part of our political history, which even yet is not without obscurity; and which affords ample room for speculation both to the statesman and the philosopher.

The collection now offered to the public, speaks for its own authenticity. It consists of a correspondence official and private, between the Duke of Shrewsbury, and King William, from the Revolution, till his Grace's retirement from office in 1700—Letters to and from Admiral Russell, during his command in the Mediterranean—a Correspondence with Lord Galway during the campaigns of 1695 and 1696—Letters of the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and Sir John Williamson, who were the ostensible negotiators of the peace of Ryswick;

and lastly, a Miscellaneous Correspondence with the leading Whigs between 1695 and 1704, in which the chief domestic transactions of a period, scarcely paralleled for intestine jealousy, and political intrigue, are plainly developed.

The liberality of the Duchess of Buccleuch, to whose possession, as a Brudenell, these papers have been rightfully transmitted, has opened them to Mr. Coxe's investigation. Some few of the letters (but they are very few,) have already been printed in different works. Those from King William are all autographs, and written in French. If we have any complaint to make against the editor, it is that he has presented us with a translation of these, instead of the originals: for with whatever accuracy he may have rendered them into English, much that is characteristic must be evaporated in the transfusion. In a minor degree, also, we would find fault with him on similar grounds, for having reduced the orthography throughout his volume to a common standard. Whatever the eye may gain by this uniformity, is gained at the expence of life and identity; and though Admiral Russell, who "wrote more like a seaman than a scholar," no doubt had private notions of spelling, we cannot but wish that he had been left to "syllable men's names," according to his own fancy.

The Talbot family is of high antiquity; and is said to have been in England before the Norman conquest. Richard de Talbot is recorded in Domesday Book, as holding nine hides of land, under the Earl of Buckingham; and his possessions in the time of the Conqueror, are found, on other authorities, to have been very considerable. Sir John Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury, "the Achilles of England," as Anstis has somewhat quaintly styled him; or "the Alcides of the field," as Lucy terms him in similar language,

"That ominous and fearful owl of death,"

who was victorious in forty several fights; and when ten years beyond the age of man, lost a single battle, and that only with his life, at Chastillon, is well known to all readers, whether of poetry or history. Charles, the twelfth earl, was the son of Earl Francis, who was unhappily killed in that celebrated duel with the Duke of Buckingham, during which the faithless Countess, "the wanton Shrewsbury," is said to have held her lover's horse in the disguise of a page, and to have assisted him in his flight while her husband was in the agonies of death before her eyes. He was born in 1660, and had the distinguished honor of being the first subject to whom Charles II. was sponsor, after the Restoration. Before the

completion of his minority, he had deeply investigated the controversies on the Roman Catholic religion; and having submitted the chief arguments which he could collect from the divines of that persuasion, in which he had been educated, to the replies of Archbishop Tillotson, after two years examination, he afforded a memorable instance of conscientious and disinterested conversion, at the very moment in which popery was resuming its ascendency in the circle of the court.

With these views in religion, it is not remarkable that he was among the foremost partizans of the Prince of Orange. Having mortgaged his estate for £40,000, he repaired to Holland, and there tendered both his purse and person to the cause of protestantism. His signature is found with that of the six other illustrious persons* who formed the body, known under the title of the Association; and who, on the Prince's landing in the West, avowed "that if any attempt should be made on his person, it should be revenged on all by whom, or from whom, any such attempt should be made." Burnet expressly mentions the Earl as high in William's confidence, and as one of those under whose inspection and advice he drew up his famous Declaration. On the day after the settlement of the new government, he was sworn of the privy council, and appointed principal secretary of state. Such honors as the sovereign could bestow, lavishly followed. He was appointed Commissioner of the Court of Claims; bore one of the swords at the coronation; and at one and the same time was lord lieutenant of three counties, Hertfordshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire.

But of all men who have tasted power, no one, on record, appears more fully to have had greatness thrust upon him against his will, than Lord Shrewsbury. The false honor of party ties, and the untolerating exclusiveness of faction, cast a spell, as it were, on the natural freedom of his disposition; and the services of the only public man in the kingdom, who would have attempted to conciliate, were, for years, wholly lost, or only partially afforded to his country, from a mistaken adherence to a political *caste*, of which, in his heart, he disapproved. The lesson is important, and belongs not to his days only. He is described to have possessed no ordinary measure of learning, a correct judgment, and a placid demeanor which insensibly attached all who knew him; and the same pen records, that no one, during his administration,

* The Lords Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley. The Bishop of London, (Compton,) Admiral Russell, and Mr. Sidney, (brother of the Earl of Leicester and Algernon Sidney.)

was heard to complain of him, unless a friend, occasionally for a reserved answer. William felt a strong personal regard for him, and from his general popularity, gave him the name of the *King of Hearts*. It was this suavity of disposition, so little in accordance with the ferocious pertinacity of the faction to which he was unhappily linked, which prevented him from agreeing to the most violent of their measures: and hence, in the slang of those times, he was stigmatised as a Trimmer; and, perhaps, in our own, would have been a rat. Such ever is the fate of those whose eyes have opened on the folly and the criminality of inexorable partizanship; and who prefer the quiet approval of conscience, to the loud boast of stubborn and misnamed consistency.

Very early in his official career, Shrewsbury became anxious to disembarrass himself from the trammels, the weight of which he had discovered. In political designation, there could, at that moment, be no ambiguity; and the general voice agreed that between Whig and Tory, no middle term was admissible; yet, however avowedly connected with the leading members of the first of these parties, it is manifest that Shrewsbury joined most unwillingly in those beggarly curtailments of the royal prerogative, which pressed so heavily on his master. We find him expressing his first strong wish for retirement, about the time in which the commons had refused to settle the civil list for longer than a single year: when William, in the bitterness of his heart, declared that he would not stay and hold an empty name; that he knew the advantages of a commonwealth, and of a monarchy, and felt it hard to determine which preponderated; but that he was sure of all governments, the worst was that of a king who possessed neither treasure nor power.

The plea of ill-health and incapacity was that which Shrewsbury ostensibly advanced: and in August 1689, he earnestly petitioned the King to give no answer to his prayer, but by some person who might be intrusted to demand the seals. He expressed the difficulties of his situation in forcible terms: that he was reduced to employ those whom other people cannot trust, such as he himself cannot confide in, or, what was impossible, to take the whole toil upon himself. The King was urgent that he should remain in his service; and for a short time succeeded.

In the next session, Shrewsbury was a warm advocate of the Abjuration Bill. He, probably, had been persuaded that it was a measure of safety. There can be little doubt now that it was brought forward on party motives; with the intention of banishing the Tories, through their opposition to

it, for ever from the royal councils. The struggle was most violent, and terminated only through the interference of the King himself. When the bill was dropped, Shrewsbury's retirement was a necessary consequence. Burnet prevailed upon him to delay a single night; and the King employed Tillotson, who was known to possess great influence over his mind, to divert him from his intention. But all remonstrance was vain. The King then, more than once, refused to accept the seals, when they were sent to him; and it was not until the agitation of Shrewsbury's spirits had thrown him into a fever, which almost cost him his life, that they were at length delivered up and received by the hands of the Earl of Portland.

The party to which the King was now reduced to look, felt little attachment to his person, his cause, or his title: and, after a short interval, we find him endeavouring to modify it by an intermixture of its opponents. Admiral Russell had been dismissed from the command of the fleet; but the hopes of the Whigs were revived by two other appointments, that of Lord Somers, as Lord Keeper, and St. John Trenchard as Secretary of State. On the King's return to England in the autumn of 1693, the misconduct of Delaval and Killigrew, to whom the navy had been intrusted, paved the way to the re-admission of the former admiral. The Earl of Nottingham was dismissed, and the King, in order to reconcile the Whigs effectually to his service, once again tendered the seals to Shrewsbury.

The first offer was peremptorily rejected; for the pledges by which he held himself bound, would not permit him to join a mixed administration; and the King, with his habitual caution, was reserved in expressing his total change of intentions. William was little addicted to pleasure, and was attached to his Queen. The decorum and regularity of his general manners have preserved him from the stigma of licentious amours: and the pestilent breath of Faction, which seeks only to pollute and contaminate, has endeavoured to sully one of his chief virtues, by the foulest and most odious reproach. It is with some surprise, therefore, that we find him employing a mistress as his negotiator with Shrewsbury. Mrs. Villiers, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, sister to the Earl of Jersey, and afterwards married to the Earl of Orkney, was the personage whose services were used to allure the reluctant Secretary back to office. The bait was a dukedom, and this to be bestowed with such marks of delicate consideration, that, though the fair diplomatist took especial care to reveal the intention, the patient himself, i

point of fact, was not to be acquainted with it till the patent had passed the great seal. To Shrewsbury's honor he resisted these private overtures; and no ambitious hope could wean him from that which he conceived to be integrity. The King then applied to him directly through Russell and Wharton. No ground was gained by these gentlemen; and the Earl continually eluded all attempts at a personal interview with his master. It was not until the principal posts of government had been filled by Whigs, that Shrewsbury allowed himself to be convinced of William's sincerity. In the spring of 1694, he accepted the seals, was installed Knight of the Garter, sworn in lord lieutenant of Anglesey, Flintshire, and Merionethshire, and advanced to the dignities of Marquess of Alton, and Duke of Shrewsbury.

William always doubted Marlborough's good faith; and, as we since have proof, not without sufficient reason. Yet when we recollect the mighty change which, within ten years, this singularly great man was to effect in the face of Europe, it is not without surprise that we find him pressed upon the King's attention by the new minister, with the cold praise of being one whom he "cannot but think is capable of being very serviceable." But the King gave little encouragement to warmer commendations, for in reply he contents himself with stating, "I can say no more, than that I do not think it for the good of my service to entrust him with the command of my troops."

We must leave the siege of Namur to Uncle Toby, who, we really think, is a better historian than the conqueror himself. One of the King's letters, during the investment of the citadel, is dated from a field which had not then been consecrated by English valour. The "Camp of WATERLOO, August 11, 1695." It was the protection of Brussels, which induced him to occupy this post after his final triumph, when the castle, defended by fourteen thousand men, was captured in the sight of one hundred thousand more. Shrewsbury, who well knew the nature of that many-headed monster Popularity, advised William to profit by the moment, and dissolve the parliament during the ferment of public joy, his words are plain and impressive, "I know that in reality two months hence your Majesty will not be less great, nor we less obliged; but whether the same warmth and zeal will then appear so universal, as now, is, with all humility, submitted by your Majesty's dutiful subject," &c.

It is truly pitiable to find the King stopped in his victorious career by the difficulty of obtaining supplies. Public credit was at the lowest ebb in England, and the deficiency

of the revenue in 1696, cramped the operations of the campaign. "In the name of God," he writes on one occasion, "determine quickly to find some credit for the troops here, or we are ruined." And again, "The letter from the Lords Justices of the 14th (July,) has quite overcome me, and I know not where I am, since at present I see no resource which can prevent the army from mutiny, or total desertion; for it is more impossible to find here, than in England, money sufficient for their subsistence; so that if you cannot devise expedients to send contributions, or procure credit, all is lost, and I must go to the Indies."

The situation of the allies at this period was indeed most distressing. The expedients for raising money in England had failed; the coinage was alarmingly depreciated, and the discount on government securities was 60 per cent. Victor Amadeus had completely justified the character which Lord Galway gave of him, in his first letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, as a prince "very penetrating and very difficult to be penetrated;" by outwitting the good easy ambassador, and negotiating a separate peace without communication with any of his allies. Under the pretext of a religious vow, the wily Duke set off for Loretto; and arranged the preliminaries with France during his pilgrimage. After a long series of artifices, which might have been expected to excite more suspicion than they occasioned, either in the envoy or the cabinet of England, the Duke assumed the direction of the French and Piedmontese troops in Italy; and presented the singular spectacle of a general, who, in the course of the same campaign, held the chief command of two opposite and hostile armies.

Peace was highly desirable for England. The burdens to which France had been subjected were not light; and the approaching demise of the King of Spain, determined Louis, at all rates, to put an end to the war, in order that he might direct his undivided strength to the succession in that country, which had ever been the leading object of his hopes and ambition. The congress at Ryswick was the result of these wishes; but the unwieldy movements of the assembled diplomatists portended but a slow progress to the negotiation: and William adopted a mode of treating revolting to all principles of the constitution of the country which he governed, little to be defended even on the ground of immediate policy, and productive, in the end, of nothing more than a short truce, which foreran the dangerous and disgraceful treaty of partition.

To this transaction the ostensible negotiators and the

noting ministry, were both equally strangers. Lord Villiers, one of the plenipotentiaries, writes to the Duke of Shrewsbury, "did I know any certainty of the conditions, it should be no secret to your Grace." The Duke in reply thanks him for the pains he gives himself to inform one, "who is more ignorant than you can believe." The correspondence during the negotiation is occupied by little more than the detail of such ludicrous and unimportant punctilios as it was the fashion of those days should always take precedence of the great interests of nations. Even when William had adopted his plan of confidential communication, Lord Portland met Boufflers, without his coadjutors being privy to the nature or the reasons of their conference. "The Marechal de Boufflers," says Lord Villiers, in another despatch, "has lately had a meeting with my Lord Portland, near Halle. *I am told it was about the peace, though I do not know the particulars;* as soon as I do I shall certainly communicate them to your Grace." "I should certainly deliver my opinion in the sense you wish," are the words of the Duke at a somewhat later period, "*but having never had any thing communicated to me,* (except M. de Boufflers's article which my Lord Portland sent me) I know not how to be so impertinent as to thrust myself into a business of so secret a nature." The blame of the peace of Ryswick must be applied by the historian, to the monarch who conducted and concluded it, solely by his own personal negotiation: but in the eyes of their country, at the season of its completion, it rested upon the ministers who were responsible, even to their heads, for an act over which they were not permitted to exercise any control. We cannot wonder that Shrewsbury was mortified at his exclusion from the secret; but we *do* wonder that when he discovered this exclusion, he retained the shadow of power for a single moment.

It is probable, indeed, that his mortification on this occasion essentially contributed to increase the dislike which he had always expressed to official life, and which many circumstances, connected both with his public and private situation, were not likely to diminish. The false and flagitious charges of Sir John Fenwick, though not for a moment admitted, made a deep impression upon a spirit too nicely sensitive of its honour, not to be hurt at the possibility of suspicion. The mysterious, not to say malignant, conduct of Monmouth, (better known as the Earl of Peterborough) in this vexatiously protracted business, materially increased his uneasiness. The feuds of the cabinet, the imperfect confidence reposed by the King in either of the contending parties, and the ef-

feels produced by a serious bodily injury, received from a fall in hunting, all urged him to seek release from a pre-eminence which had become insufferably irksome: and his correspondence at this time, whether with the King or his friends, contain little but importunate desires of privacy, or bitter complaints at his inability to obtain permission to retire. The post of chamberlain was vacant by Lord Sunderland's unexpected resignation, and William anxiously pressed this honourable appointment upon Shrewsbury's acceptance. But even an office like this, which gave constant access to the royal person, without the labour or responsibility of executive duties, was obstinately declined; and at the close of 1698 the King most reluctantly consented to receive the seals without commuting them for any other badge.

The state of feeling among public men at this period, carries with it sufficient conviction, if such were needed, that power is not happiness. Sunderland on his retirement permitted himself to say, that there was no rack like what he had suffered in "being ground between Lord Monmouth and Lord Wharton." Lord Tankerville, when solicited to accept the first seat at the board of Admiralty, used an expression somewhat homely, but strongly indicative of disgust, "that he would prefer being drawn through a horse-pond." "Had I a son," says Shrewsbury himself, "I had rather breed him a cobler than a courtier, a hangman than a statesman." It seemed as if the inveterate enmity of the contending factions forbade the hope of any exertion for the public good; and that the narrowness and asperity of the party in power for the moment, sought not so much to aggrandize the country which it governed, as to procure the downfall of its political opponents.

The urgency with which the King continued to press his suit forced Shrewsbury once more from his brief retirement: and ten months after he ceased to be secretary he became chamberlain. He accepted the office, but cautiously abstained from any interference in the violent and stormy discussions which occupied the year 1699. His time was chiefly spent in the country. One visit in the spring of 1700 he paid by especial command to the palace at Hampton Court. It was to decline the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Wearied out with the hopeless task of attempting to effect conciliation, he renewed his entreaties for dismission, and finally quitted office under William in June 1700.

The prospect of still farther troubles induced him to resolve upon retirement to the Continent. He had scarcely set foot in Versailles before he was exposed to overtures of

novel kind. The Duc de Lauzun, an old acquaintance, sought to entangle him in a conversation on the merits of the exiled family, and expressed a wish that he would find an opportunity of seeing the Prince of Wales. Shrewsbury extricated himself with dexterity, and effectually turned the subject, by saying he had no great curiosity; but if he *must* see his Royal Highness, he had much rather it were *there* than in England. After a short tour in France, he fixed his permanent residence at Rome; and hence, on the accession of Queen Anne, rejected the overtures of Marlborough and Godolphin, who wished to strengthen themselves by his appointment to the Mastership of the Horse. His choice of the papal city for an abode, was made the basis of a charge of apostacy, and his early education in the Romish persuasion for a while gave currency to the malicious rumour. Two manly letters which he wrote, one to Lord Somers, the other to Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, satisfied his friends, and effectually dissipated the false impression which had gone abroad. But the existence of the suspicion was too harassing to permit him to remain in a spot by which it had been caused; and he prepared for a return to England. He was not unaccompanied. At Augsburgh, he celebrated his nuptials with the Marchioness of Paleotti, an Italian widow of high rank, who gave him the highest proof of his influence, and her own affection, by a solemn abjuration of popery before their union. It was the Duke's misfortune, even in private life, to be exposed to malicious calumnies. An assertion was made, that he had been forced into this marriage by the brothers of the lady; and the Duke of Marlborough's reply to the announcement which Shrewsbury sent of his change of situation has been cited as a proof that, in declaring it, he felt that some apology was necessary for the step. Now Marlborough's words are these; after returning thanks for the communication, he proceeds, "I confess I was not a little surprized at what you are pleased to tell me, though I agree entirely with you, that we ought to marry to please ourselves and not others." Shrewsbury was five and forty years of age when he married a foreigner, who like himself had been educated in, and had abandoned, the Romish faith. Looking to these particulars, he might think it necessary to declare his connexion to his friends in a tone which wore the appearance of apology; but beyond this there is no just ground for supposing that he felt ashamed of an honourable alliance. His lady on the maternal side was descended from Dudley, Earl of Leicester: her father was of distinguished rank among the Bolognese nobility.

With the Duke's return to England the correspondence to which Mr. Coxe has had access terminates. We wish it had been preserved to his Grace's death, for he was actively employed both by Anne, and George I., and some curious particulars of those reigns might be expected from his papers. We find him reappointed Lord Chamberlain in 1710; two years afterwards he was ambassador to France; and on returning from this important mission he was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The feuds, and the ultimate objects of the faction which at that time swayed the Queen's counsels, were such as he would have shrunk from with disgust; and one of his biographers has assigned a probable reason for this appointment so far from the main field of politics, "that a person of his penetration might not see the dark doings then on foot, and perhaps have saved the Queen from splitting on that rock which cost her her life."

Be this as it may, his administration in Ireland was honourable to himself and beneficial to the country. "I come here," he took occasion to observe very early, "NOT TO BE OF ANY PARTY, but to administer justice equally to all, to serve the Queen, and to protect the subjects in their liberty." During an election in Dublin, when the Tories as a mark of distinction wore laurel in their hats, he admitted no one to his levees who carried this or any other badge of dissention. His reward, as might be expected, was the confidence of neither faction, and the abuse of both. He was openly ridiculed in satires and lampoons; and, in allusion to a personal defect, was insulted in the very walls of the castle by the nickname of *Polyphemus*, or *Ireland's eye.*

The distractions in administration terminated only with that which they probably hastened, the Queen's death. In her last moments Anne placed in Shrewsbury's hands the treasurer's staff; so that he filled three posts at once, which no single individual had ever occupied before; those of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

Under George I. he successively held the offices of Groom of the Stole; Privy Purse; and Lord Chamberlain. The last he resigned a few months before his death, which took place on the 1st of February, 1718. The dukedom and marquessate became extinct with him; the earldom was continued in Gilbert, son of the tenth earl.

There is little in this correspondence to amuse the mere lounger. Admiral Russell's splenetic effusions may some-

times excite a smile; and two brief notices of Peter the Great may be contrasted with those which may be hereafter taken of a visit from the Autocrat of the Russias in our own times. "We expect the Czar to be here in two or three days," says Lord Villiers, "the King will come hither to see him. I believe his Majesty heartily wishes the visit over; *far from what we hear, his Muscovitish Majesty is but scurvy company.*" "I have had the opportunity of seeing the Czar with his Majesty," he adds about a month afterwards; "the interview between these two great princes was in a very dirty tavern, (at Sandyke) from whence the Czar would not be got out, for fear of seeing too much company. The same reason hindered him from dining with the King, though his Majesty invited him. The behaviour of this man is very singular and capricious, though in some things he seems to have the genius of a great prince; *but he is at too great a distance for us to concern ourselves about him.*" In this last point our political relations are not a little changed. In most else, which this volume records, in the inheritance of faction, which has been our curse and disgrace since the days of the Revolution, in the portraits which are given of the solicitudes of public life, and the gilded shackles of power, we require little else but a change of names, to persuade us that we are reading of transactions not removed by more than a century from observation, but present at this moment to our senses.

ART. II. *Six Discourses preached before the University of Oxford. By Thomas Linwood Strong, B. D. of Oriel College, Oxford; Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Llandaff.* 8vo. pp. 164. 6s. Rivingtons. 1821.

THE singularly modest Preface by which these Discourses are introduced, had in some measure prepared us for the high satisfaction which we have derived from the perusal of them: for in the progress of our critical labours, we have learnt to estimate the justice of that very trite, but nevertheless very true remark which teaches that the value of any book, for the most part, is precisely in an inverse ratio to the pretence which the author asserts for it. Mr. Strong informs his readers that his Sermons, though prepared for an audience of the highest class, and now offered exclusively to the notice of well educated men, have not the slightest pretensions to inge-

nuity, eloquence, or research. In this statement we must take leave partly to differ from him. For ingenuity, simply as such, in matters connected with theology, we profess to have very little regard. We think it a very doubtful guide, which if it does not always mislead its possessor into sophism, at least often perplexes him in hypothesis. But if eloquence consists not in florid declamation, but in sound argument couched in a plain and nervous style; if the excellence of the preacher's art is to convince by distinct reasoning and to attract by diction which, without becoming meretricious, shall give pleasure; if research is to be measured by fullness of knowledge of the particular subject to which we address ourselves, we should do no slight injustice to Mr. Strong's good taste and ripe scholarship if we admitted his disclaimer, without protesting against it.

The discourses are six in number, and, as preached at different times, are without more connection with each other than the common bond which necessarily unites all illustrations of the Christian doctrine. From the 15, 16, 17, and 18th verses of 1 Philippians, the preacher in his first address takes occasion to shew that "no countenance is given in the Apostolical writings to the propagation of discordant articles of faith." He proves the fallacy of that mischievous notion, which it is so much the fashion of modern *liberality* to inculcate, that it signifies little *what* opinions men embrace, provided they are sincere in their belief: and frees this Epistle of St. Paul from the false construction to this effect which some have wished to put upon it.

The contrast which the Apostle draws, is not between diversities of doctrine; but between the motives by which the different preachers of his day were actuated; and the observation of Erasmus, as Mr. Strong truly remarks in citing it, "is both just and luminous." "Non Paulus de his loquitur qui docebant *hæretice*, sed qui *recte*, licet animo parum sincero. Nec hos probat tamen; sed negat tibi discutiendum quo animo id faciant, modo prosint." After combating these "lax opinions of Christian unity," Mr. Strong shows the bearing of his text upon the XXVIth article of our Church; which asserts that the unworthiness of the minister does not affect the efficacy of the means of grace which he is appointed to distribute; and in conclusion he finely inclines his argument to a brief notice of the crowning virtue of charity.

The second discourse is on a subject more exposed to controversy: and we cannot too strongly recommend it to our younger brethren, as containing a most satisfactory refutation of the objections which are commonly urged again

the retention of the Athanasian creed. The pointed words of our Saviour, Mark xvi. 16. are chosen as its ground-work. In the explanation of these it is remarked that they must be regarded as a concise enunciation of a very wide and comprehensive proposition; and interpreting them with this reasonable latitude they must be understood as asserting no more than a proposition which is confirmed both by reason and the whole tenor of Scripture: namely, that "the man who arrogantly rejects the Gospel, without a fair examination of its pretensions, or refuses to give due credit to the evidence which is laid before him, shall be consigned to perdition."

After a brief history of the Arian controversy, and the anathema annexed to the concession of faith prepared by the council of Nice, Mr. Strong proceeds to remark.

"A declaration of the same nature, and with the same intent, is prefixed to the creed which bears the name of Athanasius. These clauses must be interpreted on the same principle as the language of my text. When our Saviour said, 'he that believeth not shall be damned,' he doubtless intended to denounce punishment on all, who with sufficient means of information might reject, or wilfully corrupt, the doctrines of his religion; but not on those who might be ignorant of the Gospel, or incapable of attaining a competent knowledge of its doctrines and conditions. It is clearly the perverse disposition of individuals, not the deficiency of their knowledge, against which his anger is denounced. So the language of the Athanasian creed is intended only to condemn all wilful depravation of the truth, and obstinate infidelity. In this sense it has always been understood by the most temperate and judicious writers of the church of England; and it is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the commissioners * who were appointed to revise the Liturgy in the first year of king William the Third, had resolved to prepare a rubric to this effect: 'the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith.' It is well known that the main object of this commission was at last abandoned; but the fact that such a rubric was prepared by the commissioners, is a proof of the construction which they put upon the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed. In attaching this sense to the clauses in question, they acted in conformity both to Scripture and reason, and bequeathed a lesson of wisdom and moderation to the clergy of future times. Although the rubric which they proposed was not inserted in the Liturgy, it may tend to confirm our judgment, and to produce much private satisfaction on a point of acknowledged

* "The King's commission was dated 13 Sept. 1689, and the commissioners met in the Jerusalem Chamber, on the 10th of October following."

difficulty. As our Saviour did not think it necessary to guard the strong language of my text, but has left us to understand it with such exceptions as common sense, and the general principles of his religion, might suggest; so we may understand these clauses of the creed as a broad and general statement of an important truth, which applies in different degrees to different persons, and must therefore always be received in a qualified sense." P. 36.

In this manner what are called the condemning clauses are to be understood. Respecting the articles of faith which the creed contains, no such limitation can be demanded; no such concession can be made. Every iota which is there laid down, "may be abundantly proved from Scripture." To those who are in the habit of silently omitting this most important portion of authorised public worship on the days on which the canons of the Church enjoin its recital, (and we fear that this practice is adopted by some, and those most conscientious ministers, who would be startled if we reminded them that in so doing, they infringe the vow which they have solemnly made at the altar to "give their faithful diligence *always* so to minister the *doctrine* and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, *and as this Church and realm hath received the same* according to the commandments of God;)" we think the following passage may be presented with advantage.

"It appears, then, that the language of the Athanasian creed is not more severe than the language of our Saviour and his Apostles; and moreover, that similar expressions were used by the church in primitive times, not with a presumptuous intention of anticipating the decisions of Almighty wisdom, but simply with a view of protecting the 'everlasting Gospel *' from the errors of the weak, and the designs of the wicked. On the same ground we are required to use the Athanasian creed. It becomes us to recite that ancient formulary, not in a spirit of intolerance and pride, but with humility, charity, and faith; in the earnest hope that it may 'please God to have mercy on all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics; to take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of his word; and so fetch them home to his flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord.'" P. 40.

It is not by flattering the vices, errors, and capricious feelings of mankind, continues Mr. Strong, but by firmly resisting them, that the precepts of our religion can be obeyed. We

* Rev. xiv. 6.

must not abandon the first principles of our faith, nor look with complacency upon those who are endeavouring to eradicate them from the hearts of men. For charity in its highest sense, enjoins us "not to be ashamed of the testimony of our Lord."

The doctrines of universal atonement and universal grace are very clearly discussed in the third and fourth discourses. The first is preached on Romans v. 7, 8. The second on Acts xi. 39. There is a position laid down in the former, which, however little novelty it may possess, has so much truth, that we cannot see it too often repeated; and we think it simply, by itself, an effectual answer to every objection of the Socinian school: that although we may be "required to embrace some truths which surpass our reason, nothing will be found in the Gospel repugnant to it." In the latter discourse, some striking analogies of expression between the Jewish and the Christian Scripture are cited, to illustrate that branch of the argument which asserts that the ordinary gifts of the Spirit were the subject of divine promise long before the promulgation of the Gospel. This line of proof, as here directed, is new to us; collaterally it affords great strength to the position: and it is in this way that the "ingenuity," which Mr. Strong with supererogatory diffidence has resigned, may be exercised most fairly and to the best advantage.

The fifth discourse expounds "the doctrine of predestination as maintained by the Church of England;" and it is highly valuable from the correctness and precision with which, by the aid of the Scriptures, it unravels that which the perverse speculation of man has so fatally perplexed. In the outset it is clearly shewn that revelation proclaims that God has predestined some men to happiness and some to misery in a future state; and that before subscription to the articles of the Church of England a solemn and deliberate assent to this truth is requisite. All hypothesis and conjecture in the enquiry is becomingly rejected; and the plain declaration of Holy Writ are assumed as the only sure and certain basis upon which a doctrinal superstructure can be raised. The viiith and ixth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and the 1st to the Ephesians are referred to as authorities: from these a deduction is made, which it seems impossible should be denied, that the prescience of the Almighty is represented as *antecedent* to his decree," that the foreknowledge of God extends "to the most minute particulars in the conduct and disposition of every individual of the human race; the decisions which he forms are indeed absolute, for "with him is

no variableness, neither shadow of turning," but they are neither capricious nor irrespective. "They are founded on the most perfect equity and wisdom, and have a constant regard to the virtue or vice, the humility or pride, the contrition or impenitence of every responsible being." Thus we are chosen to salvation *on the terms of the Gospel.* The notion of irrespective predestination as maintained by Calvin and his followers falls to the ground. Heaven is the reward of those whose faith and its fruits have been foreseen: hell the punishment of such concerning whom there is a certainty, that they will of their own accord reject or abuse the means of grace which may be offered them.

We shall not mutilate nor deform this masterly disquisition by extracts. The whole of it demands the most complete attention; and can scarcely fail to be productive of the most beneficial effects. We have rarely seen a subject of acknowledged difficulty handled more luminously or more discreetly. If we may be permitted to avow any preference to particular parts of Mr. Strong's volume where all is good, it would be manifestly directed to this discourse (the vth) and the IId; we think, however, we can perceive that the VIth with which he concludes, is his own favourite; and the one on which perhaps he had lavished most attention and labour. It contains a critical examination of St. Paul's charge to the Elders of Miletus. Acts xx. 28; and after establishing the integrity of the received text, as appears to us, on good grounds, in opposition to Griesbach and Wetstein, it fixes our attention upon the great qualities which the Prince of the Apostles required in the overseers of the Christian flock.

"This solemn admonition bears a close resemblance to other passages * of Scripture on the same subject, and manifestly concerns the whole body of Christian clergy in every age and nation. It sets forth in lively colours the importance and sanctity of their commission, and points out those general principles, on which their labours may be prosecuted with the fairest prospect of success. By referring in such marked expressions to the Divinity of the Redeemer—to the doctrine of atonement by his blood—and to the personal agency of the Holy Spirit in the government and sanctification of the Church, the Apostle clearly intimates that these, and other fundamental articles of the Christian creed, must occupy the continual attention of the Christian preacher. Here, indeed, he will find an ample scope for all his talents and assiduity, and the noblest materials for public exhortation and discourse. If he has a

* John xxi. 15, 16, 17; 1 Peter v. 1.

just apprehension of his duty, neither the clamour of enthusiasts, nor the bitter sarcasms of irreligious men, will deter him from maintaining the doctrine of Christ crucified, as it is revealed in the oracles of God. It will be the highest object of his ambition to 'shew himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not be ashamed, rightly dividing the work of truth *.' Avoiding on one hand the fearful errors of fanaticism, he will be equally cautious that his 'speech' upon religious subjects never degenerate into cold philosophy or idle declamation, but 'be always with grace, seasoned with salt †;' and that 'in doctrine he shew uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity: sound speech that cannot be condemned ‡.' Both in his public and private exertions for the propagation of the Gospel, he will regard the truth and purity of the religion he promotes, as a matter of greater consequence than its nominal extent. In every action of his life, and in every sentiment he utters to the world, the honour of Almighty God, and the *real* happiness of mankind, will be preferred to private interest and fame." P. 129.

We cannot better conclude than with the above correct and animated passage, which conveys as favourable an impression of Mr. Strong's manner, as it does of his opinions. The views which he has taken of Revelation evince a mind of considerable natural strength, improved by diligent cultivation, and adorned by all the graces and the suavity which spring from Christianity when rightly understood.

ART. III. *Elements of Political Economy. By James Mill, Esq.* Baldwin, and Co. 1821.

THIS is a compendium of what may be called the *new doctrines* on Political Economy, and which of late have been recommended to public attention with some talent and much zeal, by Mr. Ricardo, and the Edinburgh reviewers. We have, as our readers are aware, occasionally combated the conclusions of this active school of economists, and attempted to expose the gross inconsistency of their tenets, not only with all sound principle, but more particularly with the actual condition of things and the practical opinions of the whole human race. In pursuing that irksome task, we have indeed, sometimes found it extremely difficult to ascertain the precise bearing of the doctrines so confidently pro-

* 2 Tim. ii. 15. † Coloss. iv. 6. ‡ Titus ii. 7, 8.

pounded as recent and valuable discoveries, by the several writers just alluded to; and we may add, that in many instances, after a good deal of analysis and comparison, we have observed the apparent novelty resolve itself into nothing more than a paradoxical statement of an old and indisputable truth; the ingenuity of the author having exhausted itself in the construction of a mere verbal enigma. In the present case, however, we are returned from this useless labour and studied obscurity: for as Mr. Mill has composed an elementary work, or as he himself expresses it, "a school-book of Political Economy," he has necessarily confined his reasonings to essential principles, and his statements to such a series of propositions as seemed to embody those principles in a scientific order and connection. Not a few of them, indeed, are given in the form of axioms or apophthegms, and are thereby stripped of that darkening and bewildering accompaniment of exposition, through which it is sometimes extremely difficult to find out what certain authors of the new school intend to hold, and what they mean to relinquish.

Mr. Mill divides his subject into four chapters, as they treat respectively of *Production*, *Distribution*, *Interchange*, and *Consumption*. Perhaps the third of these might have been omitted and placed under the fourth, as *interchange* is but one of the steps in the process of *consumption*: still we should be the last to recommend the sacrifice of perspicuity to the attainment of a vain simplicity in arrangement, and therefore, although Say has set the example of the division which we have now suggested, we have no fault to find with our author for adopting a different one.

The first chapter is very brief, and not very remarkable for information, or even common sense. Mr. Mill tells us, for example, that "labour produces its desired effects only by conspiring with the *laws* of nature;" and that "there is no commodity, or thing produced for consumption, which labour effects in any other way than by co-operating with the laws of nature." Now, we have simply to ask this philosophical economist, what is the *law of nature* which conspires with the artist when he makes a wig? or what *law of nature* it is that co-operates with the slater when he mounts to the top of a house, with a load of slates balanced on his head? But wigs and houses perhaps are not the commodities which are "produced for consumption." Well, let us take an example from Mr. Mill himself. Man, he assures us, "can do nothing more than produce motion:" and that the properties of matter perform all the rest. "In strictness

of speech it is matter itself which produces the effects." All that man can do is to place the objects of nature in a certain position. "*The taylor when he makes a coat, the farmer when he produces corn, do the same things exactly.*" "Each *makes motions:* and the properties of matter do the rest." "It would be absurd to ask, to which of any two effects the properties of matter contribute the most; seeing they contribute every thing, after certain portions of matter are placed in a certain position."

This being the case, would Mr. Mill have the goodness to tell us what, after the taylor has "made all his *motions*," with needle and with goose, remains to be done by the said "properties of matter."

The taylor and the farmer, says he, "do the same things exactly. Each *makes motions*, and the properties of matter do the rest." When a coat is finished, and has had the last "*motion*" given it, by being sent home, we know no other effect likely to be produced upon it by the properties of matter, but that of wearing it into holes: an event which will at least prove that the commodity "produced for consumption by labour, conspiring with the laws of nature," is *bona fide* a consumable commodity.

This is, it will be owned, most arrant trifling; but it is, notwithstanding, the kind of trifling in which Mr. Mill chooses to indulge, under the semblance of deep thinking, and of a piercing philosophical discrimination; and it is besides the very species of trifling which we encounter from time to time in the works of some grave authors who affect great powers of abstraction, and in certain periodical publications which by dint of mere effrontery have induced the public to listen. What possible analogy is there between the *motions* made by a farmer and those made by a taylor, in reference to the qualities or endowments of matter? The motion of sowing brings seed in contact with the prolific powers of the soil prepared to receive, and in due time vegetation follows according to the established laws of nature: and in this case, there can be no doubt but that man comes to possess the raw productions of the earth by co-operating with the laws, the powers, or the qualities of matter which have just been specified. When the farmer has done all that he can do, the great work is still to begin: he has merely performed certain conditions, or as Mr. Mill would express it, made *certain motions*, as preparatory to that wonderful process by which the fields bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold. When he has done so much, however, "the properties of matter do the rest." Such is

the constitution of nature, and experience has taught us to avail ourselves more and more of the benefaction which it conveys. But what connection has all this with tayloring? The *motions* made by that order of workmen are not preparatory; they do not invite the co-operation of the laws of nature: and in a word, when they have finished their toil, there is nothing left for the "properties of matter to do." So much for the author's most original and luminous views on the interesting subject of production.

After *production* explained as above, comes *distribution*. The whole annual produce of the country it is well known, is divided among landlords, labourers, and capitalists, and hence the natural distribution of the proceeds to these three classes under the names of *rent*, *wages*, and *profits*.

Regarding the first of these particulars, namely rent, we have here an epitome of Mr. Ricardo's notions, unaccompanied, however, by the absurd inferences which that author draws from his singular hypothesis on this subject. Mr. Mill generally speaking, confines himself to the theoretical part of the system, and does not, like the author now named, address to the landholder any practical considerations, relative to his particular interests as a receiver of rents, nor inform him that, as his success implies the ruin of every other class of men, all improvements in agriculture ought to be discouraged by him, and all fair means adopted to render the soil as unfruitful as possible. The same principle is, no doubt, involved in the following axiom given at page 16, namely, that "rent increases in proportion as the effect of the capital successively bestowed upon the land decreases;" but Mr. Mill wisely leaves it to the shrewdness of the landlord to supply himself with the valuable practical inference that, the less productive the capital is which is expended by the farmer on his fields, the better for him who is to draw the rent of these fields! The wisdom which arrives to such conclusions is unquestionably worthy of the system which describes the "laws of nature as conspiring with a taylor to make a coat."

All men of sense, or we ought rather to say, all men who condescend to use ordinary language on ordinary subjects, describe rent as being the difference between the cost of producing a crop, and the price at which that crop is sold; or, as Mr. Malthus expresses it, "the excess of price above the cost of production." An acre, for example, yields, we shall say, four quarters of wheat, and the wages of the labourers joined to the usual return on the farmer's capital, amount, we shall suppose to three quarters; in which eas-

the rent payable to the landlord, will be one quarter. Or in money, at 60*l.* per quarter, the landlord will receive 3*l.* per acre, whilst 9*l.* will go to repay the cultivator for his advances of capital, whether fixed or circulating, by means of which the crop was raised.

On this very simple principle it will be easily understood how the rent should rise in proportion as the demand for agricultural produce increases, and also in proportion to the discoveries which are made for saving labour in agricultural operations: for in the first place, prices, it is very clear, will get up in proportion as corn is more and more wanted; and secondly, as rent is the excess of price above the cost of production, the cheaper the corn is raised by the farmer, that excess will of course, be greater: in other words, the rent will be augmented by the whole amount of saving on the cost of labour. We need not add, that we are here speaking without any reference to leases; during the currency of which the farmer enjoys all the advantages arising both from the increased demand, and also from such inventions in machinery or otherwise as save labour, and aid the productiveness of the soil.

Upon the same simple principle it will be understood how an encreasing population should be one of the chief means of augmenting rent, as being the main cause of encreased demand for agricultural produce; and how, that generally speaking, the exchangeable value of corn like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the proportion which the supply bears to the demand, and consequently that the higher this exchangeable value is in ordinary circumstances of wages and capital, the higher will rents be found to rise. In a word, the price of corn rises in proportion to the demand for it, and the rent of corn land rises in proportion to the price of corn. And if to this we add, what has been already more than once stated, that rent is the excess of price above the cost of production, we shall have a clear view of the whole matter, given too on principles admitted by all men, and which all men may understand.

But Messrs. Ricardo, Mill, and their followers are not content to use common language on common subjects. They prefer expressions which have the air of paradox, and which from their obscurity only, confound the understanding of their readers. On this subject for instance, they maintain that there is in all countries some portion of land under cultivation, which pays no rent at all: such land merely remunerates the capitalist for his out-lay in labour and machinery: in short, it merely repays the cost of production. "Rent,

therefore, is the difference (says Mr. M.) between the return yielded to that portion of capital which is employed upon the land with the least effect, and that which is yielded to all the other portions employed upon it with a greater effect."

This, we grant, is in one sense tantamount to saying that rent is the excess of price above the cost of production; and taken in this view, the expression is only objectionable on account of its perplexing obscurity, and the unnecessary implication of a questionable fact. It may for instance be denied that there is any where a single acre of land, under cultivation, which does not pay some rent, either in the form of an actual return above the expense of raising its produce, or in the value added to the land itself, by means of culture and improvement. But it will not be denied by any man who understands the subject, that *rent is the excess of price above the cost of production*, whether that rent be half a crown per acre, or ten pounds.

Nor, if the doctrine be taken *practically*, will its bad effects be confined to mere inconvenience of expression; for, as has been hinted above, it is capable of a very absurd and most injurious application when explained, as Mr. Ricardo has actually explained it, in connection with the interests of landed proprietors. These persons, as we have already observed, are requested to believe that the less productive the soil proves, under the hands of the farmer, and the smaller the return received from the expenditure of capital made upon it, the richer will they become, and the more rapidly will their rents increase! we are at a loss to know which of the "laws of nature conspire" to do this; but, were it not that the authors of whom we speak, are respected in their generation as true and enlightened patriots, we should imagine that *they had conspired* to put down common sense, and turn the heads of our landlords.

It is amazing to observe how far an absurd hypothesis will carry sensible men wrong. The most unthinking agriculturist will tell you that he pays rent for land, because it is the property of land to yield a return considerably above the whole amount of the expense which he incurs in raising a crop upon it; and moreover that he calculated what he could afford for rent by measuring as nearly as possible the excess of the return to be exported above the expence to be incurred. Rent, therefore, is a remuneration, or it may be a *bonus*, for the loan of a productive instrument. Fertility of soil and a favourable climate accordingly, are to be considered as gifts of Providence, and regarded to their full extent as the natural riches of every country which has

to be blessed with them. But no, says Mr. Mill; "the portion which goes in the shape of rent to the landlord, and is over and above that return which is made to the whole of the capital and labour employed upon the land, is, in fact, *the result of an accident.*" "It is as if that portion were by miracle rained down upon the possessor of the land which yielded it!" "It is to be considered as the *accidental* product of a particular virtue!" That is to say, gentle reader, you are henceforth to regard richness of soil as a miracle, and the superior fruitfulness of one piece of ground compared with another less fruitful, as the "result of an accident, and an abundant crop in a fertile field as the *accidental* product of a particular virtue."

We are perfectly aware all along of the plain simple truth which is concealed and buried under this mass of technical jargon. It is neither more nor less than that the richest land yields the best rent, and that this advantage available to the particular landlord is owing to the *accident* of his land being better than his neighbour's. If all land were equally productive, and enjoyed a local situation, in all respects equally favourable, the rent would no doubt be as near as possible equal; but if, on the contrary, there should be, as there actually is, a difference in the productive qualities of land, is there no way of accounting for the difference of *rent*, on the simplest of all principles, and without comparing it to a portion of wealth rained down, as it were at the instant, by miraculous interposition?

It is one of the drawbacks attending Mr. Mill's determination not to refer to authorities; that he states his opinions as if nobody besides himself had ever written on Political Economy, and, of course, passes over all the reasonings of the best writers opposed to his own views, just as if they had never been published. We are astonished that he could say all that he has said on the subject of rent, without once alluding to the powerful arguments of Mr. Malthus in reply to Sismondi and Ricardo; who, like Mr. Mill, regard rent in all circumstances, as an *accident*, instead of ascribing it, in peopled countries at least, to that particular circumstance which may be said to distinguish the products of the soil from all other products, their power, namely, of maintaining more labour than what was employed in producing them; or, in other words the property of yielding a surplus over and above the cost expended on their production. Such of our readers as wish to see this interesting question discussed in the plain intelligible and ordinary language of human life, and the opinions of our modern econo-

mists in regard to it, placed in their true point of view, will find their trouble amply rewarded by perusing the first six sections of the Third Chapter of Malthus' Principles of Political Economy.

We shall drop the subject therefore after making a few remarks (which we do more for the purpose of amusement than of science) on Mr. Mill's statements in support of the favourite opinion of his school, that there actually is, *in every agricultural country*, a portion of land which pays no rent. There is, it is admitted even by himself, a sort of *prima facie* objection to this abstract tenet, which appears in the well-known fact, that nobody will give even their poorest land to be used without some sort of return in the name of rental. Dr. Smith too mentions that in his day, when land was not so much in request as at present, the most barren moors in Scotland and Norway paid something to the landlord. Our author nevertheless seems willing to deny this in effect. Unlike his countrymen, in general, he is ever impatient at the estimated value of his native hills and mosses. Surely, says he, "it cannot be so much as pretended, that the rent paid for the barren mountains of Scotland is any thing but a trifle; an evanescent quantity when we speak of any moderate extent." If it were, he adds, "about one penny per acre, this would bear so small a portion to the cost of cultivation, which would not be less than several pounds per acre, that it would little affect the truth of the conclusion we have endeavoured to establish." We leave it to Mr. Mill to determine what the cost of cultivating an acre of Ben Nevis, for example, would amount to, and to what extent the "laws of nature" would conspire "with the agriculturist in raising a crop on it, or any such low priced land;" observing, meanwhile, that he must be sorely pressed for facts to make out his case, when he instances in support of it the "barren" mountains of Scotland, at a penny an acre, and then gravely proceeds to talk of cultivating the said barren mountains, acre after acre, at the cost of "several pounds" each.

Our learned and most perspicacious author, is, notwithstanding, too ingenuous to conceal that, amidst all the triumph of his successful demonstration, the fact of a rental even at a penny per acre does indeed annoy him: inasmuch, as in order to be metaphysically exact, he must make constant corrections and allowances, whilst calculating the returns to labour and capital, afforded by the abundant crops raised on the said "barren mountains." He would fain leave out the penny, and even hints that "a very slight ad-

vantage in simplifying our language on the subject, would justify us in that omission." The penny, however, must not be left out, and the correction rendered necessary by the existence of that paltry trifle must indubitably be introduced, in order to insure the metaphysical accuracy of the conclusion. What then! Why the mountains themselves must be given up. "There is," exclaims Mr. Mill, with the tone of a man who is certain of keeping the ground he is about to occupy, "there is land, such as the sands of Arabia, which yield nothing!" This happy reference sets the question at rest; for the desert of Arabia being an "agricultural country," and very populous, and new land being constantly in request, it affords a very suitable illustration of the progress of rents, profits, and wages, in such a country as England. And may we not derive a strong and abiding proof of the soundness of the hypothesis, which assumes that there is land in "every agricultural country" which pays no rent, from the remarkable circumstance that the sands of Arabia, "which yield nothing," is the only part of the world which affords an indisputable example of that important fact!

The following paragraph so far exceeds our comprehension, that we presume not to conjecture the object which it was meant to serve. We therefore entreat the Compositor to give it in large letter, that it may at least be read with greater ease.

"Even where the land is not absolutely barren, and where there is still something for the more hardy of the useful animals to pick up, it is not to be allowed that rent is the necessary consequence. It ought to be remembered that these *cattle are capital*, and that the land must afford enough not only to make the *return for that capital*, but to pay for the tendance of the cattle, of which in such situations they require, especially in winter, no inconsiderable portion. Unless the land yields all this, and something more, it cannot, it is obvious, yield any rent."

In the name of common sense, what is meant by expecting from land a *return* for the cattle, which, as *capital*, are placed upon it? Were the animals minced down and spread as manure over the face of the soil, we could arrive at some conception as to the mode, at least, in which the capital had been expended; and might also be prepared to understand the nature of the return expected by him who made that sacrifice. As matters stand at present, we acknowledge ourselves completely posed; unable to make out how cattle grazing in a field are to be considered as ca-

pital laid out upon that field; or how the mere act of devouring the few plants which spring up, on a given piece of moorland, *is* to be considered such an extreme favour as to entitle the owner of the beasts, whose teeth were employed in that office, to look for a remuneration. There is a mystery here which the present state of human knowledge does not allow us to penetrate. Even Mr. Ricardo, the most paradoxical of all economists, must stand aghast at the terms of the above problem. It puts his hundred-year machine to the blush. In one word, until we shall be satisfied that a peasant is entitled to a reward for supplying himself with turf and wood, *gratis*, from the moss or the forest of his rich neighbour, we must continue to remain in the dark, as to the ground of the claim which a drover has upon a field, for having had the goodness to graze his cattle therein.

"I, therefore," says Mr. Mill, "conclude *with assurance*, that in the natural state of things, in every agricultural country, one portion of the capital employed upon the land pays no rent."

Suffice it to say at parting, in return for the amusing details we have had, that this is a point not worth disputing about, which, though it would be difficult to condescend upon any particular instance of it, may notwithstanding be true in some. But what would be the value of the best authenticated case? The cost of producing corn in one or even two fields does not afford a measure of the cost of production in all other fields or farms; and, of course, the only expression of the doctrine of rent which will apply to all fields and farms, and countries, circumstanced like our own, is the one used by Mr. Malthus; namely, that rent consists of the excess of price above the cost of production.

From rent the author passes to wages; and this latter topic naturally leads him to the controverted ground of population. On all these subjects there is perhaps more of abstract discussion than is altogether suitable for an elementary book, but, it gives us pleasure to add, that the reasonings and the conclusions throughout are founded on just principles, and are upon the whole so clearly expressed as to be perfectly intelligible to an attentive reader. No one, we think, will question the soundness of the following corollary, derived from the views explained and established by the author, namely, that, "other things remaining the same, if the ratio which capital and population bear to one another remains the same, wages will remain the same; if the ratio which capital bears to population encreases, wages will rise; if the ratio which population bears to capital increases, wages will fall."

As to the exact measure of fecundity among women, we presume not to question the result of Mr. Mill's experience. The "laws of nature," and even the "properties of matter" have more to do in this case than in the fabrication of a coat, after the taylor has "made his motions;" we therefore leave the determination of the matter to those who have noted most carefully the real state of facts. "There is," says our author, "time for ten births, which may be regarded as not more than the number natural to the female of the human species;" he therefore concludes that, in the most favourable circumstances, every woman might have ten children. Leaving, however, such hypothetical conclusions, we may observe that there can be no longer any doubt that population increases very rapidly, wherever the labouring class enjoys abundance of food, security, and a healthy climate, and consequently that the rate at which the inhabitants of any country are found to increase, depends very closely upon the real wages of labour, the necessaries, the comforts given in return for bodily exertion.

In the section on *profits*, Mr. Mill relapses into the heresy of his sect, by confounding the cost of production with exchangeable value—than which, *practically* speaking, no two things can be more different. "When the same quantity of labour and capital," says the author, nearly in the words of Mr. Ricardo, "is employed upon two commodities, they will exchange for one another: in other words the exchangeable value of the one is equal to that of the other." Now, instead of this technical impertinence, were Mr. Mill to consult the actual state of the corn-market at the present moment, and compare it with the cloth market, or with that of any other manufacture which is in a prosperous condition, he would meet with a complete refutation of his absurd opinions. In the transactions of the buyer and seller in these great departments, the cost of production is never once thought of, as the basis of exchangeable or market value. *That* cost will no doubt *ultimately*, after the lapse, perhaps, of several years, determine the quantity brought to market, so as to obtain the ordinary return for the capital and labour expended; but, so difficult is it to remove capital from one employment to another, and to change the habits and residence of workmen, that nothing is more common than for farmers and other capitalists to continue in their line of business, long after the cost of producing their commodities has ceased to be the measure of their exchangeable value. It is useless, therefore, to state as a first principle in an elementary work a position, which is constantly opposed by the

experience of every man engaged in trade; for the condition of things contemplated by the theorist, and upon which he grounds his conclusions, is very seldom the condition of things in which the merchant buys and sells. And, at all events, the principle assumed by such writers as Mr. Mill is not the principle which determines the exchangeable value of any given commodity, at any given moment; that value being in all cases determined by the proportion which the supply of the commodity bears to the demand for it, when the holder and the wanter meet in the market.

Neither is it practically true that the rate of profits determines wages, or that the rate of wages determines profits. It is admitted, of course, that "when any thing is divided wholly between two parties, that which regulates the share of the one regulates also the share of the other;" and, it is further admitted, that, if the amount of the said thing be determinate and unalterable, the doctrine now maintained is placed beyond the reach of all rational contradiction. If the article to be divided consists of twelve specific portions, as, for example, the number of pence in a shilling, it is very evident that if the one party get seven, the other can get only five, and if the former should insist upon eight, the latter must rest satisfied with four. If, however, the subject of partition admits of increase, and diminution in its actual amount, so as to contain as many of those specific portions as fourteen or even sixteen, and to be reducible to so few as eight or ten, it will then follow, in the one extreme case, that the division will afford an increased dividend to both claimants; and, in the other extreme case, that both will have to put up with a diminished one. Now, this supposition, as every practical person knows, illustrates the principle according to which wages and profits are actually determined from year to year and from month to month; and no admission will be more readily made by such a person, than that wages and profits more frequently rise together and fall together, than rise and fall alternately. Owing to an increased demand, any given manufactured commodity may bring, in the market, sixteen of the hypothetical parts, or from a failure of demand, it may for a time fall to ten; and, in such circumstances, the proportion of loss or gain which will be awarded to labour or capital respectively, will in general be determined by the state of market for these articles. If these are in abundance, rather than go idle the workmen will submit to a diminution of wages, and rather than suspend the use of his capital, the master will go on at reduced profits. If both can easily change for th

better, the unprofitable manufacture will be speedily abandoned.

These observations, we need not remark, apply to the ordinary state of things, in a country where capital and population have attained their usual level. In newly peopled countries, the rule is somewhat different, inasmuch as capital being in most instances scarce, compared with the demand for it, profits will necessarily be high at first: and as, in these circumstances, the whole annual produce of the land is divided between the labourer and the capitalist, the high rate of profit will, no doubt, occasion a comparative depression in the rate at which labour is remunerated. In the simple condition of things now supposed, when the exertions of men are confined to the procuring of the necessaries of life, labour and capital will be found to advance at a different, and sometimes a very unequal pace; and as, at all the varying rates of progress, each will find an encreasing return, in proportion as the demand for it exceeds the supply, so it will accordingly be found to happen that the one will alternately encroach upon the other. As society advances, both profits and wages fall in actual amount: sometimes the one takes the lead, and sometimes the other; and their fall in rate or comparative amount is determined by the degree in which capital and population keep pace with each other. The principle is therefore extremely simple as far as it respects the *distribution* of the produce of labour and capital between the labourer and the capitalist in the beginning of society; but it does not apply, with equal simplicity, to the *exchange* of the produce of different kinds of labour and different capitals in a large manufacturing country. The great regulating principle of supply and demand almost supersedes, in the actual practice of commerce, all reference to the simple elements of cost—and profits and wages depend upon price, instead of price depending, as Mr. Mill would have it, upon profits and wages. It is therefore not a little surprising that, having eyes to see and ears to hear, he should maintain in the present deranged state of exchangeable values that "the rate of profits, or the ratio which the value of that which is received by the capitalist bears to the value of the capital, depends *wholly* upon wages." This being the case, we must conclude that the low returns to farming capital, at the present moment, is wholly owing to the excessively high wages given to the farm labourer, and not at all to the supposed fact that the supply of corn has more than overtaken the demand!

The main source of error in the reasoning of Mr. Mill, appears to arise from his allowing too little effect to the prin-

ciple of demand and supply, and ascribing too much force to the correcting tendency connected with the cost of production. He admits (page 68) that "the relative value of commodities, or in other words, the quantity of one which exchanges for a given quantity of another, depends upon demand and supply in the *first instance;* but upon cost of production *ultimately*; and hence, in accurate language, upon cost of production, *entirely.*" Now, it is very clear, that this is seizing by strong means a point which would not be conceded to him; for if it be admitted that demand and supply determines the exchangeable value of commodities in the *first instance,* how can the cost of production be said, "in accurate language," to do it *entirely?* The truth seems to be, that the market price of all commodities vibrates to a certain distance on each side of the cost price, is directed by the competition of capital to settle there as the point of rest, but is constantly disturbed by the varying relation which the quantity at market bears to the number of those who wish to purchase. But we have dwelt too long on this subject, which is only darkened and perplexed by the repetition of verbal nicetics, contemptible in the view of practical men, and of very little use to those who endeavour to estimate their meaning for the purposes of science.

In the Third Chapter, which treats of "Interchange," there is a good deal of information, more valuable however to the man of business than to the student. The Sections on Foreign trade, Money, Paper-money, and the Exchange, are not, properly speaking, elementary; but, on the contrary, enter fully into the practical details of commerce, of mercantile payments, and the balance of trade. The reasoning which pervades this part of the book, manifests not only talent but much attentive observation; and leads us to conclude that, were Mr. Mill to throw aside some of his theoretical absurdities, he could write a treatise on what might be called the Philosophy of Merchandize, to much better purpose than he will ever make up books for the use of schools.

The arguments employed for a free trade in corn, (under the article Bounties) are nugatory in the extreme, and have often been successfully answered. There would assuredly be neither wisdom nor policy in the measure which would render this kingdom dependent, to any great extent, on the growth of foreign nations for an article so indispensably necessary to our existence as corn. And passing over that consideration, is the agriculture of the country a matter of such trivial importance, that its interests should be sacrificed for the chance of getting up, in our crowded manufactories, a few more

spinning-jennies, or of erecting around our large towns, an additional number of steam-engines? It is, no doubt, a good rule, in general, to let capital and enterprise exert themselves wherever they can do it with the best effect, and to buy things where they are to be had at the lowest price; but all rules have exceptions, and we continue to think, notwithstanding Mr. Mill's reasoning and authority, that the protection given to the domestic grower of corn, is founded in just and liberal views of national advantage. The grounds of this opinion we have given on several occasions, and need not now repeat them.

We have only one other topic to review; one, indeed, which constitutes a principal branch of the new doctrine, and which is here very ingeniously but most sophistically handled by our author. We allude to the tenet held by several modern writers, particularly by Mr. Mill, M. Say, and Mr. Ricardo, viz. that, as commodities always exchange for commodities, the supply will always be equal to the demand, and of course, there never can be an overstocked market, or what is called a glut of any one article, except when there is a simultaneous and corresponding deficiency in some other article. The doctrine is stated by Mr. Mill in the following terms.

"In whatever shape any part of the annual produce has come into the hand of any man, if he propose to consume no part of it himself, he wishes to dispose of the whole; and the whole, therefore, becomes matter of supply; if he consumes a part, he wishes to dispose of all the rest, and all the rest becomes matter of supply.

"As every man's demand, therefore, is equal to that part of the annual produce, or of the property generally, which he has to dispose of, and each man's supply is exactly the same thing, the supply and demand of every individual are of necessity equal.

"Demand and supply are terms related in a peculiar manner. A commodity, which is supplied, is always, at the same time, a commodity which is the instrument of demand. A commodity, which is the instrument of demand, is always, at the same time, a commodity added to the stock of supply. Every commodity is always at one and the same time matter of demand and matter of supply. Of two men who perform an exchange, the one does not come with only a supply, the other with only a demand; each of them comes with both a demand and a supply. The supply which he brings is the instrument of his demand; and his demand and supply are of course exactly equal to one another.

"But if the demand and supply of every individual are always equal to one another, the demand and supply of all the individuals in the nation, taken aggregately, must be equal. Whatever therefore be the amount of the annual produce, it never can exceed the

amount of the annual demand. The whole of the annual produce is divided into a number of shares equal to that of the people to whom it is distributed. The whole of the demand is equal to as much of the whole of the shares as the owners do not keep for their own consumption. But the whole of the shares is equal to the whole of the produce. The demonstration therefore is complete."

We repeat once more the expression of our regret that Mr. Mill has found it convenient to refer to no other writer who has treated of these subjects, and to reply to no specific objections made to his own opinions. He could not possibly have brought forward in his work Mr. Malthus' excellent reasoning on this head, and ventured in the same chapter, to defend the sophistry by which he himself endeavours to blindfold his readers.

As to the question at issue, can there, we ask, be any thing more absurd than to assert that the demand possessed by every individual, is always equal to his supply, when it may happen that nobody wants the thing which alone constitutes that supply. If the people of Great Britain require annually 10,000,000 of hats, the holders of hats to that amount possess a supply to make good, or render effectual, their demand to the full extent of the market value of these articles; but if, by any improvement in machinery, the same labour and capital shall produce 40,000,000 of hats, the holders of nearly three-fourths of these could not be said to have a demand equal to their supply, because the commodity in which their only supply consists, is one for which there is no market, and of course no return. Instead of the hypothetical case now given, let us take the actual condition of the cotton manufactures, all over the kingdom, during three or four years immediately after the peace, and the proof of the principle just stated, will be found equally convincing. The supply so far exceeded the demand, that immense warehouses and lofts were stuffed full of goods, which, to the manufacturer's sad experience, afforded a striking refutation of Mr. Mill's hypothesis, that the effectual demand of a holder is always equal to his share of the annual produce. Listen with wonder to Mr. Mill's explanation. Though it be undeniable "that the demand which every man brings, is equal to the supply which he brings, he may not find in the market the sort of purchaser which he wants. No man may have come desiring that sort of commodity of which he has to dispose. It is not *the less necessarily true, that he came with a demand equal to his supply; for he wanted something in return for the goods which he brought.*"

There is an enigma in the expression:—the demand is *equal* to the supply, says he; let that be granted; but if the supply, owing to the state of the market, be equal to nothing, what is the demand equal to? If a man bring a commodity to a market open, he does not find "the sort of purchaser he wants," and to which "no man may have come desiring that sort of commodity of which he has to dispose;" to what, we ask once more, does the exchangeable value of the commodity really amount? The man may, to use Mr. Mill's language, "want something in return for the goods which he has bought;" but if nobody wants the goods, he may wait long enough for the "return," and find, to his cost, that his supply, however ample, does not constitute an effectual demand upon the commodities which he wished to carry home. He who goes to a market with goods which no one will buy, cannot, of course, be a purchaser in that market; and whatever may be the portion of the annual produce which he happens to possess, he is, practically speaking, as poor as if not the smallest fraction had fallen to his share. It is unnecessary to add, after this, that the whole theory is founded on a false assumption, inconsistent at once with the sound principles of political economy, and with the actual experience of mankind.

If, indeed, the total amount of the annual produce of the country were divided into two equal parts to be exchanged, the one for the other, it is obvious that the demand and supply being equal, the one would countervail the other. But commodities are not so divided nor assorted. Year after year, there is a discrepancy between the supply and the demand, in numerous articles; a deficiency of one and a glut of another: and the attempt to equalize them, by an increased production of what lacks, and a diminished quantity of that which abounds, has sometimes no other effect than to augment the distance by which they are separated. Nor are commodities always exchanged for commodities, as is assumed by Mr. Mill, but very often for labour, productive and unproductive; and no article which is brought to market in these days, is more liable to variations, both in the supply and the remuneration bestowed upon them, than the time and the exertion of the human being, which must, of course, affect with corresponding uncertainty, the things for which they are exchanged. It is, in short, well observed by Mr. Malthus, that "if commodities were only to be compared and exchanged with each other, then indeed it would be true that, if they were all increased in their proper proportions to any extent, they would continue to bear among themselves the same

relative value," and consequently, he who possessed any given portion of any given commodity, would enjoy an effectual demand over any other commodity to the full value of the one he possessed; and in this case, assuredly, every man's effectual demand would be equal to his actual supply. But, if we compare commodities, as we ought to compare them, with the numbers and wants of the consumers, then, a great increase of produce, in any one department, must infallibly occasion a diminution of exchangeable value, and derange the equilibrium of supply and demand as determined by the cost of production.

We take leave of Mr. Mill with some regard for his talents, but with very little respect for his opinions as an economist. His "School-Book" is a compound of absurdity, as far as principle is concerned—a manual which could have no other effect in the hands of a student, but to bewilder his judgment, and fill his mouth with paradoxes. We recommend it not.

ART. IV. *The peculiar Difficulties of the Clergy in India. A Sermon preached at the Second Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta at St. Thomas's Church, Bombay, on Monday, March 5th,* 1821. *By the Rev. Thomas Robinson, A. M. Chaplain of Poona.* 8vo. pp. 24. Rivingtons. 1821.

IF a new proof was now required, of the practical good resulting from our Episcopal Polity and discipline, it would be furnished by the Church in India. Let any dispassionate and considerate man compare that branch of our establishment, as it now exhibits itself to his view in its growing exertions, its continually increasing moral influence, and its united character, with the state to which it was reduced when the Bishop of Calcutta first took possession of his See, and he will require no further evidence on the subject. We are perfectly ready to admit, that, before that period, many valuable clergymen had devoted their talents, and the best portion of their lives to a conscientious discharge of their professional duties in those regions. But, acting without concert, without encouragement, without support; with no superior to advise, no authority to controul their labours, or direct them to one common end, the benefits resulting from their services were necessarily confined to the narrow sphere of

their own individual exertions, and they must have been too often mortified by the conviction, that, as far as respected the advancement of religious knowledge, or the promotion of religious practice in the world, they had almost "laboured in vain, and spent their strength for nought." And, while the few scattered clergy of that vast territory were thus wearing out their lives to little profit; the Church, of which they were the only representatives, had scarcely a local habitation or a name in India. Its influence over the public mind was absolutely nothing, even among its professed members; and its existence as a Church was unknown to the natives. The alteration which has already taken place in all these respects, is happily notorious; and though the obstacles which yet remain to be surmounted, are such as no mind, less active and energetic than that which has already achieved so much, would venture to encounter; yet, when we consider what has been already done, and how signally the blessing of Providence has seemed to rest upon the pious work, we are sanguine in our hopes, that, under the same Divine protection, all the benevolent wishes of the excellent Bishop will be realized, and all his plans accomplished.

The Sermon before us is a gratifying proof that, among the clergy over whom he presides, are to be found men, fully able to estimate the peculiar duties of their situation, and fully prepared to discharge them. And it is with unfeigned pleasure that we call the attention of our readers to this, among the other promising first-fruits of Episcopal superintendance in that most important part of the British dominions.

Mr. Robinson has chosen for his text the following very appropriate passage from the Epistle of St. James. *Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and the latter rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.* James v. 7, 8.

After explaining the spirit and purport of the Apostle's language, he observes that, though the Christian Church does not now labour under the pressure of external persecution, the admonitions of the text can never be unseasonable to its members.

"The Christian Church must ever be militant upon earth; for, though it may have triumphed over external opposition, it has other foes to vanquish, and other difficulties to surmount. These trials will vary with the political events of the world, and above all, with the spirit and genius of the age. And, however we may dis-

guise the truth from ourselves, the difficulties that assail the Church, even in times of prosperity and peace, are neither few nor trifling." P. 10.

From this general and obvious application of the text, he goes on to point out those circumstances connected with their professional duties in that country, which seem to render the admonition of the Apostle peculiarly appropriate to his hearers.

One of the first discouragements which a clergyman meets with at his entrance upon his duties, is the disinclination of the world around him, to admit the real value of his ministry. Deeply impressed, himself, with the awful responsibility devolved upon him, by the sacred character which he has undertaken to sustain, of an ambassador of Christ; and of its incalculable importance to society at large, when its duties are properly discharged, he will naturally be disposed to "*magnify his office.*" When then the daily intercourse of life convinces him, that few now really esteem the clergy for the sake of their holy function, or allow any authority to their pastoral character, it will require no ordinary portion of steadiness and perseverance, to bear up against such a mortifying conviction, and to go on with equal firmness "through evil report and good report," adopting the sentiments and feelings which induced the great Apostle, to declare to the Corinthians, "*with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment* *." To the clergyman in India, all the discouraging sensations which may be awakened by the indifference, of those among whom his lot is cast, to his professional character, will be increased by various circumstances. He will feel himself almost an insulated being; and so far removed from all means of communication with his brethren, as to be seldom able to avail himself of their advice or assistance; he will be too probably thrown among those, who previously for years together have been unaccustomed to the ordinances of religion; and it is hardly to be expected, that they should at once receive him with that confidence and affection, which it must ever be his interest to inspire: and he will be further disheartened by finding his congregation so small, and in its composition so variable, as to afford him scarcely any scope for exertion, or any hope of being able, even in a few cases, to *make full proof of his ministry* †.

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* 1 Cor. iv. 3. † 2 Tim. iv. 5.

Another circumstance to which the preacher alludes we shall give in his own words, for the passage is highly creditable to his professional feelings.

"The last cause of discouragement which I shall mention, is perhaps of all others the most powerful, if not in lessening our actual usefulness, at least in taking away some of the happiest and most characteristic employments of our profession. I mean the absence of the lower orders of society. The cottages of the poor, and the domestic circles of those who are equally removed from affluence and want,—these, if I mistake not, form the happiest scenes for the exercise of our ministry. These look up to us as the natural guardians of their best and dearest interests; for advice in difficulties, for solace in afflictions, for the instruction of their children, and for support and comfort in their dying hour. It is among them chiefly that we are recognized as the Pastors of our flock; among them the primitive feeling of our ancestors still lingers; *they esteem us very highly in love for our work's sake* *. Our attention to their temporal wants, opens their hearts to our spiritual instructions: and it is perhaps chiefly by means of this interchange of kindness and respect, that our Lord's words are fulfilled, that *to the poor the Gospel is preached.* It would awake in many of our hearts, a train of recollections, full of exquisite pleasure not unmixed with pain, to remind us of all the feelings of paternal interest derived from such associations. From these interesting relations we are (generally speaking) excluded, by the very nature of our service; and surely by those who have once felt the powerful advantage they afford, their almost total want must be considered among the chief trials and discouragements of our situation. P. 16.

The following passage will also shew, that if Mr. Robinson is quick in discovering the peculiar difficulties of the station in which he and his fellow labourers are placed, he is not less skilful in suggesting the proper means of meeting and overcoming them.

"The general and most effectual antidote to all is, to keep alive the recollection of the inestimable value and importance of our office. We have pledged ourselves before the altar of God to be faithful stewards of the mysteries of Christ: that we will consecrate our time, our talents and our influence to the furtherance of one great object. It is not for us to determine where, or under what circumstances, we will serve our Divine Master. Wherever His Providence hath placed us, there must our day of labour be employed. It belongs not to us to calculate the probable usefulness of our labours, or to repine that a more ample and fruitful

* 1 Thess. v. 13.

field is not assigned us. We are placed indeed in a remote part of the sacred vineyard, and most of us separated from the converse and society of our Brethren; but *we are members one of another*, and have each a share in the general prosperity of the Church. And assuredly no inconsiderable advantage will result to the interests of the body of the Clergy, if we keep the form and character of the profession distinctly visible in the eyes of all around us.

"Our insulated position renders us the objects of minute and scrupulous attention; and we have it therefore in our power more materially to advance the honour of religion. We owe it to the Church, which nourishes us in her bosom, to secure, by the innocence and sanctity of our lives, the respect and dignity of our order. The dignity which belongs to us is that of character. The Apostolic charge on this subject is addressed, not to the laity, but to ourselves. *Let no man despise thee*[*]. Nor can we ever, by a secular deportment, suffer one shade of contempt to fall upon our person or our office, without compromising, in that moment, the best interests of our Establishment.

"To the lethargy that is apt to steal upon our spirits, from the confined number of our hearers, let us oppose the awful reflection of the inconceivable value even of one immortal soul. Perhaps it is an erroneous calculation to measure the success of our labours by a large population or a crowded audience. It is, at all events, more profitable and more encouraging, to remember that if we shall be made the instrument of *turning one from the error of his way, we shall have saved a soul from death, and covered a multitude of sins.* Let us strengthen by every means in our power the legitimate influence of the ministerial character. Let us win the confidence of our people by our earnestness and affection. Let us remind them of the real nature of the connexion that subsists between a Minister and his charge; that it depends on nothing earthly; and that, however interrupted by the changes of time and place, it cannot be dissolved even by death itself; that the fulness of its awful consequences will then only be developed and appreciated, when we, together with them, shall appear before the judgment-seat of Christ. We, to give account of the ministry committed to our trust, and they, of the advantages they have enjoined. *Be patient therefore, Brethren; stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.*" P. 18.

In the conclusion of the Sermon, he adverts to the establishment of the Episcopal Mission College at Calcutta, and speaks in terms of becoming admiration and gratitude of the zeal and liberality which projected and promoted this valuable Institution. He has, we trust, rightly termed it a πειμηλιον εις αει a depository of divine learning, and a centre of

[*] 1 Tim. iv. 12.

religious knowledge for ages yet unborn. And fervently do we join with him in his supplication to the Great Head of the Church, that he may command his blessing upon its future labours, that it may be the means of perpetuating the purity of our Christian Faith, with the Apostolic simplicity of our Ecclesiastical discipline.

ART. V. *Popular Lectures, on the Bible and Liturgy, By Edward Hawke Locker, Esq. F.R.S.* 12mo. pp. 257. Rivingtons. 1821.

IT is not perhaps without some sacrifice of professional feeling, that we take up a volume of lectures on religious subjects by a layman: and yet, as we are earnestly desirous by all fit and proper means to promote the knowledge of true religion in the world, we cannot but be gratified by seeing a layman so deeply impressed with its importance, as to make it his study: and so far advanced in that study as to be able not only to give an answer to any who may inquire of him the reason of the faith he professes, but also to teach others to lay the same foundation on which he has built.

It may indeed be thought that there is a perceptible distinction between theology and religion. The latter may be styled a matter of common concern, and general practice; a rule of life which all ought to possess, and be able to apply: while the former is a science which may be safely left to those who are professionally engaged to study it, that by its aid they may be empowered to teach religion to others with more correctness and advantage. It may be said, and doubtless in a certain sense with truth, that every man must look upon himself as indispensably obliged to be religious; but that it is not necessary for any but the clergy to be theologians. And yet, the connection between theology and religion is so intimate, and the limits of each are so gradually shaded off into the other, that the precise line of separation is not very easily drawn. A sincerely religious person if he possess an acute mind, and be actuated by a spirit of research, can scarcely fail to become in some degree a theologian: his thoughts will of necessity be much occupied by a subject which so greatly influences his feelings, and so continually regulates his conduct; and he will be led on step by step,

from that practical knowledge which may be properly termed religion, into those speculative and scientific enquiries which are the province of theology. And, as the farther he proceeds, the more deeply will he feel the importance and the comforts of the information he has acquired, he will be anxious to impart to others a share in all the benefits he is enjoying; and while perhaps he intended no more than to lay before the public a popular and practical view of religious precepts and duties; he will find himself insensibly led into the regions of theory and speculation, or into those doctrinal investigations which it is always best, because safest, to leave to those who are professionally bound to devote their time and faculties exclusively to their pursuit. Something similar to this has doubtless been the process by which many conscientious laymen have been unfortunately induced to trespass upon the province of the divine. We say unfortunately, because, though we well remember the illustrious names which may be cited against us, names which form a splendid exception to the rule we would inforce, we think that, upon the whole, more injury than advantage has resulted to Christianity, from the theological labours of the laity. We should be ungrateful if we did not acknowledge the wisdom and the piety of such writers as Boyle, Newton, and Nelson, men to whose works the ablest divines would not hesitate to acknowledge themselves indebted; and we are equally ready to allow that many volumes of humbler pretensions, but of considerable and permanent utility, have been added to the library of the pious christian by laymen. But it cannot be denied, that the majority of those who have thus taken upon themselves the office, for the due discharge of which the clergy are professionally responsible, have laboured in a very different spirit, and for far less beneficial purposes. We do not allude to some more notorious examples which have passed under our own eyes; to treatises in defence of Socinianism written by naval officers; or to the egregious Church of Englandism of that idol of the Portuguese reformers, Mr. Jeremy Bentham; or to certain others scarcely less violent, and certainly more mischievous attacks upon our religious establishments, which have been attributed to the leisure of briefless barristers. These are instances so notorious, that they may be left to speak for themselves. But, there are many other less virulent, and perhaps much better intended tracts, continually obtruded upon the world by lay writers, which are little calculated to increase the knowledge of pure religion, or to cherish the practice of genuine piety among us.

Mr. Looker himself has truly stated the fact, when he says in his preface,

"The author is fully sensible of the injury which has been done to true religion, by the unwarranted exercise of the functions of the Christian ministry. Many weak and misguided men have taken upon themselves to preach opinions which have given great concern to pious christians; and some who were the concealed enemies of the Church, have availed themselves of this cloak to disseminate the most pernicious tenets. But these are few in number, compared with such as have erred from ignorance or vanity. The charge of hypocrisy so frequently made against them has been seldom justly founded; but the errors of the enthusiast may sometimes prove as dangerous as the wiles of the hypocrite. The imprudent zeal of those preachers who conscientiously believe the absurdities they utter, has too often a powerful influence upon unsteady and ignorant minds." Pref. P. vi.

To this we will only add, that all which the respectable author observes of the evil which has resulted from the preaching of weak and misguided men, who have obtruded themselves unbidden into the sacred office, will apply in its full force to lay writers as well as lay preachers; and we say this with the less reluctance on the present occasion, because it will appear, that Mr. Locker is completely exempted from the charge; that he neither unnecessarily invaded the office of the clergy, nor did he in the discharge of that part of the clerical duties which were unexpectedly devolved upon him, deviate from that discreet and sober line of conduct to which, in similar circumstances, the best instructed clergyman would have adhered. While serving as secretary to the commander in chief on a foreign station, he felt it his duty in the absence of a chaplain, to undertake the performance of the church service on board the flag ship of Lord Exmouth: and in the discharge of that duty he was naturally led to consider the spiritual wants of his congregation: and finding them wholly unprovided with books of religious instruction suited to their habits and capacities, in addition to those practical discourses which he addressed to the whole crew when assembled for divine worship, "he thought the sabbath evenings might be profitably employed among those who were willing to listen to a short account of the several books which are comprised in the Bible, and to a summary of the doctrines of the Church of England." Pref. P. ix. Such was the origin of the Lectures on the Bible and Liturgy now before us. They were first delivered in a series of unwritten addresses to the sailors and soldiers who assembled on the Sunday evenings in the

gun-room of a man of war. They were afterwards put together in their present form, for the use of the junior officers, and others of the author's hearers, who expressed themselves desirous of improvement in Christian knowledge. They have been subsequently inserted in a periodical publication called "The plain Englishman;" and are now printed in a separate form for more general circulation. Perhaps a volume thus coming before us is scarcely a legitimate subject for criticism: but it appears to us so well suited for the use of persons in the humbler walks of life, that we are desirous of contributing, as far as the influence of our recommendation may extend, to promote its dispersion by those charitable individuals who are continually endeavouring to supply their poorer neighbours with the means of religious instruction.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first contains six Lectures on the Bible; in which a general view is first taken of the Old Testament, and then a more particular account is given of the several books under the heads of history, Prophecy, Psalms, and Proverbs. The New Testament then falls under the author's consideration in a similar way. He first gives his readers a general account of the contents of the whole volume, and then a brief statement of the contents of the several books, and a short account of their authors, of the time when they were written, and the particular object which each inspired writer had in view. A few extracts from different parts of these Lectures, will best acquaint our readers with the mode in which Mr. Locker has performed his useful task: and will perhaps recommend the volume more effectually than any general expressions of commendation.

The following passage, in which we think that Mr. Locker has very fairly stated the difficulties which the simple mind of an uneducated individual will have to encounter, when he first undertakes the perusal of the Scriptures, we recommend to the serious attention of all those well intentioned persons who fancy that when they have put the Bible into the hands of the poor, they have effectually provided for their religious instruction and improvement in righteousness.

"I can easily conceive the difficulty which must stand in the way of any one who, for the first time, opens his Bible with a serious inclination to understand it. His mind must be almost entirely unprepared for such a subject. The confused notions which he has received of the Sacred History, either from his parents, or from accidental information, give him little or no assistance in the undertaking. There may be some here who, notwithstanding their

opportunities of obtaining this knowledge, have not until now thought with earnestness upon the subject.

"A person thus circumstanced may be at length convinced that the Bible alone contains the word of God. He is happily persuaded of the absolute necessity of looking into it, first as a duty expressly commanded by God, and next as the means of *learning* his duty. He is satisfied of the importance of setting about it without delay. He turns to his Bible for these purposes, expecting perhaps to find a regular code of instructions to guide him, according to the usual mode of teaching systems of human learning. He searches through the Sacred Volume, but finds it made up of parts quite differing from each other. He finds a history of the world carried on through a few pages, and the narrative afterwards confined to the affairs of a particular nation. He reads a most astonishing account of God's direct interference in the worldly concerns of this chosen people; who, notwithstanding the high favour by which they were distinguished, may appear to him to have been totally undeserving of such great kindness. They stand convicted by their own history of the grossest acts of rebellion, idolatry, and wickedness. Nevertheless he finds them supported by the Almighty, in waging war upon other nations, guided in their conquests, and protected in their struggles by supernatural Providence, and at last gaining possession of the lands of their enemies, whom they absolutely destroy by the divine command.

"The inexperienced reader, surprised at these things, proceeds in his examination with increasing curiosity and wonder. He next reads of many holy men raised up from time to time among these chosen people, who were instructed by God himself, to deliver to them accounts of the most extraordinary events that were afterwards to happen; taking them to task for their crimes in the severest language, yet at the same time promising to them the greatest future blessings, and the distinguished honour of giving a Saviour to the world in aftertimes, who should be descended from their own stock. He is lost in amazement at the many wonderful things of which he reads. He is confounded at the difficulties which press upon his mind, and possibly he may be inclined to doubt the truth of these sacred writers and prophets, or to turn away in despair of understanding matters so contrary to his own experience." P. 3.

To assist the unlearned reader in this necessary but difficult study, Mr. Locker commences his Lectures by some introductory observations on the many various things contained in the Bible; on its great age; on the rudeness of the times in which the Scriptures were composed, and the change of manners and opinions since; and lastly, on the fact, that a book of Divine authority which treats of the nature of God, and his dealings with men, must of necessity contain things of an uncommon nature.

The reflections which he makes upon these several topics

are very well suited for his purpose. They are drawn up in a clear, unaffected style, and they will doubtless assist many unlettered students, and relieve their minds from perplexities which they could not escape; and prevent errors which might have seriously impeded their progress in the knowledge of the way of salvation.

We extract the following passage from Mr. Locker's sixth Lecture, which contains a retrospective view of the contents of the whole Bible, and of the various observations which he had made in support of their authenticity, or in illustration of their narrative. We do not cite the passage as containing any thing novel; but as a fair specimen of the ability which Mr. Locker has shewn, in adapting his materials to the comprehension and character of his hearers.

"In examining the circumstances of our Saviour's life, it is only necessary to consider how such events could, with any prospect of being believed, be reported to have happened in London, or any other great city of the present day, if they had not really taken place.

If a person were to pretend to perform such miracles, and his friends, after he was put to death, for thus trying to impose on the world, were to spread a report of his having risen from the dead, would any number of persons be found wild enough to believe such a story, in direct contradiction to the common sense and knowledge of the public? If, as a Jewish council declared of the disciples of Christ, these men had stolen away his body, would they, with the corpse lying before them, be frantic enough to believe he had come to life? or is it credible that without hopes of reward they would put forth such a story? And if they did, would not one general voice of contempt and indignation put to silence such an absurd declaration, and prove the whole to be an imposition? Again, could they be rash enough to publish an account of miracles which everybody knew to be false, or to state that at his execution a terrible earthquake shook the ground, that a wonderful darkness overspread the city of London in the open day, and that many eminent divines, who died long ago, came to life again out of their graves, and walked through the streets? Would they venture such a declaration when every person to whom they appealed could contradict them, and declare that no such thing had taken place?

Yet such facts as these the Evangelists record; and they persevered in maintaining the truth of this story, without any possible chance of reward, in spite of all the threats and persecutions of their enemies; they endured the severest hardships and sufferings, and were executed at length, with this declaration on their lips, when a single word, acknowledging their falsehood, would have instantly saved their lives, restored them to freedom, and secured to them the reward and patronage of their unfeeling persecutors.

The enemies of Christ's Religion sought in vain for any such confession: no instance of the kind was found. They were driven to absolute silence. The Jewish historians (especially Josephus, already referred to,) would gladly have availed themselves of the slightest ground of falsehood against them. The chief priests and scribes, who so earnestly strove to keep down the increasing reputation of the Christian faith, would have eagerly brought forward any evidence to cast discredit on the Gospel history, but none whatever was to be found. The facts were too well known to be doubted. The numberless witnesses of Christ's miracles were still living at Jerusalem. The faith in consequence spread around on every side, until it finally attained that prodigious extent at which it has now arrived." P. 105.

The second part of the volume comprises eight Lectures on the Liturgy. From the first, which is wholly introductory, we select the following remarks, in vindication of our excellent Form of Prayer from one of the most hacknied objections urged against it; namely, that it is too long, and rendered so by vain and useless repetitions.

"When you hear any one complain of the tiresome length of Divine service, or of things said over and over again in our public prayers, you may be sure he yet wants that true relish for devotion, which would prevent his feeling these as objections to our Liturgy. No man in earnest to receive any worldly favour, or to obtain pardon for a crime, ever thought the expressions, which his friends recommended him to use, either too long or too full. On the contrary, if you notice the language of a person in such a situation, he endeavours to weary out his benefactor or his judge with his petitions. He repeats the same things over and over again; and he never leaves off, so long as he is permitted to address him, until he thinks he has prevailed, and has obtained a promise of the favour or the pardon, for which he has entreated.

We see, in fact, that a pious man is always the last to complain of the length or repetition of our prayers. Few *are* pious, and therefore most men complain; or if they do not express their weariness, they are inattentive and uneasy while at church, and feel relieved when the service is at an end. Look round during our public devotions, and observe, how few seem at all interested about the solemn business, which brought them there. Or, what is much better, instead of watching the negligence of others, look into your own hearts, and you will own the difficulty of keeping up your attention to the prayers. Confess that you too often neglect to repeat the prayers at all, or if you repeat them, that you do not think of their meaning. Acknowledge that your thoughts are constantly wandering away upon other matters; upon the merest trifles; nay, too often upon schemes of desperate wickedness. The Tempter has power to draw you away from your duty

to God, unless you exert yourselves to resist him. The bad desires of your own hearts are constantly seducing away your thoughts from God; and at the very moment you are assembling in his presence, your corrupt dispositions may be plotting some new vice, some scheme of wickedness, which, if you recollect yourselves a moment, you know must bring you to condemnation." P. 123.

The second Lecture contains observations on the Daily Service, leaving the Creed for separate consideration. In the third, after briefly noticing the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, he proceeds to the Occasional Services. In his Remarks on the Catechism, we think he has somewhat underrated it. As a summary of the principles of the Christian Faith, it never has, or can be exceeded. It is true, that numerous expositions of it have appeared; but they have not proceeded from any general conviction that its terms were obscure, and required explanation. They are rather to be considered, as the result of the performance of the important duty of catechising; in which, after satisfying himself that the Catechumens have the words of the Catechism impressed upon their memories, the Catechist will of course make use of those words as a test on which to found that more lengthened and familiar illustration of the doctrines and precepts of our holy religion, which for the sake of his infant pupils, as well as others who may attend them, he will deem it expedient to deliver. No form of words can be devised which will be equally intelligible to all capacities: but few forms can be pointed out, which offer less difficulties to ordinary understandings than the Church Catechism.

The Offices for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, afford Mr. Locker an opportunity of making the following forcible appeal to the consciences of his hearers, on the danger of delaying repentance.

"In the hour of sickness and misfortune alone, our hearts are properly humbled to an entire dependence upon God for mercy and for assistance; and this is the time, when we are disposed to listen most earnestly to some pious clergyman, or to some sincere friend, on the great affair of salvation. In such moments the hardest heart may sometimes be overcome by the sense of approaching death, or by the force of some solemn remonstrance; and many a man, who has unexpectedly recovered from a sick bed, has had to bless God all his life after, for sending him such a warning of the dreadful danger of continuing in sin. Many a man, who has spent his life without the fear of God, has been spared long enough, in his last illness, to make his peace with his offended Redeemer; and, though short the season for preparation,

has gone into his presence with an humble hope of mercy through the atonement of Christ, and has received the Sacrament on his death-bed, and felt that his devout service was accepted. But be cautious, I earnestly entreat you, how you put off to the future that reformation, which is required of you *now*. Do not deceive yourselves with the hope that a death-bed repentance will set all right, and cancel the heavy debt of sin, for which you will assuredly be called to account. The resolution to put off repentance is a dreadful defiance of God. He has mercifully shewn favour to some, by affording them time and help, even at their latter end, to regain his pardon: but can we presume to reckon, that we shall be so spared? See how few *are* spared. See how many are cut off in the midst of their sins, especially in our profession;—our companions are continually summoned away from us at a sudden warning. Those mistaken men, who would make you believe, that the Lord converts whom he pleases, without any exertions of their own, and would persuade you that this conversion is effected in a moment, even at your last hour, fatally deceive you. True it is, that salvation is the free gift of God, and conferred on us through the merits of Christ alone. But it is given to the faithful, and we know from Scripture, as well as from our own experience, that it requires our most earnest exertions to overcome sin, and to recover his favour; and if we do all we can, *then* only, we are taught to believe, he will graciously accept us. But, at the close of a careless life, we can have little hope of doing this, when our minds are clouded with age and infirmities, and our bodies tortured with pain. We cannot expect forgiveness, unless we sincerely repent and return to God, while he gives us the opportunity, as well as the means, of working out our salvation through Christ." P. 164.

The fourth and fifth Lectures are on the Creed; the sixth and seventh briefly explain the Ten Commandments, and the eighth and last is on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the following passage, Mr. Locker meets one of the most common objections against partaking in this Sacrament, in a manner which shews him to be well acquainted with the character of those whom he was addressing, and skilful in adapting his language and arguments to their peculiar feelings and capacities.

"One, who now sits among you, has explained to me, what I believe to be the chief cause of your neglect of this solemn service. When I asked him, why so many refused to go to the Sacrament, he said he knew several that did not like to go, because, if they did, they thought they must give up all their pleasures from that time forward, or else offend God more than by staying away. He owned that he was once of the same mind, and long hung back for that reason. Nothing, my friends, can be a greater mistake. I am very anxious to set you right about this matter. There are, I

know, some among us, and very worthy men they are, who have gotten a notion, that religion forbids all mirth and amusement; who think they give offence to God, if they take part in the innocent diversions and lively conversation of their shipmates; and fancy it is their duty to be always gloomy, and to be for ever talking about religion.

My excellent friends, you little think, without intending it, how much injury you may thus be doing to the cause of piety. I am sure you would be truly concerned to know, that any young man was discouraged by the very endeavours you use to bring him to God. But when the young and the lively are told, that religion does not allow of such pastimes, you make them believe that religion is one thing and pleasure another. You bring them to say, if religion is to make us dull and melancholy as you are, we will follow our pleasures,—we will think of religion by and bye; and so you shut their hearts against devotion, and all the teacher can do afterwards will be in vain to bring them back to God.

I should well deserve your reproaches, if I said any thing which might seem to treat lightly the sacred duties of religion. I believe you are well persuaded, that my sincere desire is to promote it by those observations I am now making. Let us show our younger friends that religion, so far from forbidding innocent enjoyments, is the friend to happiness; that it deprives us of no real pleasures; that, by preserving us in the favour of God, our hearts are always contented and happy; and, when they perceive this, they will be ready to follow our advice, and take the benefit of our assistance. Solomon says, a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance. I can truly say a cheerful countenance may always proceed from a *religious* heart; and, so far from religion making a man dull and dismal, the most pious persons of my acquaintance are not only the best-tempered, but the happiest people I know." P. 241.

We add one more passage, because it proves that the author, though earnest in his exhortations to his hearers to perform this solemn and most important part of their duty, is also careful to impress upon their minds the necessity of due preparation, and to instruct them how they ought to prepare themselves.

"I am very anxious," he says, "to see every one of you there, because it is not only a bounden duty, but the performance of it is a means of your becoming better men. Every man, who is not a hypocrite, must be the better for it. I began by assuring you, that there is no man here, who may not fit himself to appear there *worthily* next Sunday, if he earnestly sets himself to prepare for it by prayer and self-examination. But let no man look upon the Holy Sacrament as a light matter. Let no man

presume to come without having thought seriously upon what he is going to do. You must examine your souls. You must pray for help to feel and know your own sinfulness. You must forgive, from your heart, any who have done you wrong; for how else can you dare to ask forgiveness yourself? What are the crimes, that any one has committed towards you, compared with yours, before God? Every man knows something worse of himself, than he knows of his neighbour; and if he deals honestly with himself, he will confess it to God, and humbly pray that it may be forgiven.

Perhaps some of you may be staggered by this account of your self-examination. You may think you cannot do this; that you cannot bring your minds into this religious disposition. As your sincere friend, it is my duty to tell you that you *must* do it. You are commanded to come to the Lord's table by Christ himself. If you do not go, you disobey God; if you go unprepared, you insult him. You see, then, you have no choice; you dare not let it alone. After what I have told you there is no excuse; you cannot plead ignorance any longer. You cannot say I will go another time; that is trifling with God's mercy: you must go now, and go prepared. How do you know he will ever give you another opportunity? Remember our Lord's own solemn words: "Sinner, this night thy soul may be required of thee."

If you firmly believe, that our Lord Jesus Christ laid down his life for your sake; if you can kneel before him and truly say, you rely upon his mercy and help, earnestly begging pardon for all your past sins, resolving to do your best endeavours to sin no more, and to give yourself up to his service in future; if you can heartily and honestly do this, you are in a fit state to go to the Sacrament. Here no learning is required; it is not necessary to be a scholar to understand this: the most ignorant, as well as the wisest here, may equally approach the altar. Though you may not be able to read, if you now rightly know the use and meaning of it, and the benefit you will receive from it, you may go with a fixed hope, that your humble service will be accepted by your merciful Redeemer. "Though your sins be red as scarlet, they shall be made white as wool;" though your past lives have been stained with heinous crimes, do but bring to God's altar a heart deeply penitent, a faith steadily fixed on the atoning sacrifice of Christ,—God has promised you his pardon sealed with the precious blood of your crucified Saviour." P. 253.

It is not often that we find Mr. Locker chargeable with any error of sufficient importance to require specific observation: but we cannot refrain from pointing out one, into which he has probably been inadvertently led; and which is a blemish that we would willingly see removed from the page which it disfigures. In the fifth Lecture on the Liturgy, speaking of the lifting up of the brazen serpent by Moses in the wilderness, he says, that it was referred to by our

Blessed Saviour as an act which prefigured his own Resurrection. (P. 203.) If he refers to the passage in St. John's Gospel to which he evidently alludes, (John iii. 14.) he will at once perceive, that our Lord speaks of it as a type of his Crucifixion; and such is the light in which it has been, we believe, always considered. We may also ask Mr. Locker upon what authority he has attributed the 49th Psalm to Solomon? (P. 33.) Commentators are much divided in their opinions respecting the author of this difficult Psalm, as well as on the true meaning of many passages in it: but we are not aware that any interpreter of note has considered Solomon as its author; at least our own researches have not enabled us to discover the authority for such an opinion.

These however are matters which will admit of easy correction; and if this useful volume should be reprinted, we think Mr. Locker will thank us for having pointed them out to his notice. Upon the whole, we consider these Lectures to form a valuable addition to those stores of religious instruction which have been provided for the use of the lower classes.

ART. VI. *The Principles of Forensic Medicine, Systematically Arranged, and applied to British Practice. By John Gordon Smith, M.D.* 8vo. Pp. 532. 14s. Messrs. Underwood. 1821.

WE will not quarrel with the terms "Forensic Medicine," and "Medical Jurisprudence;" for it, probably, would not be easy to substitute others which would answer the purpose equally well. But the exoteric reader may, perhaps, require to be told, that they apply to those principles which, in legal investigations, enable the magistrate to form correct opinions on the causes of injuries which the human person may have sustained. It is evident, therefore, that the science is of no small importance; and, strange to say, its cultivation in England, systematically, is, in a great degree, if not altogether, new.

About thirty years since, a brief abstract of a foreign work appeared under the title of Dr. Farr's Elements. In 1815, Dr. Bartley published a treatise on Forensic Medicine, in a small compass; and subsequently Doctors Male and Roberton have edited larger works on the same subject. With the exception of such detached papers as the medical journals have periodically contained, (and we have reason to believe

that these are numerous and valuable,) such is the meagre sum contributed by English physicians to this interesting branch of their professional knowledge.

We cannot feel assured, that Dr. Gordon Smith's work will attract more attention than those of any of his predecessors; and they, probably, by this time, have undergone the fate of most "Treatises." Neither the style, nor the arrangement of his volume, are particularly attractive: we heartily wish they were more so; for it would be difficult to assemble in the same small space so large a measure of important facts; and facts, after all, are better than fine writing in a book of science. Some of these we shall present to our readers.

There seems to be only one proof of death which can be admitted as absolute, Putrefaction; and in warm climates, where the body is hurried rapidly to interment, it s highly necessary that this process should be allowed to commence. Dr. Smith himself, saw in a celebrated continental city, a poor woman, yet alive, carried to the brink of the grave, in broad day: the spectators fortunately interposed in this particular instance; but its occurrence sufficiently evinces that a belief in mistakes of the kind is not altogether fanciful. Besides being *buried* alive, (an operation with which we have heard many people of sense express themselves dissatisfied,) there is a chance, it appears, if we do not take good care, of being *burnt* alive also; and, as the kindling is spontaneous, the sufferer, unless he meets with a good-natured Coroner, ought by the strict letter of the law, to be laid under four cross roads.

"It can no longer be doubted, that persons have retired to their chambers in the usual manner, and in place of the individual, a few cinders, and perhaps part of his bones have been found. There are several instances of this nature on record *. The event is but of rare occurrence; and I am not aware that on any occasion either the interference of others, or any unusual contingency of events, has been supposed to occasion it. Nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has it ever been *seen* in what way the phenomena were produced, or in what manner the process of combustion proceeded. One case, and that I believe the only one of the kind, has been recorded in a foreign journal; where the person survived for a short time, and gave an account of the manner in which he was *struck* with the fire. In this instance, other people arrived in time to see him in the state of combustion, and to extinguish the flame; but his death supervened through gangrene consequent to the event. In almost every recorded instance, however, the agency

"* Among other sources of easy access, the Philosophical Transactions, Annual Register, and other periodicals for 1775; and Gentleman's Magazine for 1736, may be consulted."

of Alcohol seems to have been concerned, for nearly all the victims appear to have been great drinkers, and in some cases, to have taken an extraordinary quantity of spirits shortly previous to the fatal catastrophe.

"Various ideas as to the mode in which this effect has been produced, have emanated from those who have reported instances of it; but I fear we know little of the real fact. The agency of the electric fluid has been supposed; and also actual contact with fire, while the animal substance was highly impregnated with Alcohol. Of these two opinions, the former will probably prove the right one; but as it is little better than conjecture, I decline entering into the subject. If such an occurrence should come in our way, it is of some importance to be aware that it has happened before *." P. 59.

Now it so happens, that the only one of the cases to which Dr. Smith refers, which we have been able immediately to consult, by no means supports the theory of *spontaneous* combustion. Mary Clues was a jolly, well-looking widow, in the city of Coventry, who had passed half a century, with more regard to her comfort than her character. Grief for the loss of her husband, increased her original love of strong waters: more than once she drank four half-pints of undiluted rum, within the twelve hours; and for a year preceding her death, her customary allowance varied between half a pint and a quart of aniseed. Under this discipline, she grew thinner, lost her complexion, dried up her skin, became jaundiced, and took to her bed; in which last abode, her hours passed in dram-drinking and smoking, occasionally interrupted by a few short visions of the devil; who, as she solemnly assured the attendant who sometimes sat up with her at night, came into the room to carry her away.

Her bedstead stood parallel to the chimney, at the distance of three feet; and she was used to lie upon her side close to the edge of the bed, next the fire. The poor wretch was totally helpless; and, as her habits will readily give warrant, more than once had tumbled on the floor. She had been found in this state on the morning before her decease; but she refused all attendance at night. At eleven o'clock, one of her gossips placed two pieces of coal on the grate, and a rushlight in a candlestick, on a chair by the bed. Between five and six the next morning, smoke was observed to issue

* Those who desire a key to the amount of our information on this mysterious subject, down to 1814, may consult the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales*, article *Combustions Humaines Spontanées*. Two cases have since occurred in France. One was reported in a provincial journal, and is alluded to in the Literary Gazette of January 29, 1820. The other, which seems to have taken place about the same time, is given in the Lond. Med. and Phys. Journal for April, 1821.

from the window; and on breaking open the door, the remains of Mary Clues were found *between the bed and the fire place*. The legs and one thigh were untouched; but "excepting these parts, there were not the least remains of any skin, muscles, or viscera. The bones of the scull, thorax, spine, and the upper extremities were completely calcined." It is very probable that the immoderate quantity of alcohol, in which this miserable woman had indulged, rendered her frame more quickly inflammable than the human body generally is found to be; but there is no reason to conclude, that her case, unless in this particular, differed from the numerous accidents by fire, which every newspaper daily records. Unless Dr. Smith's other instances are more to the point, we shall still saturate our minced pies with brandy, without fear of a suicidal *auto da fé*.

There are few poisonous substances which habit, at least in particular instances, will not render innocuous. Pouqueville mentions an old man at Constantinople, who had swallowed corrosive sublimate for thirty years, and whose dose, at length, amounted to a drachm daily. On the other hand, articles, which to the generality, are innocent or agreeable, are to some disgusting and noxious. Dr. Smith knows a person who "suffers the most excruciating torments if he partakes of any thing into the composition of which an egg has entered." He has heard of another, who was purged by opium. If he would take the trouble, he might read in Donatus, of a boy, whose jaws swelled, whose face broke out in spots, and whose lips frothed, whenever he eat an egg: and in Schenkius, of a second, in whom the general law of astringents and cathartics was always reversed. The collectors of marvels, tell us of cardinals, who swooned at the smell of a rose; of heroes who took to their heels at the sight of rue; of apples which make the nose bleed; raisins, which give the tooth-ache; eels which produce fainting fits, and pork which causes palpitations of the heart. All these anomalies, are stated on authorities more or less deserving credit; and most of them, we doubt not, have existed.

The chapter on poisoning, contains many valuable suggestions. It inculcates the necessity of careful dissection when death has ensued, even though an inconvenient lapse of time may have occurred before opportunities of investigation: the medical practitioner will not, or ought not, to be deterred, by a feeling of disgust, from obedience to the call of duty: and the detection of *mineral* poisons, cannot be affected by the approach of putrefaction. The variety of substances by which the human frame may be fatally affected

presents a most fearful catalogue: and some of the *accidents* of the art of healing do not increase our wish to be subjected to its cruel kindness. One case is mentioned, in which a piece of lunar caustic was dropped down the throat of a patient, in an attempt to cure an ulcer: he was saved by drinking abundant quantities of milk. In the Hotel Dieu, another person was made to swallow about an ounce and a half of muriatic acid by mistake for whey—to be sure, as a sort of equipoise, we must not omit the account of a woman, who being tired of her husband's dropsy, tried to send him to sleep by twenty grains of opium; and to her great surprise carried off the water by excess of perspiration.

It is well known, that mussels and other shell fish, which generally may be eaten with impunity, occasionally are deleterious. Dr. Beune has affirmed, that the Stella Marina sometimes lodges its spawn in these receptacles. This spawn is so caustic, when applied externally, that it produces itching and painful swellings; and there is no reason to deny our belief to the same effects internally. Captain Scoresby has assigned poisonous qualities to bear's liver; a delicacy which, unless in the arctic regions, is not very likely to find its way to tables however luxurious; almost all the sailors who eat it were sick; in some the skin peeled off their bodies; and a few absolutely died.

The lovers of *haut gout* will be divided as to the security of their taste, at least as far as Dr. Smith has collected facts. At the Somersetshire assizes in 1819, an action was brought to recover from the owner of a dead cow, which had been thrown into the river Yeo, the value of several cattle who had died of a similar complaint; and a verdict was found for the defendant; grounded chiefly upon the opinion of a medical gentleman, that highly putrid animal matter might be taken into the stomach without injury. In opposition to this doctrine, we are told of thirty-two persons who died in the same year in Greenland after revelling with the envoy of the Missionary Society upon the putrid brains of a Walrus.

We scarcely recollect two cases of greater horror than the following; in the last, the coroner's jury, who sat upon the body, returned their verdict in direct terms, "eaten to death by maggots."

"In the month of July 1809, a man was found near Finglas, in Ireland, lying under the wall of a lime kiln, at an early hour in the evening, with his face on the ground, apparently dead. On turning him on his back to ascertain the real state of the case, it was discovered that he was yet alive, but under such appalling circumstances as make it a disgusting task to enter even on the description. On

removing his coat, the whole surface of his body appeared to be a moving mass of worms. His face was considerably injured, as from a fall, or bruises; his eyes were dissolved, and their cavities, as well as those of the ears, nose, and mouth, were filled with a white living mass, from which such innumerable quantities of maggots were continually pouring out, that the scull seemed to be filled with nothing else. After some time he recovered strength enough to walk, and regained recollection and voice sufficient to tell who he was, where he lived, and how he had been brought into that situation. It appeared that as he was returning home upon a car the evening before, having drunk to excess, he fell off, and remained in a state of insensibility until he was discovered. He could neither account for the wounds in his head, nor for his being so far from the road; but it appeared probable that he had received the contusion from the fall, and had insensibly crawled to the place where he lay.

"It was conjectured that the state of the atmosphere (as to humidity and temperature) had brought on a solution of the solids in the bruised parts, already disposed to putrescency, and now in close contact with the moist earth. In these the eggs of innumerable insects being deposited, their generation proceeded with rapidity under circumstances so favorable.

"Every attention was paid to the unfortunate individual; he was removed to shelter, the parts destroyed were washed with spirits and vinegar, and the loathsome objects removed, as far as was possible. Cordials were poured down his throat, but he swallowed with difficulty; and in a very short time spasms took place which prevented him from swallowing altogether. The putrescence advanced; in a short time he became insensible; and about noon the following day he died, in a state of total *putrisolution.*

"In July 1812, an inquest was taken at Osbournby near Folkingham, Lincoln, on the body of a pauper, who had been in the habit of begging round the country, and depositing what provisions he received, beyond the quantity necessary for present use, under his shirt, next to his skin! With a considerable portion of bread and *meat* stored in this manner, it was supposed that he had laid himself down to sleep—that the meat by the joint heat of the weather and of the man's body had become putrid and had been struck by flies (fly-blown), and that the maggots consequently produced had not only fed upon the putrid meat, but had attacked the living substance of the unhappy man himself. When found, the quantity of *large maggots* was so enormous as to convince those who examined the body that the vital parts were invaded by them." P. 192.

This disease is not without example in more exalted stations. Plutarch has assigned it to Sylla. Josephus, and the writer of the Book of Maccabees, to Antiochus Epiphanes.

The fate of Herod is ascertained by Scripture; and in more modern times the *odium theologicum* has assigned the same, or a similar loathsome disorder to two of the most detestable monsters under whose tyranny mankind has been permitted to groan; Charles IX. of France, and Philip II. of Spain.

The history of occult poisoning would, we doubt not, be satisfactory to those who love strong excitement, if it were possible to separate authentic cases from such as the very nature of the subject has enabled imagination to furnish. Livy can scarcely be doubted in the terrific accounts which he has exhibited. Besides the twenty matrons who on discovery voluntarily drank their own potions with Cornelia and Sergia, 170 were afterwards condemned by the senate; and the historian implies that these were only a part of the guilty. In the inquiry which succeeded to the enormities introduced by the celebration of the *Bacchanalia*, about 2000 persons are said to have been sentenced for the crime of poisoning: but the credit or discredit of the assertion is thrown on Valerius of Antium. We need not refer to the gobbets of human flesh, the enchanted scrolls, the graven tablets of lead, and the half burnt ashes steeped in and dropping with gore, which so fearfully heighten the description of the murder of Germanicus. The genius of Locusta, and the ministry of Halotus, are mementos to all extravagant Boletophagists; yet the devilish skill of these great "instruments of reign," we are assured by the satirist, was exceeded in later days; and such was the effrontery of crime that the corpse of the poisoned husband, spotted with the proofs of unfair and premature dissolution, was often borne to the tomb, in the face of day, and before the gaze of the populace. In later times the secret has not been lost. We are told that the *Aqua Toffania* (so called from its iniquitous inventress) could measure the allotted moments of its victim, with the nicest precision. Charles VI. informed his physician Garelli that this composition, which was found to be an useful auxiliary of state vengeance as well as of licentious passion, was a solution of crystallized arsenic in *aqua cymbalariæ*. The botanists are divided as to the meaning of *cymbalaria*; some making it the water-pennywort, others the ivy-leaved toad-flax. The *pulvis successionis*, to which the infamous *Marquise de Brinvilliers* resorted, was investigated by the *Chambre de Poisons* or *Chambre Ardente*, which was specially appointed at Paris, on her detection. It is supposed to have been a preparation of lead. Cantharides and opium also have had their share of suspicion. The legend which refers King John's

death to the excretion of a living toad in a wassail bowl, cannot be admitted if we believe Sir Thomas Brown; for the toad has been much belied; it does not "wear a precious jewel in its head;" nor would it be venomous either "carbonadoed," or kept "under the cold stone, days and nights thirty-one;" since, if the truth must out, so far from being a retromingent animal, in point of fact, as the learned Knight of Norwich observes, it has no "distinct and separate miction;" at all. The anointing of Lord Essex's chair, and Queen Elizabeth's saddle is sufficiently authenticated; and the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury is a subject of judicial record. Dr. Smith alludes to the account of Parasapis, who poisoned one side of a knife and eat with the other uninjured; of a woman who poisoned the figs on a tree which her husband was in the habit of gathering himself; of perfumed boots; and poisoned gloves and tapers. We must refer our readers to the work itself for the still more extraordinary mode by which Ladislaus of Naples was cut off in the vigour of life; and we must hasten to close an excursion into which we have been insensibly led; and in which our readers, probably, by this time, may be tempted to quit us.

It is now agreed on all hands, that in drowning death is not occasioned by water forced into the lungs; and as the last act of every dying animal is *expiration*, the attempt at this act will, according to the depth of the water, retard the entrance of the fluid. As boys we remember to have been cautioned always to jump head foremost when we bathed. Dr. Smith gives a singular instance of the hazard of a contrary proceeding.

"A few years ago, a man who had leaped from each of the then three bridges into the Thames with impunity, undertook to repeat the exploit for a wager. Having jumped from London bridge, he sunk, and was drowned. When the body was found, it appeared that he had gone down with the arms in the horizontal instead of the perpendicular position, in consequence of which both of them were dislocated by the fall upon the water." P. 214.

Dr. Smith presents some acute remarks on the distinctive proofs of suicide. He remarks that if a person should be taken out of the water tied hand and foot, a strong presumption would arise that he had been murdered. That such circumstances, however must not be admitted as incontrovertible proof, the two following narratives plainly manifest.

"Two instances are recorded, however, as having happened within these five years, in the metropolis, where this was not the

case. The one occurred in the end of June, 1816, in the case of a gauging-instrument maker, who had been missing from home for some days. His body was discovered floating down the Thames; and on being taken out, his wrists were found tied together, and made fast to his knees, which were in like manner secured to each other. He had been in a state of mental derangement for two years. The cord with which he had tied himself was recognized as one that had hung from the ceiling over his bed, by which he used to raise himself up—having been confined to bed for some weeks. He was a good swimmer; and it was presumed he had taken the precaution to prevent himself from swimming. The verdict in this case was 'found drowned.'" P. 275.

"The other instance occurred two years afterwards. A man, aged 28, with a wife and children, was reduced to great distress. On a certain day he took an affectionate leave of his family, declaring he would not return till he got some employment, by which he should be able to procure them bread. The day following his body was taken out of the new river, with his hands and legs tied. A card with his address was found in his pocket; and also threepence. When he left home he had five-pence; and it was supposed he had purchased the cord with the deficient sum. How he had contrived to tie himself, we are not told; but the coroner's jury returned a verdict of 'insanity.'" P. 276.

The persevering determination of self-murderers is sometimes most extraordinary. One instance is mentioned of a person who gave himself eighteen stabs in the abdomen with a knife. He was saved by the most scrupulous care, yet seventeen months afterwards he threw himself out of a three pair of stairs window and was killed on the spot. Not many years since a man 75 years of age at Castle Cary, fixed a cord round his neck, while sitting on his bed-side, and leant forward till he was strangled. His wife who was bed-ridden, was in the room all the time, and knew nothing of the transaction. The doubt which was raised with so much diligence by the anti-monarchical faction, in Charles II's reign, concerning the Earl of Essex's suicide received some support from the more than ordinary depth of the wound; but it was set at rest by that unhappy nobleman's body surgeon, who informed Bishop Burnet "that it was impossible the wound could be as it was, if given by any other hand but his own."

We pass over the chapter on Infanticide, for reasons which must be obvious. It is but just, however, to remark that it is, as might be expected, one of the most important in the volume, replete with medical information, and distinguished by dignity of moral tone. The remaining portions of the book can scarcely be considered as addressed to the general reader, and perhaps it might have been as well

to confine them to the lecture room. This, however, is a complaint which it would be most unfair to advance against Dr. Smith on the whole; for we scarcely recollect any work of science which is more calculated for universal perusal.

ART. VII. *A Series of Sermons on the Christian Faith and Character. By the Rev. John Bird Sumner, M.A. Prebendary of Durham, and Vicar of Mapledurham, Oxon.* 8vo. Pp. 388. Hatchard and Son. 1821.

WE consider the volume before us to be a very useful publication. The instructions are not conveyed, as is too often the case, in unconnected discourses, in rambling fugitive essays, which at the best please or inform for a season, and then are forgotten for ever, and the frequency of which most evidently leads to that disjointed and eclectic religion, which is commonly to be met with, especially in cultivated society, and which amongst the many liberal absurdities of the day, has its due place and reputation, as the desirable haven of scepticism, and as the last excellence of philosophy. A practice which tends to create and to foster that dangerous, because seductive, notion, that the Word of God may admit of dissection and division, and that Christians are allowed to cull and discard here a doctrine, and there a precept, just as a corrupt will and an ill-informed judgment may happen to prompt them. A reasonable man will hardly need the decisive asseveration of St. James, or the denunciation of him, who saw the Apocalypse, to convince him, that a religion which proceeds from One God, must in itself be one; that if a single doctrine or a single precept be true and just, then every doctrine and precept, which rests upon the same authority, must be equally true and just; and, consequently, that to take from, or to add to, the collected truths of that religion in any one particular, must be tantamount to denying the authenticity of the whole.

"These considerations," no doubt, amongst many others, especially that of the very melancholy state of ignorance, so common in young persons, with regard to the grounds and necessity of Christianity, "have induced me," says Mr. Sumner, "to put the following Sermons into a more connected series than is usual in similar publications. I have attempted to unite somewhat of the regularity of an essay with the familiar expostulations which

the pulpit requires: not pretending to dwell fully on the whole of the Christian revelation, but to bring into prominent view that which especially pertains to us, as *called* by the Gospel, and dedicated to Christ in Baptism, viz. the incarnation of our Lord, the necessity of his atonement, and of our personal acceptance of the means of salvation which he offers. It is therefore intended, that the first ten Sermons should be read in the order in which they occur. In the last half of the volume I have endeavoured to illustrate the peculiar and essential graces of the Christian character, as set forth by their divine Author. My leading object has been to lay before the scholars educated at Eton, to whom most of the Sermons were originally addressed, a succinct view of the religion which they profess, both as a rule of faith and practice. Led as I am, by every feeling, both personal and social, to desire that they may be permanently impressed with the infinite importance of cordially embracing that holy religion, which affords them the best chance of earthly happiness, and which alone gives them a right to look forward to an eternal world with cheerful hope, instead of gloomy apprehension. That the volume may be found, in some degree, to answer its intended purpose, is the object of my earnest prayer on quitting a place with which I have been long and happily connected, and in the prosperity of which I must always feel an affectionate and grateful interest." Preface, p. xiv.

Mr. Sumner may rest assured, that neither as a preacher of the Gospel, nor in the humbler, but scarcely less useful occupation, in which he has passed so large a portion of his life, did he labour in vain. There are many who have not yet forgotten his precepts or his example, and who often recall him to their thoughts with feelings of almost filial esteem and gratitude; and although we ourselves had not the good fortune to benefit by his more immediate tuition, yet in common, we believe, with most of our contemporaries of that noble school, we bear testimony to the extensive usefulness of his learning and abilities, and we rejoice at the munificent, no less than judicious patronage, which has given him an honourable retreat for the remainder of his life. Our best wishes for his happiness follow him, and we doubt not they will be amply realized.

The volume contains twenty Sermons; the first nine of which lead the reader progressively from the incarnation to that invitation given by our blessed Redeemer to all the world: "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;" explaining the necessity that existed for an atonement, and the nature of the invitation. The tenth Sermon is a summary of the Christian character; the eight following are respectively expositions of the

eight beatitudes; the nineteenth, on the connexion which must always exist between true Christian faith and practice; and the last inculcates the duty of an habitual reliance upon our blessed Saviour, and of verifying, as far as possible, the scriptural phrase of "abiding in Christ."

After showing, in general, the absolute necessity, and the value of the redemption effected for us by Jesus Christ, Mr. Sumner proceeds, in his second Sermon, more fully to demonstrate the alienation of man from God, which created that necessity. The following passage is forcibly written; and, though we think some of the expressions not duly weighed, yet it is altogether a very fair specimen of his style and argument.

"My brethren, that all these characters of a state of enmity against God, that all these proofs of a lost state are to be seen in you, I would neither be so rash as to assert, nor so uncandid as to suppose. There are many to whom the observance of the Sabbath is not matter of form or of wearisome burden, but of delightful service, in which the heart is gladly engaged; many who treat the name and contemplate the attributes of God with awful reverence; many who diligently seek to discover his will in the Book where it is revealed, and dread nothing so much as wilfully to offend him. But these are not the persons who will contradict the Scripture, when it declares, that the natural state of man is a state lost in darkness and in error; or who will be surprised at the preacher, when he speaks of the natural heart as being at enmity with God. No; if it were necessary to prove these points, I should appeal with the surest confidence to those very persons, whose lives and characters shew the fewest signs of their truth; whose sincere piety, whose purity of conduct bears witness, that whatever the state of others may be, they at least have sought reconciliation through the great atonement, and broken down, through grace, the partition wall of sin, which separated them from their God. Ask them, whoever doubts; ask them, and they will tell you, that though their conduct may seem to disprove the state of spiritual blindness, the alienation from God of which we speak, their heart bears too faithful witness to it, and even supplies them still with daily evidence of its reality. They will tell you, that the love of God's holy day, that a taste for holy things, is not a natural, but an acquired taste; that the reason why the profanation of God's majesty is shocking to them, is because by frequent meditation they have attained a profound sense of his infinite greatness, and an habitual dread of offending him; that to search the Scripture has become pleasing to them, because they are convinced, that they ought to live by it, and must be judged out of it; and that, *so far from sin being naturally hateful, or virtue lovely in their eyes*, they feel every day the absolute necessity of mortifying the one and en-

couraging the other, by all the aids which God's mercy has put into their hands; by constantly applying to the 'means of grace,' and constantly setting before their minds 'the hope of glory.'" P. 29.

Now we are willing to understand the words in Italics, and indeed some others immediately preceding them, in a sense as favourable to what we believe Mr. Sumner's real meaning as possible; but still we are bound to say, that in their direct and literal import they convey a position, which is inconsistent with every man's experience, with the most confirmed tenets of enlightened philosophy, and with the express terms and the implied doctrine of the Scriptures. To make good the two first of these assertions, though it might be very profitable, would lead us in the investigation somewhat out of our present subject; and as they are both mutually included in and confirmed by the language of Inspiration, it will be enough for our purpose to prove the truth of the last.

When Mr. Sumner states, that "willing obedience and prompt devotion to the commands of God, is not the work of nature but of grace," he states what no believer in either Testament will deny; when he tells us, that "the love of God's holy day, that a taste for holy things, is not a natural, but an acquired taste," we only complain of an ill-chosen and most ungracious phrase; but when he proceeds to declare, that "so far from sin being naturally hateful, or virtue lovely in our eyes," the most religious persons "feel every day the absolute necessity of mortifying the one, and encouraging the other," we acknowledge indeed the conclusion, but we reject the premises humbly, we hope, but still firmly and absolutely.

We say, that the Scriptures do not any where teach us, that the heart of man is literally a lump of unmixed wickedness; that the disobedience of Adam was punished with the thorough, entire, absolute depravation of his own will, or of those of his descendants; that the infirm and gross tabernacle of the flesh contains within it a still grosser, a still more corrupt and corrupting spirit, a mere principle of evil, a living plague. Nothing short of this, how strong soever the language may appear, will justify such an assertion as this, that "sin is not naturally hateful, and virtue not naturally lovely in our eyes;" for if that assertion be true, then the converse must also be true, that "sin is naturally lovely, and virtue naturally hateful to man;" and if that be true, then we defy the most expert casuist on earth to elude the

consequence, that men are in fact, devils in heart, devils in intention, devils in every thing but in power and understanding.

We have less scruple in making these remarks when commenting upon any expressions of Mr. Sumner, for no man has laid down the doctrine of the Gospel and the Church on the extent of the corruption of human nature, with greater moderation or more soundly than he himself in his excellent work on Apostolical Preaching, where he has a chapter upon the subject, to which we would refer all our readers. We must now return to the work before us, and the length of our preceding remarks must be our apology for being more brief in our notice of what remains.

In the third sermon the same subject is again treated, and the mysterious necessity with regard to the salvation of man that Christ should suffer, is pressed upon us and illustrated with much eloquence and ingenuity.

"The *cup might not pass away from him, except he drank it:* therefore this was not possible: not possible, consistently with the justice and holiness of God; whose *ways are far above out of our sight*, and leave us in all humility to wonder and adore.

"It was not possible that the hour should pass from him: it was possible certainly that he should relinquish his great design, and save himself from that hour: those into whose hands he was betrayed *could have had no power at all over him, except it were given them from above*:—but *for this cause came he to that hour*; for this cause, namely, to save what was lost, to recover what was perishing; that by the *one sacrifice for sins* thus offered, all penitent believers should inherit eternal life.

"And this cup was drank (drunk,) this hour submitted to, for you, my brethren! O take this truth to heart with faith, and humiliation, and repentance, and gratitude! You were of the number that he came to seek: you were among those whom he died to save. Let not the sense of it vanish from your minds, as soon as you quit the church: let it not be forgotten like a sound when the instrument has ceased; but dwell upon it, both you who have, and you who have not, made your peace with God through the Lamb that was slain." P. 47.

Mr. Sumner concludes his ninth discourse by repelling the charge founded in ignorance and enthusiasm on one side and the other, that Christianity is a religion of gloom and despondency and misery. He shows that the real fact is far otherwise; that so far from melancholy being a characteristic of a Christian, it is that religion alone which can give any rational grounds for continual cheerfulness, for confident hopes, for exalted and exalting aspirations. And certainly

he who is deeply impressed with the general wickedness or even the more general thoughtlessness of the myriads of accountable creatures around him; who sees them building and destroying, amassing and dissipating, marrying, and giving in marriage; who is firmly persuaded that nothing shall save the immortal part of man but a living faith in the atoning blood of Christ, and who knows at the same time that many, many of his fellow-creatures are blinded by prejudice, alienated by pride, corrupted by lust, so that seeing they see, but do not perceive; and hearing they hear, but do not understand that these things are indeed so; that man may feel, we cannot doubt, a gentle sorrow, an affectionate melancholy, a tender compassion for his brethren, such as St. Paul felt for the unbelieving Jews; but those few natural tears must soon be dried; he must remember the unutterable blessings of his Redemption of which he humbly hopes he has availed himself; he must possess his spirit in the depth of that peace which passes all understanding; he must hold cheap the fragile forms of honour and power and riches, and despise the little vexations or patiently endure the more real sufferings of this life; he must never forget that he is standing on the rugged rock of time, in the midst of the ocean of eternity, and that in that ocean is the haven provided for him where he would be, and the city built not with hands, whose maker is God, in which a mansion and a garment, a palm and a crown are reserved for him for evermore.

The sermons on the first eight texts of our blessed Saviour's address to his disciples on the Mount, commonly called the Beatitudes, are very excellent and profitable discourses; and though we do not think them so original or so striking as the corresponding sermons in Norris, yet we dare say Mr. Sumner's more polished style and complete freedom from conceit will render his more generally useful and more extensively read. At the same time we are doing only common justice to an excellent but neglected writer, when we say, that even in his most attractive and eloquent parts, Mr. Sumner is not a little indebted to him. It is evident that he has read and studied him with great attention, and perhaps more often transfused into his own pages the felicitous expressions and ingenious reasonings of his predecessor, than he has himself been aware of. In the warmth of composition, especially for the pulpit, it is not always easy to distinguish between vivid recollections, and original combinations, and even where we are conscious of some general obligation to the writings of

favourite authors before us, we may not always be able to distinguish in particular what it is that we owe, nor from what place we have drawn it. Mr. Sumner we are sure will understand this as we mean it to be understood, and will least of all be sorry that we take this opportunity of introducing the sermons of Norris into more general notice than they have for a long time enjoyed.

In the sermon on the Peace-Maker, Mr. Sumner is led to take notice of, and regret the dissensions that exist in the Church of Christ,

"Strange," he says, "that this spirit of peace should ever be wanting there! that the vehemence of those who differ in religious opinions should be proverbial! But so it is; and the influence of Satan is universally discovered, endeavouring to corrupt that which he cannot destroy." P. 318.

"Who is the *peace-maker* in these cases? He who steps in and says, *Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?* who points out the forgotten grounds of mutual agreement, the reasons for union, and the evils of dissension. And whose is the spirit which is opposite to that inculcated in the text?—His, who exaggerates the supposed consequences of the opinion which he does not hold; who fixes severe imputations; suggests uncertain inferences; distorts the views or conduct of the party to which he does not belong; uses the opportunities which ought to be employed in edifying, in hostile attacks and recriminations; and insinuates that there can be no sincerity where there is not an absolute decision upon points which Scripture appears to have left unsettled. God grant, my brethren, that those who have done or do these things, may not be judged according to the pernicious consequences of their intolerance! A bad effect may possibly follow a good intention: but every man is bound most scrupulously to examine his motives, and to be *persuaded in his own mind*, that his conduct is free from the influence of prejudice and passion." P. 320.

This is very well and proper; but we doubt whether the argument be fully stated. Let us hear what Norris says on the same subject in the year 1694. We shall make no apology for the length of the quotation.

"But because most of the disturbances in the State proceed from those of the Church, I shall confine my reflections to those that disturb the peace and order of the Christian Church. Where I shall first, point out who these disturbers are. And secondly, set some such considerations before them, as may make them sensible of their crime.

"There are, I conceive, these two general ways of disturbing the peace of the Church; either by imposing unlawful or un-

reasonable terms of communion, or by refusing to comply with such as are lawful and reasonable. That the first of these is a breach of the Church's peace there can be no doubt, because it introduces the necessity of separation. And that the latter is so is as plain, because 'tis a separation without any necessity for it. Either of these is schism, whose notion (as all agree) consists either in making a necessity of separation, or in separating without necessity.

"The first of these will fall heavy upon the Church of Rome, who, (as it has been sufficiently made good against her) has brought in an absolute necessity of separation, by imposing such notoriously unlawful and unreasonable terms of communion. The latter will light upon all those who separate from such parts of the Reformation, where they may lawfully communicate. More especially it will light heavier than ordinary upon all those Sectaries among us, who now divide from the Church of England, the terms of whose communion (as has been undeniably proved and maintained) are not only lawful, but highly reasonable, and of an excellent constitution.

"I need not here, nor is it my design to set myself professedly to make out the charge of schism against the Dissenters and Separatists from the Church of England. It has been done over and over, to the utmost degree of evidence, and the whole circle of the reformed Churches cry out upon them for their unreasonable separation. Only I would desire them to try themselves and their cause by that one plain Apostolical Canon before mentioned, and see whether they can justifie themselves by that single measure. It is this, *if it be possible, as much as lies in you, live peaceably with all men.* If with all men, then certainly much more with bodies or societies of men; much more with our governors and superiors; much more yet with the Church, the most sacred and most eminent of all societies. And if as far as is *possible*, then certainly as far as is *lawful*.

"But now I would ask our Dissenters and Separatists this one question, and appeal to their *consciences*, as well as to their *practices*, for an answer. Do they live peaceably with the Church of England as by lawful authority established, as far as is *possible*, and as much as *in them lies*? So far from this, that I might say (were I minded to aggravate things) that they do the quite contrary, and *divide* from us as far as possible, and as much as in them lies, it being very notorious that they run from us as far as they can, measure their purity and sanctity by their distance from us; and condemn and disuse many things meerly because we approve and use them.

"But I need not take advantage of this, though it be too notorious to be denied, as well as too scandalous to be defended. I only demand, Do they live peaceably with the Church as far as is possible, and as much as in them lies? They cannot with any modesty say, that they do. For if they did, not to say that they might come much nearer to us than they do, they must of necessity conform with us. Since as they were never able to shew any thing unlawful in our Communion; so they now generally allow it to be lawful, and

accordingly will afford us their company now and then upon occasion, as often as they think fit to do us that honour. Well then, if our communion be lawful, then it is *possible* for them to communicate with us, and if they do not, then it is plain that they do not live peaceably with us as far as is *possible*, and as much as in them lies, and consequently by virtue of this plain Apostolical Canon, stand fully convicted of schism, and let them bring themselves off if they can." P. 197.

Our article is extending, we fear, beyond the limits which we ought to assign to it, but we must still notice more particularly one other of the sermons, which has pleased us very much. This is the seventeenth, the subject of which is Christian Meekness. In this Mr. Sumner first distinguishes with great good sense between real and spurious meekness, the meekness which sits by, and hears religion disparaged without daring to bear testimony to the truth, or witnesses vicious conduct in those within its sphere of advice or controul, and fears to embrace the opportunity of reproving and correcting it. He then lays down the character and qualifications of the meekness on which a blessing is pronounced, and explains both soundly and ingeniously, though in the plainest manner, the meaning of the words in which the promise of the blessing is conveyed; "*the meek shall inherit the earth.*" To these words he gives a two-fold explanation, the first is that obvious and undoubtedly true one, an explanation which should never be lost sight of, that the meek disposition is really that which is most calculated for true happiness in this life.

"According to the proverbial illustration, those storms which pass harmless over the bending reed, overthrow the stubborn and unyielding trees of the forest—and so those injuries, calumnies, and provocations which keep the unsubdued temper of the violent and proud in a perpetual convulsion, make little impression on the meek and patient and forgiving Christian, and leave his spirit unruffled, his comfort undisturbed." P. 246.

The second explanation is founded on the observation that the words of the blessing "shall inherit the earth," are a quotation from the Old Testament, where they would mean literally and simply those temporal blessings and enjoyments, "the land flowing with milk and honey," and a long life in the quiet possession of them, which are there promised as the reward of obedience. But when these words are used in the New Testament, as conveying a blessing under that dispensation, whose promises for the most part are future and eternal, it seems a sound and safe analogy to proceed by, when we in-

terpret the word "earth" as typical of the land of future promise, the "spiritual Canaan to which it is the object of Christ in the Gospel to conduct his faithful people."

Mr. Sumner truly observes, that taken in either sense the promise will not fail, and he concludes with the following judicious and impressive appeal.

"Go then and imitate in your daily intercourse with one another the temper of Him who, as he died for your redemption, so also lived for your instruction. You will find difficulties, indeed. Meekness is natural to few, and can only be attained by daily watchfulness and self-correction; and after all, will never be equally the grace of every Christian, as it will meet with different degrees of opposition in different persons, from the natural bent of the heart. But it must be studied and desired, and in some measure practised by every Christian; for we find, from the place which our Saviour gives it, that it is one of those qualities which will be required in all who shall *enter into his rest*. Therefore, it must be shown in all the various relations of life; shown by the Christian parent, the Christian husband, the Christian child, the Christian master, the Christian servant; it must be seen, that the disciples of a *meek and lowly Saviour* are under a control which is not natural to them, which, perhaps, they formerly did not attempt to exercise, and which, without divine grace, they would not and could not cultivate. For the opposition of the natural heart must not be pleaded in excuse for the want of any of the qualities which our Lord requires; the Gospel not only prescribes rules, but promises power. *Faithful is He who hath called us* by the Gospel; and will suffer none of those who come unto him, and take his yoke upon them, to perish for want of those graces which they earnestly seek to be clothed with, and fervently pray him to bestow." P. 252.

We conclude our remarks, freely written in parts, yet we are sure no where uncandidly or unkindly intended, with an earnest and confident recommendation of these sermons to public use. They will come amiss to no class of readers; the young and uninstructed will find in them a sound and systematic introduction to Christian doctrine and Christian character, while the more learned, who may find perhaps nothing here that has not in different places by other hands been already as well put, or as ingeniously illustrated, will be impressed, and we think affected by the genuine and earnest, yet kind-hearted and moderate tone of piety which pervades them. This is indeed Mr. Sumner's great recommendation; without being copious, or eloquent, or impassioned, there is a reality, and an affectionate interest in the good of others, which animate all he writes, and produce the effects of the

most winning oratory. He never "plays round the head" without "touching the heart"—He writes on a subject which must interest all who think, and he writes only what he believes for himself, and what he earnestly desires all who hear him should believe practically also, we hope we shall meet with him again soon on the same ground—but whether we do or not, it is delightful to think of a man so thinking, feeling, and writing in the sphere of his own parish, and of the permanent and important, though silent benefits, which he is there conferring.

ART. VIII. *Elements of the Philosophy of Plants: containing the Principles of Scientific Botany, Nomenclature, Theory of Classification, Phytography, Anatomy, Chemistry, Physiology, Geography, and Diseases of Plants. With a History of the Science, and Practical Illustrations. By A. P. Decandolle, and K. Sprengel. Translated from the German.* Blackwood. Edinburgh.

NUMEROUS as the introductions to Botany are, which have appeared in this country, since the commencement of the present century, there is not one which fully answers all the purposes of elementary instruction, and at the same time leads the student sufficiently far into the more exalted and philosophical parts of the science.

More attention has of late been paid to arrangement, to the determination of species, and the settling of synonymes, than to the anatomy and physiology of plants. In this latter province, our continental neighbours have far outdone us in zeal and industry; but many of their labours and observations, scattered through the various periodical publications, are of difficult access, and several ingenious and excellent works are by no means so well known among us, as their value and importance demand. It is, however, somewhat surprizing, that hitherto there has appeared in this country no work of universally acknowledged superiority, qualified to take the lead, as a truly scientific introduction to botany.

The work now before us comes forward with no mean pretensions to supply the deficiency. The following is the author's introduction of himself to his readers.

"In my introduction to the knowledge of plants, it was my object to promote a knowledge of the vegetable world among the

public at large,—and I may venture to say that the result has surpassed my expectations. But the progress which the *higher and scientific* knowledge of plants has lately made, seemed to demand an introductory treatise for the use of students, which, embracing the discoveries that have recently been made throughout the whole extent of the science, might supply the place of the introductory work of Willdenow now become completely useless. With the help of the latest edition of Decandolle's 'Theorie Elementaire de la Botanique," published at Paris, 1819, I flatter myself that I have been able to present to the public such a work. But only the first three parts of this treatise, namely, the Nomenclature, the Theory of Classification, and Descriptive Botany, are to be considered as extracts from the book of my excellent friend. All the rest is my own; and the reader will perceive that I have used my utmost exertions to fulfil well the task I had undertaken." *Sprengel's Preface.*

The names of the authors of this work are by no means new to the scientific world: the *Flore Françoise*, and other works of Decandolle, have acquired him high and deserved reputation. Sprengel is best known in this country, as the author of an excellent treatise on Cryptogamous plants. The general arrangement of the work is similar to that of the "Principles of Botany," of Willdenow; in the first department of the work styled "Nomenclature" (the term *Terminology* being objected to) there are some valuable rules for the formation of botanical language. In several parts, however, there is much useless multiplication of terms: as for instance in the article *Nectary;* the term *Nectary* is confined to the organs which *secrete* honey, while the other parts that have usually received this name are divided into Nectaro-thecæ, Nectari-lymata, and Nectaro-stigmata. Linnæus certainly may have gone too far in designating every unusual appearance in a flower, a *Nectary;* yet the term has been found extremely convenient, and is now generally adopted in the extended signification; and as there is no fear of confounding it with any of the more essential parts of the flower, the propriety of the change of name is very questionable: considering that the author continues to call the subdivisions of the footstalks of leaves *nerves* and *veins*, there is little occasion, in this particular instance, for fastidiousness about physiological correctness in nomenclature.

Part 2nd, Taxonomy, contains a view of the principal systems of classification, beginning with the artificial system of Linnæus, the several advantages and defects of which are very fairly stated; then follows an account of the mutual

connection of plants as regards class, order, genus, and species. The following is a very apt illustration of the distinction between species and variety.

"When for instance in the common *Lotus corniculatus*, on whatever soil it may grow, we uniformly observe that it has a solid stem, even and erect divisions of the calyx, and expanded filaments, we must of necessity distinguish as a particular species from it, another form which grows in bogs and watery meadows, which has a much higher and always hollow stalk; the divisions of its calyx spread out into a star-shape, and hairy, and which has uniformly thin filaments, and we must name this latter species either *Lotus uliginosus* with Schkuhr, or *Lotus major*, with Scopoli and Smith. As on the other hand, the *Pimpinella Saxifraga* grows sometimes quite smooth, and sometimes in woods and shady meadows considerably hairy, as it displays sometimes simple and small stem leaves, sometimes half and even doubly pinnated leaves; and as these forms vary according to the situation of the plant, and during re-production, we cannot regard these forms by any means as distinct species, but we must view them as corruptions."

In speaking of the links of connection of the vegetable kingdom, with a view to the natural arrangement of plants, the author attempts to trace most of the varieties in the figure and structure of their several organs, to a few simple original forms, which are considered as the standards, all the deviations from which are the effect of abortion, or the result of the union of parts originally separated. From some examples which are cited, this theory appears at first somewhat plausible, but in the instance of the class Tetradynamia, it is carried beyond all reasonable bounds. The plants of this class, the author supposes to have originally belonged to Decandria, and that the four petals of the former are merely altered filaments, "as in Thlaspi Bursa we sometimes observe this return to the original structure. Surely it would be more philosophical to conclude, that Thlaspi Bursa occasionally deviates from its accustomed structure, than to accuse nature of such an extensive system of abortions. When we consider the numerous and striking characters which distinguish the plants of this class, and which seem almost to mark them as a separate and insulated province of the vegetable kingdom, the idea of their being mere alterations of other more primitive and established forms, must at once be rejected.

As far as regards the 4th Part of the work, "Phytotomy,"

we cannot altogether agree with the translator in the high encomiums he has pronounced on the work in his preface.

"That in no one part is it possible to discover a trace of that visionary mode of considering facts, and appearances which has been unjustly represented as belonging to all German writers;—that condensation and perspicuity are among its most striking excellencies;—that it bears in all respects evidence of having proceeded from men, who not only knew their subject extensively and well, and who thought justly on all its parts, but of men, who were in possession of the best means of conveying their information with effect, or who had made the higher laws of composition their study."

In this department, at least, which Sprengel tells us is "all his own," the style and mode of reasoning are far from possessing the pre-eminent qualities imputed to them by the translator. We do not recognize here the simplicity and elegance of Mirbel, who, although he has given a most minute and detailed account of the varieties in the structure of vegetables, has, by his decided and well arranged description, rendered the anatomy of plants at once intelligible, beautiful, and satisfactory.

Sprengel divides the vegetable textures into three primitive forms, the cell-form, the tube-form, and the spiral form; the origin of the cells and tubes is thus explained.

"Every organizing fluid, when it is passing from the fluid into the solid state, shews small spheres or vesicles, and specula, or needle-shaped bodies of a diminutive size. The former we refer to the disengagement of hydrogen, which, as one of the constituents of water, is always the first to separate itself from it, because it is little soluble in water. Oxygen, on the other hand, remains longer dissolved in water, and accordingly the spicular and straight lined bodies which are produced by it are more slowly disengaged,—as in an electrical process, negative electricity displays sparks and images of a spherical shape, whilst positive electricity produces those of a spicular appearance. We find this same combination of spherulæ and spiculæ in every generative sap, as well as in every slimy fluid of plants. From these, therefore, are solved the peculiar primitive forms of the vegetable world."

The cellular texture is termed the perfection of the spherical formation, and the tubular that of the spicular.

Now if cells and tubes were original chemical formations, and were produced by two substances of totally opposite properties, it is obvious that they must always remain perfectly distinct from each other, and could never be found in an

intermediate state. In the following observations therefore the author completely overturns his gazeous hypothesis.

" The stretched form of the cells is very like the tube-form. It is even undeniable that it constitutes, especially in the lower organic bodies, the transition form from the cells to the tubes. In the fruit stalk of the Musci Hepatici and Frondosi, we have not yet discovered the proper tube form, but only *stretched cells similar to tubes*, which apparently answer the purpose of these latter bodies."

The author (§ 273) advances the doctrine of organic perspiration through impervious texture; this is very difficult to comprehend; it is much more probable that the small size of the pores in the cellular tissue, the epidermis, and other parts, has occasioned them to escape observation. The following is the opinion of Mirbel on this subject. (Elemens de Physiologie Végétale et de Botanique. Paris. 1815.)

" Un tissu membraneux, celluläire et continu, plus ou moins transparent, forme toute la substance des vegetaux. La membrane qui constitue le tissu membraneux est d'une epaisseur variable selon la nature particuliere des especes et l'âge des individus. Elle est pourvue de pores, les uns visibles, les autres invisibles. L'existence de ces derniers est prouvée par la transfusion des fluides d'une partie du végétale dans une autre, lors même qu'il est impossible d'appercevoir la communication de cellules; l'existence des autres est prouvée non-seulement par la marche des fluides, mais encore par l'observation microscopique, qui fait distinguer nettement les pores et les fentes dont souvent la membrane est criblée."

Since Mirbel is now generally considered the best authority, in Vegetable Physiology, and as Sprengel has most unaccountably neglected him, it may not be irrelevant to mention, that these two eminent philosophers are old antagonists. Mirbel published his " Traité d'Anatomie et de Physiologie Végétale in the year 1802: according to Sprengel, this contained many errors, and " in the mean time," he states, " Link, Rudolphi, and Treviranus, published more correct views; since then Mirbel has come nearer the truth. (Exposition et Défense de ma Theorie de l'Organisation Végétale. Amsterdam. 1808.)"

But Mirbel, on the contrary asserts, that his works, from an imperfect knowledge of the language, or some other cause, were misunderstood, and misrepresented by several German authors, especially by Sprengel; and that the pamphlet which he published at Amsterdam, merely contained a more complete view of his former opinions. For a full statement of

the discussions on this subject, the reader is referred to Mirbel's "Exposition et Defense de la Theorie de l'Organisation Végétale. Paris. 1809.

The spiral form of vessels, the author divides into the *primitive*, and the *derived;* the latter which he calls *Vasa scalaria*, are the false spiral tubes *(fausses trachées)* of Mirbel:

"Under this name are included those canals with transverse openings, which do not at all shew the spiral winding of the fibres, and which cannot be unrolled. They are formed by an original spiral vessel meeting with perpendicular fibres in its sides, which fibres cross the winding lines longitudinally, and unite them together."

Notwithstanding Sprengel has seen the perpendicular fibres, after maceration, we cannot help suspending our assent to his opinion of the structure of these vessels: since from their position, and from the circumstance of their not being accompanied by the true spiral vessels, it seems most probable, that they are original vessels, resembling the more simple sap vessels, and differing from them merely in the size of their openings. With respect to the uses of the spiral tubes, the author adopts the old opinion, that they are air vessels, and perform some more important office than the common sap vessels.

"As then the spiral vessels, and all their varieties are uniformly found empty of fluids, as they shew themselves only in the higher plants, and constantly appear wherever a strong shoot is sent out; as they are always in the company of the sap vessels; as in fine they maintain by their constant diagonal direction, the middle situation between the perpendicular and the horizontal: from all these considerations we must suspect, that they are the instruments of the higher vital activity of plants, and that they are the organs by which the sap tubes suffer an external excitement to the speedy propulsion of the sap."

The following is an ingenious explanation of the cause of the green colour of leaves.

"The exhalation of oxygen gas is closely connected with a remarkable property of leaves, namely, their green colour. As this colour in the rainbow stands exactly in the middle, between the two outermost tints, the red and the violet,—as it is bounded on the one side by the yellow, and on the other by the blue,—as all experiments further shew, that the red and yellow tints are more of an oxygenous, and the blue and violet more of an hydrogenous nature,—it is extremely probable, that the green colour is the effect of a neutralization between the two extreme colours, or that

it arises, when the light has attracted exactly as much oxygen as was required by the hydrogen and carbon which remained."

The second division of the Phytotomy, "Phytochemy," contains an account of the chemical components of vegetables, and introduces much useful practical matter, particularly relating to agriculture. However the author does not in every instance display the most correct chemical knowledge, especially when he supposes that the fixed alkalies like ammonia, are composed of hydrogen and azote, *perhaps* with a certain portion of oxygen.

The geography, as well as the malformations and diseases of plants, forms an extremely interesting portion of the work. The history of botany contains a concise account of the principal botanical authors, with a sufficiently copious list of their works.

The concluding part of the work, "the practical part," cannot be too highly praised. Examples are given of one or more plants, from each class of the Linnæan system, treated of at length under the following heads: first, the systematic name is given from the most approved authority, with the familiar appellation in several modern languages: secondly, a detailed description of the form and structure of the plant throughout: thirdly, the "Diagnosis and affinity:" fourthly, "Synonymes and figures:" fifthly, "Geographical distribution:" lastly, "Uses." This plan may be recommended as an excellent model for the formation of a Flora or Synopsis of plants.

In speaking of this work, as a whole, it is impossible to add any thing in the way of encomium, to that which has been so unsparingly applied by the translator. It is not the kind of work exactly suited for a beginner, but is certainly admirably adapted for a person who has made some progress in the science; for one already acquainted with the language of botany, and the system of Linnæus, who is about to extend his views to a larger and more philosophical knowledge of the vegetable kingdom.

In the absence of better treatises, it will no doubt become of much weight and authority, especially when we consider the great reputation of the authors. It is therefore of more importance, that its errors should be pointed out, and that the inquiring student should be on his guard, against implicitly adopting the opinions contained in it, without proper examination.

Dr. Bilderdyk, of Amsterdam, who wrote a view of the opinions of the French and German Vegetable Physiologists

(prefixed to Mirbel's work) speaking of Sprengel, has the following trite remarks.

"Je rends hommage au merite eminent de M. Sprengel; mais s'il s'est trompé, il faut bien le dire. Les erreurs des hommes vulgaires, n'ont pas besoin d'etre relevées: elles sont sans consequence: il n'en est pas ainsi des erreurs des hommes distingués, elles seduisent la multitude, et il faut les attaquer avec vigueur, pour les detruire."

ART. IX. *A List of Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English, from the Year MDV. to MDCCCXX.: with an Appendix containing Specimens of Translations, and Bibliographical Descriptions. By the Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L. late Student of Christ Church, Oxford.* Octavo. 180 pp. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1821.

THE increasing attention which, of late years, has been given to whatever is connected with the critical study and literary history of the Scriptures, may certainly be considered as a pleasing sign of the times; and though a mere catalogue of editions of the Bible may appear to be valuable to a limited class of persons, yet, when executed (as it is in the present instance) with not "a little diligence," ability, and research, it is calculated to afford much and various information of a highly interesting nature.

The present work, though not the first of the kind, is by far the most complete in our language. The lists similar to the present, which have already appeared, and of which Dr. Cotton has availed himself, where actual inspection was not within his reach, are the following, viz.

1. "A List of various Editions of the Bible and of Parts thereof in English, from the year 1526 to 1776, from a MS. (No.1140,) in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, much enlarged and improved." Of this list, which consists of a single sheet in octavo without a title page, two hundred and fifty copies only were privately printed at the expense of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1776, at the press of Mr. Bowyer. In it the editions of the Psalms are intermixed with those of the Bible.

2. "A List of various Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English, from the year 1526 to 1776. A Manu-

script List of English Bibles, copied from one compiled by the late Mr. Joseph Ames, presented to the Lambeth Library by Dr. Gifford, hath furnished some part of this publication: later discoveries of several learned Gentlemen have supplied the rest, London, 1778."

This list (a copy of which is before us) was also printed for presents only: it is in 8vo. on thirty-seven leaves, printed on one side. The Psalms are here placed in chronological order by themselves; which arrangement, being more distinct, has very properly been followed by the compiler of the volume now under consideration. These two lists, though generally imagined to have been made by Dr. Ducarel, (whose name they usually bear) were really drawn up by the late Mr. Mark Cephas Tutet, an eminent bibliographer and antiquarian of the last century. The second list, enlarged and improved by the Rev. Clement Crutwell, was prefixed to his edition of the Bible with Bishop Wilson's notes, printed at Bath in 1785; from which it was copied by Mr. Hewlett in the Introduction to his Commentary, published at London in 1811. Several editions, which appear in the former lists, are omitted in this, probably (Dr. Cotton conjectures) because the editor was not satisfied of their existence: Dr. Cotton, however, has not considered himself justified in adhering to Mr. Crutwell's omissions; since it may well happen, that others may be fortunate enough to meet with editions, which may have escaped their united researches.

4. Mr. Tutet's List, No. 2, continued to the year 1792, with a notice of two Manuscript Versions, was annexed to Archbishop Newcome's Historical View of the English Biblical Translations, printed at Dublin, in 8vo., 1792: and this list was reprinted and appended.

5. To a republication of Lewis's History of the English Translations of the Bible, 8vo., London, 1818, with a very scanty Supplement brought down to the year 1816. The editors of the two last noticed lists do not appear to have seen that of Mr. Crutwell.

In all of these the editions are arranged chronologically, and in the four last the Psalms form a separate class. The tabular form in which they were printed has been judiciously rejected by Dr. Cotton, who has thus gained additional room. The lists in question were, moreover, destitute of notes or descriptions, and were by no means complete to the several periods when they were respectively published: but he has enlarged and brought his list down to the year 1820, with but few omissions, and has enriched his pages with

various brief and highly interesting annotations, both bibliographical and critical. His publication consists of two parts, viz.

1. A List of the various Editions of the English Bible and of Parts thereof, from 1505 to 1820. In this Dr. Cotton has retained whatever was set down in the former lists, unless upon examination he discovered it to be erroneous: he has also specified the possessors of the earlier editions, and has given the name of *every society* or *person* with whom he found the more rare and curious articles—citing public repositories, such as the Bodleian and other libraries, in preference to the collections of private individuals. For it is interesting, (he justly remarks) and in many cases useful, to know where a particular translation or remarkable edition can be found, and also to know where a second or a third copy is to be met with, either for supplying defects or for instituting a collection of copies. This part of his volume must have cost him no small labour: for, though the treasures of the British Museum are now well-known by means of its ample printed catalogues, we were utter strangers to the rich stores contained in the Bodleian Library, in that of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and also in that of the Dean and Chapter of Saint Paul's Cathedral, until Dr. Cotton explored them, and communicated to the public the benefit of his researches.

2. The second part of this tract contains editions of the Psalms, the translations of which are for the most part in metre. In one of the articles of the Appendix he has given specimens of the various readings introduced in the well-known version of Sterneholde; but of the versions by Brady and Tate, Patrick, Barton, Merrick, and others, a few of the earlier editions alone are mentioned, or those which presented any new variety of rendering.

The Appendix consists of numerous bibliographical descriptions, and specimens of versions of different parts of the Old and New Testament, which could not very conveniently be thrown into the shape of notes, without overloading the page and interrupting the facility of reference. These will be perused with much interest, especially the specimens of translations; for, by thus bringing together, and exhibiting in one view various renderings of any the same portion of Scripture, a tolerable idea may be formed of the style and character of each translation. Their points of resemblance as well as of difference are at once seen, and the gradual progress towards the formation of our present authorized version may be traced without difficulty. A further advant-

age resulting from the very curious specimens of translations, which are given in the Appendix, is, that any person possessing an imperfect version of the Bible, may here at once ascertain of what translation it forms a part.

From the preceding remarks, our readers will easily perceive that the main design of Dr. Cotton's work is, to shew what has been done in the way of translating the Sacred Volume into English, and to trace the various steps by which we have arrived at our present authorized version. It would, as the author very justly observes, be a curious and pleasing task to trace the gradual change and improvement which took place, as new light broke in upon the minds of the translators; pleasing also to observe how many of the earliest expressions have withstood repeated revisals of the translation, and are *retained* and *approved* at the present day.

"This last is a circumstance which cannot fail to strike forcibly any one who has been led to examine our earlier printed Bibles. Let any person take up the first edition of Coverdale's Bible, printed in 1535, and read from it one of the Psalms; besides the *general similarity* which pervades the whole, how many verses will he find of which every word is the same with those which he reads in the Prayer Book as now printed and used! Surely that rendering must have been near the truth, which repeated examination has not thought fit to alter; that language must have been well chosen, which could not only maintain its ground amidst so many changes of style and of taste, but could continue to be generally intelligible after nearly three centuries had elapsed, and when almost every other composition of the same age had become enveloped in considerable obscurity." Introduction, p. xiv.

Besides exhibiting the steps by which we have thus arrived at our present admirable version, this publication will serve to give a tolerable idea of the degree of estimation in which the different versions were held, by shewing the multitude or paucity of their impressions.

The number of editions of the English Bible, entire and partial, which are contained in Dr. Cotton's 'List,' amounts to considerably more than *six hundred*; and that of the Psalms to nearly *four hundred*. We shall transcribe a few of his notes and descriptions, that our readers may be enabled to form some idea of the nature of his work, and of the labour with which the compilation of it must have been attended.

"1526. New Testament*, translated by Wm. Tyndale; printed

* "Of this valuable and highly interesting volume, the first fruits of an attempt to print the Scriptures in the English tongue, and the chief cause of the

8. Kilwardby.—In the possession of St. Paul's Library; Dr. Gifford. 12°." P. 1.

" 1535. New Test. Tyndale's: 'fynesshed 1535.'—*Exeter College**. 12°." P. 3.

" The first title is wanting, as likewise Tyndale's preface. The volume begins with 'A prologe to the Epistle to the Romans,' 16 leaves, with the signatures ✠ and *. 'A table for the foure Evangelistes,' &c. 'A table for the Actes of the Apostles,' together 12 leaves. On the reverse of the last is, 'The bokes conteyned in the newe Testament.' Then follows a second title, 'The newe Testament, dylygently corected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale: and fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God A. M. D. and xxxv.' On the reverse is given *again* a list of " the bokes conteyned, &c.' and 'A prologe of S. Matthew.' The text of St. Matthew begins on fol. ii. St. Mark on fol. xl. the Acts on fol. cxxxiiii. Romans (without any break for the prologue, which, standing in so unusual a place, might fairly be supposed to have been transposed by the binder) on fol. clxxiii.

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persecution and subsequent death of the translator, a single copy only was supposed to exist. Of the manner in which this found its way into the Harleian Library, and of the value set upon it by Lord Oxford and Mr. Ames, a short but interesting account is given in the following extract from a letter preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is in the hand-writing of Ames, is addressed to Mr. George Ballard, and dated Wapping, June 30, 1743. 'I cannot forbear telling you of my good success in buying at Lord Oxford's sale the Phœnix of the whole library; I mean the first English Testament that ever was printed in the year 1526. It has been thought no perfect one was left from the flames. My Lord was so well pleased in being the possessor of it, that he gave the person [Mr. John Murrey] he had it of, ten guineas, and settled an annuity of twenty pounds a year during the person's life, which is yet paid him. The particulars are too many to commit to a letter: the old historians and Fox give a good account of it.'

" Herbert's account, given in a note at p. 1536, may form a sequel to this: 'The first edition was in the possession of Mr. Ames, who bought it for fifteen shillings, out of the Harleian library, No. 480, sold by Tho. Osborne, 1743. Mr. John White purchased it for 15*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* at the auction of Mr. Ames' books, No. 1232, sold by Langford, 1760, and sold it for twenty-one pounds to Dr. Gifford, who at his decease bequeathed it, with many others, to the Baptist Museum, Bristol.'

" But it has been my fortune, in examining the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, to discover a second copy. Unluckily it is imperfect, both at the beginning and end; and its former owner, as if afraid of a second Bishop Tonstall, has contrived most ingeniously to disguise and disfigure it, by intermixing the leaves of the Gospels and Epistles with each other in the strangest manner. The volume is in half-binding, lettered (for what reason I know not) 'Last's Testament.' Surely it well deserves to be carefully taken to pieces and examined: the deficient parts should be supplied by a transcript from the Bristol copy, and inserted in their proper places, lest an unhappy accident should deprive us of either of them: the volume should then be rebound, and placed under lock and key, and under the special superintendance of the librarian."

* " I have not found this edition noticed by any writer previous to Mr. Cruttwell, in whose list it appears; nor do I know of another copy besides that in Exeter College library."

Hebrewe on cclv. Revelation on cclxxi. The last leaf of the volume is cclxxx. containing chapter viii. of the Revelation: the remainder unfortunately is wanting. The signatures run in eights. There are marginal references, and heads of chapters, but no notes. The letter, but above all the spelling, prove the volume to have been executed in the Low Countries. E. G. it reads, 'faether, moether, taeke, holly, Saeynct, stoene, oones, thoese, sayede, whoesse,' &c. for 'father, mother, take, holy, saint, stone, once, those, said, worse,' &c. And the misprints are exceedingly numerous. There are small woodcuts at the beginning of each Gospel, and in the Revelation larger ones, occupying about two thirds of the page. The execution of these is very coarse. There are initials of two sizes, cut in wood. A full page contains 38 lines." P. 168.

"1535. BIBLE, translated by Myles Coverdale: no place *, no name.—*British Museum; Bodleian; Public Library, Cambridge; Sion College; All Souls College; Lambeth Library; Dr. Gifford; Dr. Coombe.* fol." P. 3.

One of the rarest specimens of British typography is, the first fourteen chapters of the Acts of the Apostles translated into English metre, and set to music by Christopher Tye, Doctor in Music. A copy of this unique publication was presented to the Lambeth Library by Sir John Hawkins in 1777, containing the following description of it, for which Dr. Cotton deserves, and will, doubtless, receive the thanks of every bibliographer.

"Title, (in MS.) 'The Actes of the Apostles, translated into English meter, and dedicated to the Kynge's moste excellent Majestye by Christofer Tye Doctor in Musyke, and one of the Gentlemen of hys Graces moste honeurable Chappell, with notes to eche chapter, to synge, and also to play upon the Lute, very necessarye for studentes after theyr studye to fyle theyr wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge to read the good and godlye storyes of the lyves of Christ hys Appostles. 1558.' Dedication, 'To the vertuous and godlye learned Prynce Edwarde the VI. by the Grace of God King of Englande, France and Irelande Defendour of the Fayth, and on earth next and

* "Humphry Wanley thought by the type that it was printed at Zurich, by Chr. Froschover. Herbert says that there were two editions with but little variation. In the British Museum are some supernumerary leaves, containing variations, but these seem to be chiefly in the paging. Of seven copies of this edition which I have seen, that in the British Museum is the only one which has the title-page, and even this is made up from two copies. Of the others, the Bodleian copy is by far the finest. In the Dedication, the Museum copy has Queen *Anne*, (since altered into *Jane*;) Lambeth library has a copy with each; the Bodleian has *Anne*; All Souls College has neither; Sion College has *Jane*; Dr. Coombe has neither. I should observe, that the preliminary pieces are printed in a different type, and were probably added after the arrival of the volume in England."

immediately under Christe, of the Churches of England and Irelande the Supreme head, your grace's humble lovynge and obedient servaunte Christofer Tye wysheth the continuance of God hys feare to dwell in your grace's heart, longe to reygne in muche honoure, healthe, wealthe, and victorye.' Then follows a metrical preface, consisting of 25 stanzas:

" Consydrynge well, most godly Kyng
" The zeale and perfecte love
" Your Grace doth beare to ethe good thyng
" That geven is from above." &c.

The text, with music for four voices, meane, tenour, counter-tenor, bassus:

" In the former Treatyse to thee
" Dere frend The o phi lus
" I have written the verite
" Of the Lord Christ Jesus.

2.

" Whiche he to do and eke to teache
" Began until the daye
" In whiche the Sprite up hym did feache
" To dwell above for aye."

The concluding stanza (of chapter xivth and last) is thus:

" Howe he the doore of fayth untyde
" The Gentyls in to call
" And these longe tyme they dyd abyde
" With the disciples all."

" Imprinted at London by Nycolas Hyll for Wyllyam Seres. 'Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.' The volume is a small 12mo. printed in black letter." P. 140.

Of the translations of the Psalms, that by Miles Coverdale, (in verse and with notes) printed at London in 1549, is an entirely new discovery. No bibliographer seems to have known that he had executed a translation in verse. Queen's College, Oxford, has the felicity of possessing the very rare and perhaps only remaining copy of this work. A copious description of it, with specimens, is given by Dr. Cotton, for which we must refer to his Appendix, and shall only annex two stanzas of Coverdale's version of Psalm cxxxvii. for the gratification of the curious reader.

1.

" At the ryvers of Babilon
there sat we downe ryght hevely
Even whan we thought upon Sion
we wept together sorofully
for we were in soch hevynes
y^t we forgat al our merynes

and left of all our sporte & playe . . . .
on the willye trees y^t^ were therby
we hanged up our harpes truly
And morned sore both night & day.

2.

" They that toke us so cruelly
and led us bounde into pryson
requyred of us some melody
with wordes full of derision
when we hanged our harpes awaye
this cruell folke to us coulde saye
Now let us hear some mery songe
Synge us a songe of some swete toyne
as ye were wont to synge at Sion
where ye have lerned to synge so longe." P. 143.

Several other versions of the Psalms are also very curious; as, that by John Alaph (which of course is a feigned name) printed in 1580, 4to. a very beautiful copy of which is in the British Museum; and another by Archbishop Parker, in quarto, and printed about the year 1560, although it does not bear his name. On account of the extreme rarity of copies of this book, it has been generally supposed that the Archbishop intended it for private circulation *only*; but from the regular division of the verses, it seems to have been intended for public use in the choir. It is to be seen in the Bodleian Library, and also in that of Brasen Nose College, Oxford. To this version we may add a translation of certain Psalms *, by Abraham Fraunce, in English hexameters, a species of metre which Mr. Southey has at once *verbally* recommended, and by his total failure in his 'Vision of Judgment,' has *practically* shewn to be most absurd. A specimen of Fraunce's version is given in the Appendix. In the thirteenth Number of the Christian Remembrancer †, Dr. Cotton has communicated the result of some interesting researches respecting the earlier English metrical versions of the Psalms, to which we would invite the attention of our readers: but we cannot pass in silence his notice of some Psalms by the brave and virtuous Sir Philip Sidney. There is extant in manuscript the whole Psalter by him and his accomplished sister, the Countess of Pembroke; but what share each had in the performance, it is not now easy to ascertain. The hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm was printed as Sir Philip Sidney's, in No. xviii. of the Guardian: seven others

* Vis. Psalms i. vi. viii. xxix: xxxviii. l. lxxiii. and civ. printed at the end of The Countess of Pembroke's Emanuel." London, 1591, &c. 4to.
† For June, 1821, pp. 327—331.

were given in Sir John Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ; and two at the end of the late Dr. Zouch's Life of Sidney. From the manuscript in question, which is in Dr. Cotton's possession, he has selected some passages of singular beauty and fidelity, in the hope of rescuing this metrical version of the Psalms from the unmerited obscurity in which it has so long been buried: and with the same view we select the following passages, for the gratification of such of our readers to whom they will be new, as they were to us.

PSALM XCIII.

I.

" Cloth'd in state and girt with might
Monarch-like Jehovah reignes,
He who earth's foundations pight,
pight at first, and yet sustaines:
He whose stable throne disdaines
Motion's shock, and ages flight;
He who endless One remaines,
One the same in changeless plight.

II.

" Rivers you, though rivers rore,
roaring though sea-billows rise,
vex the deep, and break the shore,
stronger art Thou, Lord of skies!
firme and true thy promise ties
now and still as heretofore;
holy worship never dies
in thy house where we adore."

Christian Remembrancer, June, 1821, p. 330.

As Dr. Cotton's transcript contains some various readings of Sir Philip Sidney's translation of Psalm cxxxvii. we shall subjoin his copy of it.

PSALM CXXXVII.

I.

" Nigh seated where the river flowes
that wat'reth Babel's thankfulle plaine
which then our tears in pearled rowes
did help to water with their raine,
the thought of Sion bred such woes
that though our harps we did retaine
Yet useless and untouched there
on willowes onely hang'd they were.

II.

" Now while our harpes were hanged so
the men whose captives then we lay
did on our grief insulting grow
and more to grieve us thus did say,

you that of musick make such show,
come sing us now a Sion laie:
O no! we have nor voice nor hand
for such a song in such a land.

III.

" Though far I lye, sweet Sion hill,
in forraine soile exil'd from thee,
yet let my hand forget his skill
if ever thou forgotten bee:
yea let my tongue fast glewed still
unto my roof ly mute in me,
if thy neglect in me do spring,
or ought I doe but Salem sing.

IV.

" But thou, ô Lord, wilt not forget
to quit the paines of Edom's race,
who causelessly yet hotly set
thy holy citie to deface:
thus did the bloodie victors whet
what time they entred first the place:
downe, downe with it at any hand,
make all flat plaine, let nothing stand.

V.

" And Babylon that didst us wast
thyself shall one day wasted bee,
and happie he who what thou hast
to others done shall do to thee:
like bitterness shall make thee tast
like wofull objects make thee see,
yea happie who thy little ones
shall take and dash against the stones."

Christian Remembrancer, June, 1681, p. 331.

A considerable portion of the second division is occupied with different editions of Sternhold's version of the Psalms, published between the years 1541 and 1696; and some specimens are given in the Appendix, to shew the alterations which were successively made in that once popular, and, in many respects, very faithful metrical translation. Of the other versions by Dod, Brady, and Tate, Barton, Patrick, Merrick, &c. a few of the earlier editions only are mentioned, or those which presented any new variety. Of the Psalms in verse and prose, with the Songs of Moses, Deborah, &c. translated by H. Dod, we have a specimen in the Appendix: and for the information of such of our readers as have never seen an Act of Parliament *in verse*, it may not be amiss to mention that, at the end of this edition of the Psalms, is found the act for enjoining a public thanksgiving on the fifth

of November, "composed into easie meeter, a song meete for yong and old"! We think we may safely affirm that it is the only poem in the English language which begins with the word "Whereas." No place or printer's name is indicated in either of the copies which are found in the Bodleian and Lambeth libraries: and Dr. Cotton states that the volume has much the appearance of having been printed in Holland. He has given the whole of this curious piece of rhyme in his Appendix, whence (as Dod's volume is of no common occurrence) we select a few stanzas:—

1.

"Whereas Almightie God hath in
All ages shew'd his power
And mercie in miraculous
standing our Saviour:
And gracious deliverer
of Church and children dear:
Protecting safely Kings and States
who right religious are.

2.

"And where no nation of the earth
hath binne more rearely blest,
With greater benefits, then this
our realme among the rest.
Which freely now enjoy'th the true
and free profession
Of sacred Gospel under our
King, and dread Soveraigne.

3.

"Who greatest, and best learned is,
and most religious King,
That ever raigned in this land,
enriched with blessing.
Of a most hopefull progenie,
and plenteous Royall seede,
descending of his Royall race
and promising indeed." P. 151.

Having recited the circumstances of that horrid conspiracy, and of its providential detection, the Act proceeds to enact that the fifth of November shall be observed every year as a day of 'publique thanksgiving to Almighty God,' in the following terms.

14.

"Be it therefore enacted, by
the Royall Majestie
Of our good King, and by his Lords
divines and temporaltie.

And also by authoritie
Of this whole Parl'asemt,
Th' aforesayd powres, & Commons all
assembled nowe present.

15.

" That all and singuler divines
In Churches Cathedrall
And ministers in everie Church
which is Parochiall:
Or other place, that is for use
of prayer knowne by name,
In England's realme or within
dominions of the same,

16.

" Shalle alwayes on the fifth day of
the moneth of each November,
In prayers to Almightie God
give praise and thankes for ever:
For this most wondrous happienesse
in our deliverance:
That so the same may be preserv'd
in due remembrance." P. 154.

In enumerating the principal editions of our present authorised version, Dr. Cotton has very properly taken notice of those which are characterised by peculiar inaccuracies. Thus in the folio edition, printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel, in 1638, Acts vi. 3. is translated—"*Whom* ye *may appoint*," instead of "*we*," and this mistranslation, or rather error of the press, was continued in several other editions of the same version.

" The Bibles printed during the time of the Commonwealth have been generally reputed to be full of errors:—In a tract, entitled 'The London Printer his Lamentation; or the Press oppressed or over-pressed,' 4to. 1660, (reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany,) it is said, that Bill and Barker had contrived to get into their possession 'ever since the sixth of March 1655, the manuscript copy of the last translation of the Holy Bible in English, attested with the hands of the venerable and learned translators in King James's time.' And that having thus secured themselves from instant detection, they published editions filled with 'egregious blasphemies and damnable errata.'" P. 33, *note.*

The Oxford Bible (8vo. 1811,) is remarkable for this mistake in Isa. lvii. 12. "*I will declare thy righteousness and thy works, for they* SHALL *profit thee*," instead of "*they shall* NOT *profit thee.*" The Beautiful folio Bible printed by Baskett, at Oxford, in 1717, is commonly termed the

Vinegar Bible, from an error in the running title at Luke xxii. where we read "*the parable of the* VINEGAR," instead of "*the parable of the* VINEYARD!" The Oxford Bible, printed in 1792, in 8vo. is remarkable for a mistake in Luke xxii. 34. where *Philip*, instead of *Peter*, is named as the disciple who should deny Christ. To these examples of inaccuracy enumerated by Dr. Cotton, we may add that in overrunning Dr. Blayney's beautiful and correct folio edition of the Bible, (printed at Oxford, in 1769), and justly considered as "the standard edition,") into the quarto size, the following words are omitted in the latter, in Rev. xviii. 22. after the words "no more," viz. "at all in thee; and no craftsman of whatsoever craft *he be*, shall be found any more." The existence of such errors as these, presents a most powerful inducement to the superintendants of the two University presses, and of his Majesty's printers, to exercise the utmost possible correctness in the final revision of their proof sheets; especially as, since the adoption of the stereotype process, a *single error* may be perpetuated through MANY THOUSAND impressions,—as many indeed as may be taken from the stereotype plates. In the Bible to make nonsense by misprints is bad enough; but to make a sense *directly contrary* to that which is intended, is absolutely intolerable. Nearly as guilty were the editors of those Prayer Books, in one of which we read, "thou *shalt* commit adultery;" and in the other, in the collect at the communion, "Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, &c. give us for the UNworthiness of thy son Jesus Christ."!! *

From the length to which this article has extended, our readers will readily conclude that we think highly of the author's research. Though he modestly claims "no other merit than that of a little diligence," we think it but due to him, to state that every page exhibits marks of *great* diligence; and bibliographers, as well as all who take a deep interest in the literary history of our unrivalled authorised version, are highly indebted to Dr. Cotton for the volume which he has presented to them; and which is indispensably necessary to complete their biblical collections. We are not prepared to say that there are no errors or deficiencies, (absolute accuracy in a work of this kind we know, by experience, to be unattainable,) but these are neither frequent nor of sufficient importance to require any enumeration of them. The book is beautifully printed at the Clarendon Press; and the circumstance of the University of Oxford having taken

* A copy of the last mentioned edition of the Common Prayer, is now in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth.

the printing and publishing of it upon themselves, sufficiently indicates *their* approbation of Dr. Cotton's work. We trust that its reception by the public will be such, as will encourage him to supply an important desideratum in British literature, by undertaking a bibliographical account of *all* the editions of the Bible in English, whether entire or partial, that are extant. These might be given in chronological order, (with a specimen of each) down to the year 1611, when the present authorised version was first published, the principal editions of which might be given, specially noticing such as are remarkable for their *in*accuracy, beauty of execution, or other circumstances. Versions of the Book of Psalms should be given separately, the prose translations being distinguished from those which are in metre. Translations of the Scriptures, by *individuals*, subsequently to the appearance of the authorised version, might be given under the heads of—Translations of the entire Bible, of the Old Testament, and of detached Books thereof, in their proper order: Translations of the entire New Testament, and of detached books thereof, in their proper order: and a chronological index to the whole might conclude the work. Lewis's well-known 'History of the English Translations of the Scriptures,' (for whose unavoidable mistakes Dr. Cotton has offered a just as well as handsome apology,) would afford much useful matter. Dibdin's edition of Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, the Censura Literaria and British Bibliographer of Sir Egerton Brydges, and other bibliographical works, would also contribute some useful information; and above all, the peculiar facilities which Dr. Cotton's situation at Oxford presents to him, together with the persevering research displayed in the volume of which we have given an account, point him out as the fittest person to undertake such a laborious task. And if, besides gratifying the inquiries of the curious, he should be the means of exciting any one to a more attentive examination of the contents of the Sacred Scriptures, and to a deeper sense of gratitude for the inestimable treasure which we possess in an admirable authorised English version, he will have a reward of the purest and most enduring kind.

ART. X. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society,* 1821.

Part I. No. 2. On the Magnetic Phenomena produced by Electricity. By Sir Humphry Davy, Bart. P.R.S.

Part II. No. 29. Further Researches on the Magnetic Phenomena produced by Electricity: with some new Experiments on the Properties of Electrified Bodies, in their Relations to conducting Powers and Temperature. By the Same.

ONE of the most interesting features presented to us in contemplating the progress of scientific discovery, is the union we often see between two branches of the stream, which rising, perhaps, from widely distant sources, after various wanderings, at length unite into one channel; and such confluences frequently take place under circumstances (to continue the metaphor) of peculiar picturesque beauty, from their abruptness, and its effects on the subsequent course of the stream.

The discoveries to which the papers under consideration relate, are such as must be contemplated in this point of view. The wonderful discoveries of Galvani and Volta were justly the boast of the commencement of this century. The production of effects, by the chemical action of a certain succession of substances on each other, which were strictly analogous to those formerly obtained by the friction of certain bodies, was a curious coincidence, and afforded a subject of generalization to philosophers, who were desirous of uniting both classes of phenomena into one. Many facts were brought forward in support of the identity of the two powers of electricity and galvanism, by which that idea was generally established. If further proof were wanting, the discoveries of the present day would amply supply it, in showing that both these powers are alike effectual in the production of a third class of phenomena, which, as derived from other sources, had been known long before either of the two former. But the mere establishment of the identity of galvanism and electricity, from their common influence in producing magnetism, is a very secondary and inferior part of the discoveries we are about to notice. Their great, and most striking, feature is the circumstance itself, that *magnetic* effects should be produced by *electricity* of either kind; and the

inferences which have been drawn with respect to the identity of magnetism and electricity. This point, indeed, we cannot, by any means, consider as actually proved, in the present stage of the enquiry; it has, nevertheless, been a subject of investigation to many of the philosophers who have followed this line of research; and has received from them all, very strong confirmation. It is this confluence, as it were, of the hitherto separate sciences of electricity and magnetism which we wish to point out to the notice of our readers, as one of those epochs in the progress of discovery which must be regarded with a peculiar interest. This union of the two branches of knowledge has been effected in the most unforeseen, as well as the most complete, manner. The new science of electro-magnetism has suddenly been brought into existence, and has at once sprung up, invested, by its first discoverers, with a very large share of all that is requisite to establish the perfection of the union which it has effected between two highly interesting branches of knowledge, and which acquire a yet higher interest from the intimate connection thus established between them.

M. Œrsted, professor of natural philosophy at Copenhagen, had been for some years engaged in experiments respecting the supposed identity of chemical, electrical, and magnetic, forces. After many fruitless researches he was rewarded, in the winter of 1819, by the discovery of a curious fact, of which no one but himself had the slightest suspicion, and which, like almost all great discoveries, when once known, seemed so simple and obvious to try, that it appeared a matter of surprize that it should not have been observed before. On placing a compass-needle near the wire connecting the two poles of a galvanic battery, he found that it deviated very considerably from its previous direction. By this fact, then, a connection was established between the two powers of galvanism and magnetism; and a wide field of enquiry was laid open to philosophers respecting the laws according to which this effect was regulated under different circumstances. These researches were followed up to a considerable extent by Œrsted himself, and since him, by the most eminent philosophers in every country of Europe; who, struck with the beauty and importance of these discoveries, as connected with some of the most interesting subjects of chemical and physical enquiry, have become his disciples.

The researches of Œrsted himself comprize a very large portion of the actual facts at present known. He discovered the law of attraction and repulsion of the poles of the needle,

according to its position, as moved round the wire, and as related to the side at which the positive or negative electricity is communicated. He has laid down the rules by which the different cases of the north or south pole being attracted or repelled by the wire, according to circumstances, are regulated. It certainly requires the exercise of considerable attention to apply these rules in the different cases: and in a paper published by this philosopher, some time subsequent to his first, he has given directions for the representation of all the different cases by one simple method. We confess, however, that we do not think this method to be the best adapted for an elementary study of the phenomena. It represents the course of the electro-magnetic effects, as continued in a spiral round the connecting wire; which idea coincides exactly with the directions given to the needle, when placed in different positions above, below, or on either side of, the wire. The student has only to frame such a representation for himself, and from the course of the electricity, thus indicated, he will immediately see the direction which will be given to the needle in any particular position.

As these different positions are necessary to be understood in all the subsequent parts of the researches, we cannot refrain from communicating to our readers a much more simple method of representing them generally, which has been given by a writer profoundly versed in the subject. It is simply this: let two slips of wood be fixed in the form of a cross; let that which crosses *over* the other be called the needle, and marked at its ends N. and S.; then the lower piece will represent the connecting wire; and if the *N.* end of the former be to the *left-hand* of the observer, then the end of the wire *from* him will be the *positive*; and this and the other end of the same piece must be named accordingly. Then, if the piece representing the needle be held so as to be above, below, or on either side of, the other, in any position, it will represent the direction which the magnetic needle has a tendency to take, when the wire is in a position relative to it, corresponding with that of the other piece of wood. We mention this easy and universal method of representing the phenomena, instead of describing any of the positions actually observed, as we consider them scarcely intelligible without a reference to diagrams: and the method we have described puts it easily in the power of any student to gain the clearest notions of the several positions. At the same time it is to be observed, that the positions here spoken of are such as the needle would assume if it were wholly unaffected by the

magnetism of the earth: and to obtain such a state of circumstances it is necessary that the apparatus be very powerful, and the needle possessed of great sensibility.

We have only given this very slight notice respecting the law by which the attractions and repulsions are regulated, because, though it is continually requisite in understanding the phenomena described by Sir H. Davy, in the papers under review, it would be impossible to explain it more fully without diagrams; yet, we trust, what we have said, will be sufficient. In a subsequent paper, M. Œrsted stated, that he had found the *intensity*, and not the *quantity* of galvanic effect, to be the circumstance which is essential to the production of the greatest magnetic power. He found that even a single galvanic arc of considerable surface was sufficient. He also found out a method of making an apparatus of this kind, so light and easily moveable, that a magnet presented to the end of the connecting wire attracted it, and caused the apparatus to revolve. Such, then, was the first discovery of these interesting facts. The papers of M. Œrsted are given at large in the Annals of Philosophy, vol. xvi.

In the course of the year 1820, these interesting discoveries excited much attention among the scientific men in different parts of Europe. That eminent French philosopher, M. Ampere, was among the first to repeat, and extend the experiments and researches begun by Œrsted. He first established a curious relation between two currents of galvanism, by contriving two connecting wires easily moveable; when, if they had their poles situated both at the same end, they attracted; if at different ends, they repelled each other. Upon these facts, and some further considerations, he founded an ingenious theory of the nature of electric and magnetic action; the leading feature of which is, to consider these currents as composed of assemblages of currents in spirals, round the supposed line of the direction of the action, or the axis of the magnet. This philosopher was inclined to maintain, that the powers of electricity and magnetism are absolutely the same; differing only from the common phenomena of electricity, in being produced under different circumstances, and acting in a somewhat different manner. This point is considered by Sir H. Davy; and will be further noticed as we proceed.

M. Arago directed his attention to these subjects at about the same period. He found that the connecting wire, of whatever metal it was composed, was, for the time, itself

magnetic, and attracted iron filings, but not the filings of any other metal.

The same philosopher, in conjunction with M. Ampere, reflecting on the spiral form in which the action appeared to take place round the connecting wire; and Arago having concluded, from the last mentioned experiments, that the wire has the power of communicating magnetism to the iron filings, they inferred, that if the wire was bent into the form of a spiral, or helix, its magnetizing power would be much stronger; and on trying this experiment, they found needles inclosed in such spirals powerfully magnetized. They observed also, that the poles of these magnets always preserved an invariable relation to the direction in which the spiral twisted, and the position of the poles of the apparatus. These positions they found to be exactly such as are indicated by the method before pointed out; supposing the straight line, which before represented the connecting wire, to represent now an indefinitely small part of the spiral wire, which may be regarded as a straight line.

An equally curious result, which M. Ampere obtained, was the contrivance of a galvanic apparatus, with its connecting wire so arranged, and so delicately suspended, as to be moveable by the attraction of the earth, like a magnetic needle; and displaying both the horizontal motions and the dip. He also illustrated his theory of the nature of magnetic currents, by spiral lines, which were found to exhibit all the phenomena of magnets.

Such, then, is a very slight sketch of the course of previous discovery on these subjects: some knowledge of which is absolutely requisite for understanding the researches of Sir Humphry Davy, contained in the two papers which are the immediate subject of this article. In the researches already noticed, we have observed, first, the attraction and repulsion of the needle by the connecting wire; the law of this action; and the attraction and repulsion of the connecting wire by a magnet, by another connecting wire, and by the earth: secondly, the magnetism of the wire itself, and its power of communicating magnetism. These may be considered the most essential parts of the discoveries hitherto noticed. These effects were all produced by the operation of a galvanic battery. We have now to examine some further researches, which present to us a third great and essential point, in respect to the completeness of this series of discoveries. The continuation of them also takes up a new branch of the subject, and investigates the relation of electro-magnetic

powers to another agent, not hitherto noticed. These researches present the latest improvement which the subject has received; and, in our opinion, constitute a very considerable part of the whole science. In the former experiments, the galvanic apparatus alone was used; in these, the skill and sagacity of Sir H. Davy have enabled him to obtain the same results by the application of common electricity: and he has also investigated various interesting points relative to the effects of heat in modifying the electro-magnetic effects. We must acknowledge the former parts of these discoveries to be the productions of foreign genius and perseverance; while we may claim the subsequent improvements, now about to be noticed, as the sole offspring of British talent and skill: and we must feel particular satisfaction, in having to connect them with a name, which has of late years been by far the foremost in raising the scientific reputation of England among neighbouring nations.

We will now proceed to the more particular examination of the papers before us. The first of these appears to have been drawn up long before its publication; and the experiments detailed in it, to have been of yet earlier date: the reason of the delay does not appear. Sir H. Davy commences the paper, by making some mention of the approaches which were made some years ago to the discoveries of Œrsted; and shews that any former observers were very far from arriving at the same results which have since been obtained. The views of such enquirers appear to have been generally obscure, and their experiments inaccurate; hence their supposed discoveries met with no attention: and it was reserved for M. Œrsted and his followers to develope the true connexion which subsists between the powers of electricity and magnetism.

The line of enquiry in which they at first proceeded, has been ably and successfully followed by Sir H. Davy. His first observation was, that the connecting wire itself became strongly magnetic, forming round it a coating of steel filings ten or twelve times its own thickness. On breaking the communication, they instantly fell off; proving that the magnetic effect depended entirely on the passage of the electricity through the wire.

He next proceeded to attach needles in different positions to the wire, some parallel, others transverse, above and below in different directions; and found that they all became magnetic. Those parallel to the wire attracted filings, but lost their magnetism as soon as the wire did. Those which were

transverse, exhibited distinct poles, in the same directions, with respect to the wire, as were before explained; and retained their magnetism permanently. It was also found, that contact of the needles with the wire was not necessary. The magnetic power was even transmitted through glass.

When some iron filings were spread on a plate of glass over the connecting wire, the filings arranged themselves in right lines, always at right angles to the axis of the wire.

Our author then proceeds to make some observations relative to the comparative magnetic powers arising from different electrical intensities. He found that when two pair of plates were so arranged that the zinc and copper plates formed respectively parts of one combination, the effect was greatly increased. The principle of this is the same as that established by Œrsted. He also concluded that the magnetism produced increases with the degree of heat to which the wire is raised.

The phenomenon of the arrangement of iron filings, just noticed, appears to us to afford a strong presumption in favour of M. Ampere's theory of currents in planes at right angles to the axis of the wire. The fact is ocularly demonstrated in the case of electricity, but we are not aware that any similar phenomenon has been exhibited by means of a magnet, which would perhaps be necessary for the complete establishment of M. Ampere's idea. We quit, however, this point, which is entirely theoretical, to allude to the claim of M. Arago to the discovery that magnetism might be communicated by common electricity. He announced it verbally to the Royal Academy, November 6, 1820, but gave no detailed account of his experiments or conclusions. The present paper, by Sir H. Davy, is dated November 12th, and in that part of it immediately following the last mentioned, he has announced the same discovery as M. Arago; so that both appear to have a claim to originality: but our countryman was certainly the first to give any thing like a particular account of this important discovery, and of the steps by which his researches were conducted. His account of this discovery we will give in his own words:

"As the discharge of a considerable quantity of electricity through a wire, seemed necessary to produce magnetism, it appeared probable that a wire electrified by the common machine would not occasion a sensible effect: and this I found was the case on placing very small needles across a fine wire connected with a prime conductor of a powerful machine, and the earth. But

as a momentary exposure in a powerful electrical circuit, was sufficient to give permanent polarity to steel, it appeared equally obvious that needles placed transversely to a wire at the time that the electricity of a common Leyden battery was discharged through it, ought to become magnetic; and this I found was actually the case, and according to precisely the same laws as in the voltaic circuit: the needle under the wire, the positive conductor being on the right hand, offering its north pole to the face of the operator, and the needle above, exhibiting the opposite polarity.

"So powerful was the magnetism produced by the discharge of an electrical battery of seventeen square feet, highly charged, through a silver wire of one-twentieth of an inch, that it rendered bars of steel of two inches long and from one-twentieth to one-tenth of an inch in thickness so magnetic, as to enable them to attract small pieces of steel-wire, or needles; and the effect was communicated to a distance of five inches above or below, or laterally from the wire through water or thick plates of glass or metal electrically insulated."

In order to ascertain the relations of the north and south poles of steel magnetized by electricity, to the positive and negative sides of the apparatus, Sir H. Davy placed short steel needles round a circle made on pasteboard, of about two inches and a half diameter, bringing them near each other, but not in contact, and fastening them to the pasteboard by thread, so that they formed the sides of a hexagon inscribed within the circle; a wire was fixed in the centre of this circle, so that the circle was parallel to the horizon, and an electric shock was passed through the wire, its upper part being connected with the positive side of the battery, and its lower part with the negative. After the shock all the needles were found magnetic, and each had two poles: the south pole of one needle being opposite to the north pole of the next, and the poles had the same situation relatively to the direction of the electrical discharge as was before described; the same law of polarity was found to hold good in the communication of magnetism both by galvanism and common electricity. It was also found to hold good in all other arrangements of the needles with relation to the electric poles.

Such then is the most striking part of Sir H. Davy's discovery. In the experiments here noticed he has opened a new connection between two neighbouring departments of enquiry. In those described in the remaining part of his paper he has returned to the consideration of galvanic influence alone.

Supposing powerful electricity to be passed through several wires forming part of the same circuit, parallel to each other, either in the same or different planes, it seemed probable to Sir H. Davy that each wire, and the space round it, would become magnetic in the same manner as a single wire, though in a less degree; and this he found to be actually the case. When the circuit was made by four wires, parallel to each other, they were all found to be magnetic at once, and took up separate cylinders of iron filings; and when the sides of any two of these which were opposite to each other were brought near one another, the filings on one attracted those on the other. As the filings on the opposite sides of the wires attracted each other in consequence of their being in opposite magnetic states, it was evident that if those on similar sides of the wires could be brought together, the filings would repel each other. This was easily tried by placing two batteries parallel to each other, but with their poles in opposite directions. Steel-filings adhering to the wires of each, when brought together, repelled each other. In analogy to this mode of operating, the former experiment was varied by placing the wires of two batteries in the same direction, when the filings were attracted as before. In the same manner also the wires themselves exhibited the phenomena of attraction and repulsion according to the same law.

These experiments, it will be perceived, are similar to those made by M. Ampere on the attraction and repulsion of two connecting wires, or as he considers them, two electrical currents. The same fact, somewhat differently exhibited, being shewn, and the same principle established by both.

Another subject of research was suggested to Sir. H. Davy by the consideration that as bodies magnetized by electricity put a needle in motion, it was natural to infer that a magnet would put bodies, magnetized by electricity, in motion. He accordingly tried this by fixing two knife edges of platinum in the circuit of a powerful voltaic battery, and laid upon them pieces of wire of platinum, silver, and copper, successively, so that these might also be in connection with the circuit, and be at liberty to roll freely. A magnet being presented to them they all were found to roll along the knife edges, being attracted when the north pole of the magnet was presented, the positive side of the battery being on the right hand, and repelled when it was on the left; and *vice versâ*, changing the pole of the magnet. The same effect was observed, but of course more feebly, with some folds

of gold leaf placed across the apparatus. It will be easy to perceive that this law of their motions is precisely the same as that before described.

We will give the conclusion of this paper in the author's own words:

"I will not indulge myself by entering far into the theoretical part of this subject; but a number of curious speculations cannot fail to present themselves to every philosophical mind, in consequence of the facts developed; such as whether the magnetism of the earth may not be owing to its electricity, and the variation of the needle to the alterations in the electrical currents of the earth, in consequence of its motions, internal chemical changes, or its relation to solar heat; and whether the luminous effects of the auroras at the poles are not shewn, by these new facts, to depend upon electricity. This is evident, that if strong electrical currents be supposed to follow the apparent course of the sun, the magnetism of the earth ought to be such as it is found to be.

"But I will quit conjectures to point out a simple mode of making powerful magnets, namely, by fixing bars of steel across, or circular pieces of steel fitted for making horse-shoe magnets round the electrical conductors of buildings in elevated and exposed situations."

In relation to the latter point, a note is subjoined, mentioning that several instances of the production of magnetism, by the means here stated, are recorded in former parts of the Transactions. One in particular deserves notice, where a stroke of lightning passing through a box of knives, rendered most of them powerful magnets.

Another note is added, which relates to the historical account of these discoveries. We alluded before to the supposed priority of M. Arago's discovery, announced Nov. 6. In this note, however, Sir H. Davy assures us, that all his experiments were made in October. It does not appear that he was aware of M. Arago having laid any claim to the discovery of the production of magnetism by common electricity. In his note he says,

"I find that M. Arago has anticipated me in the discovery of the attractive and magnetizing powers of the wires in the voltaic circuit; but the phenomena presented by the action of common electricity, (which I believe as yet has been observed by no other person) induce me still to submit my paper to the Council of the Royal Society."

In the same note he also mentions, that he has tried an experiment, which M. Arago likewise thought of, whether

the arc of flame of the voltaic battery would be affected by the magnet. From the imperfection of the apparatus he could not obtain any decisive result; but hopes to repeat the trial. He also states, that he has made many trials, with the hope of affecting electrified wires by the magnetism of the earth; as also, of effecting chemical changes by magnetism; but without any successful results.

He also mentions that he has passed the common electrical shock, in the same way as M. Ampere did the galvanic, along a spiral wire, by which a bar of steel enclosed in it with a glass tube, was powerfully magnetized.

He concludes the note with some observations on Ampere's theory of the identity of magnetism and electricity.

"Without meaning," he says, "to offer any decided opinion on that gentleman's ingenious views, I shall beg permission to mention two circumstances, which seem to me unfavourable to the idea of the identity of electricity and magnetism; first, the great distance to which magnetism is communicated by common electricity. (I found that a steel bar was made magnetic at fourteen inches distance from a wire transmitting an electric shock from about seventy feet of charged surface): and secondly, that the effect of magnetizing at a distance by electricity, takes place with the same readiness, through air and water, glass, mica, or metals; i. e. through conductors and nonductors."

With the greatest deference to the opinion of Sir H. Davy, we cannot help observing, that as far as we understand M. Ampere's theory, he seems to consider the magnetic effects, not as produced by the common electric currents, but by other currents formed by what is termed the conflict of electricities. He has, in fact, (as we learn from an abridged account of his memoir in the Annals of Philosophy for October, 1821, p. 276,) pointed out the distinction between the two classes of phenomena, and contrasted them in a very particular manner. He shews that the contrast between the electro-magnetic attractions and repulsions, and the common electrical, is very striking; and that they differ essentially, both in the circumstances of their production, and in their effects. If then such a distinction be admitted, it follows that the two circumstances noticed by our author, need not prevent the belief of the identity of magnetism with that particular modification of electric action which M. Ampere supposes. We will not however proceed any further in relation to this theoretical part of the subject; and more especially, as it is confessedly involved in much obscurity in the present stage of the enquiry.

We shall now proceed therefore to the consideration of Sir H. Davy's second paper, containing some fresh researches, relating to the same branch of science:—and in order the more properly to introduce our readers to this latter excellent paper, we will previously mention one or two discoveries, connected with the subject, which were made known in the interval between the appearance of Sir H. Davy's first and second memoir.

The most generally interesting, perhaps, of these discoveries, was that of M. Von Buch, who in repeating Sir H. Davy's experiments on magnetizing by common electricity, found that a strong discharge was not necessary, nor even a Leyden phial: but by merely passing the common spark through a spiral, he magnetized a needle placed in it.

MM. Gazzeri, Ridolfi, and Antinori, at Florence, tried a number of curious experiments. One singular result which they obtained was, that a needle magnetized outside of a spiral, had its poles opposite to one within.

M. Berzelius passed the current diagonally through a plate of tin, and found the magnetism strongest at the other angles; thus, he observes, proving that the electro-magnetic, like the electric, and the magnetic, polarity, has a tendency to go to the opposite extremities of bodies which imbibe it.

Many other observations of inferior importance have also been made by various philosophers, and several improvements in the mode of experimenting have been adopted: but of these it would be foreign to our present purpose to take a more minute survey. Those we have mentioned are simply such as are to be considered the most important advances in discovery, and as naturally leading us in the order of time to the consideration of Sir H. Davy's second paper. The object of the investigations described in this paper, was, according to the author, to gain some distinct knowledge on the relation of the different *conductors* to the magnetism produced by electricity. This enquiry was suggested from some circumstances which he incidentally noticed in the course of his former experiments; and it was extended as well to the comparison of the nature of the conductors, as to their temperature; and with respect to both points, he has established several very curious and important conclusions.

In the first place, he found that the magnetic phenomena were precisely the same, whether the electricity was small in quantity, and passing through good conductors of considerable magnitude, or whether the conductors were so imperfect as to convey only a small quantity of electricity; and in

both cases they were neither attractive of each other, nor of iron-filings, and not affected by the magnet; and the only proof of their being magnetic, was their occasioning a certain small deviation of the magnetized needle.

Amongst other observations of this kind, he found that imperfect conducting fluids do not give polarity to steel when electricity is passed through them: but electricity passed through air, produces this effect. It was this consideration which led him to try a very beautiful experiment: On charging very strongly the extremely powerful battery at the London Institution, connecting the poles with charcoal, and thence in the usual way forming an arc of electrical light, he found that when a powerful magnet was presented to it, the arc or column of light was attracted or repelled according to certain circumstances of position; these positions, as far as the author has explained them, (which he has not done fully,) will be found capable of being truly represented by the simple method before described, the arc of light being in the place of a moveable connecting wire. It will be recollected that in his former paper he alludes to this experiment, in which he had then not succeeded, owing to the want of greater power in the apparatus.

Thus far his researches had an immediate connection with the magnetic effects of electricity: he now proceeded with some enquiries which relate to the circumstances of the conducting power of different substances for simple electricity; these enquiries, however, are of course to be regarded as forming a part of the general examination of electro-magnetic phenomena. As, however, they may not be so generally interesting as those more immediately concerned with the magnetic effects, we shall content ourselves with a very cursory review of them. The principal part of the investigation is thus given by the author:—

"Metals, it is well known, readily transmit large quantities of electricity; and the obvious limit to the quantity which they are capable of transmitting, seems to be their fusibility, or volatilization by the heat which electricity produces in its passage through bodies. Now I found in several experiments, that the intensity of this heat was connected with the nature of the medium by which the body was surrounded; thus a wire of platinum, which was readily fused by transmitting the charge from a voltaic battery in the exhausted receiver of an air pump, acquired in air a much lower degree of temperature. Reasoning on this circumstance, it occurred to me, that by placing wires in a medium much denser than air, such as ether, alcohol, oils, or water, I might enable them

to transmit a much higher charge of electricity, than they could convey without being destroyed in air; and thus not only gain some new results as to the magnetic states of such wires, but likewise, perhaps, determine the actual limits to the powers of different bodies to conduct electricity, and the relations of these powers."

These expectations were to a certain extent realized, by many curious experiments. A wire, which would have been fused in air, was, by being passed through water, enabled to develope very strong magnetic effects. Sir H. Davy however ascertained that even when thus cooled, there was a limit to the degree of electricity which a wire would transmit.

In proceeding further in his enquiries, a remarkable result was, that the conducting power of metallic bodies, varied with the temperature, and was lower in some inverse ratio as the temperature was higher, and the consequences were the same whether the heat was occasioned by the electricity passing through the wire, or by any external means.

One beautiful experiment illustrative of this doctrine, which our author has related, we must give in his own words:—

"Let a fine wire of platinum of four or five inches in length be placed in a voltaic circuit, so that the electricity passing through it may heat the whole of it to redness; and let the flame of a spirit lamp be applied to any part of it, so as to heat that part to whiteness, the rest of the wire will instantly become cooled below the point of visible ignition. For the converse of the experiment, let a piece of ice, or a stream of cold air be applied to a part of the wire, the other parts will immediately become much hotter, and from a red, will rise to a white heat. The quantity of electricity that can pass through that part of the wire submitted to the changes of temperature, is so much smaller when it is hot than when it is cold, that the absolute temperature of the whole wire is diminished by heating a part of it, and *vice versâ*, increased by cooling a part of it."

Sir H. Davy then proceeded to try the conducting powers of different metals, in which he found very considerable variations. In the same wire he found the conducting power to be nearly as the mass, and independent of the extent of surface. In comparing the powers of fluid and solid media, it appeared that the power of the best fluid conductors is some hundreds of thousand times less than those of the worst metallic conductors. He also made some experiments, with the hope of ascertaining the exact change of ratio of the

conducting powers dependent upon the change of the intensity and quantity of electricity; but did not succeed in gaining any other result, than that the higher the intensity of the electricity, the less difficulty it had in passing through bad conductors; and several remarkable phenomena depend upon this circumstance. Recommending the account of these to the attention of our readers, we will only proceed to mention one or two statements in the concluding part of this paper, which are peculiarly deserving of attention. We will give them in the author's own words; and we must observe, that we know of no scientific writer, whose language is in general more admirably adapted to the subject; it exhibits such an excellent union of brevity with perspicuity, that it is usually impossible to describe any experiment, or state any reasoning, given in his papers with more conciseness than he has done, and needless to explain it more at large.

"If," says he, "a chain be made of wire of platinum and silver, in alternate links soldered together, the silver wire being four or five times the diameter of the platinum, and placed in a powerful voltaic circuit, the silver links are not sensibly heated, whilst all those of the platinum become intensely and equally ignited. This is an important experiment for investigating the nature of *heat*. If heat be supposed a substance, it cannot be imagined to be expelled from the platinum, because an unlimited quantity may be generated from the same platinum, i. e. as long as the electricity is excited, or as often as it is renewed. Or if it be supposed to be identical with, or an element of, electricity, it ought to bear some relation to its quantity, and might be expected to be the same in every part of the chain, or greatest in those parts nearest the battery."

On these remarks we will only observe, that the whole question concerning the *nature* of heat is involved in great obscurity, and so it must continue till we know more of the *internal constitution* of bodies, and what effect it may have on the different manner and degree in which they are affected by heat, as also by electricity, magnetism, or other similar agents.

He concludes with an account of the relation which the magnetic effects bear to the heat of the conductor. With the same conductor, he had before found, it increases with the heat, yet with different conductors he found it follow a very different law. Thus when a chain is made of different conducting wires, and they are placed in the same circuit,

they all exhibit equal magnetic powers, and take up equal quantities of iron filings, so that the magnetism seems directly as the quantity of electricity which they transmit; and when in a highly powerful voltaic battery, wires of the same diameters and lengths, but of which the best conducting is incapable of wholly discharging the battery, are made, separately and successively, to form the circuit, they take up different quantities of iron filings, in some direct proportion to their conducting powers.

Such then is the imperfect outline of these important discoveries. Our account of them, and the observations we have made on different parts of them, render it unnecessary to make any further remarks on their interest in a speculative point of view.

It remains a question whether the knowledge which has thus been laid open to us may be capable of any practical application. Such an enquiry must of course be limited at present to the consideration of any distant hints which may be suggested on the subject. We will just mention one which has occurred to us. It is well known that galvanic action is silently going on in many cases, where either from natural or artificial causes, the means of its excitation have been afforded. Thus a celebrated chemist has accounted for extraordinary decay observed in some flood gates from a gradual and unobserved galvanic action, owing to the contact of iron and copper in the construction of the gates, and the influence of the water upon the metals. Now it seems probable that there may be a variety of cases besides this where such action may be supposed to take place; and if so, there must be a certain degree of magnetic influence also exerted, which may have an effect on any compass-needles situated within the sphere of its action. We merely put this hint in a general form, without having any particular instance of its application in view; but we think it will be admitted that such considerations might be worth attending to, especially in cases where very small deviations of the needle are necessary to be regarded.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC

FOR MARCH, 1822.

ART. I. *Voyage en Ecosse et aux Iles Hebrides. Par. L. A. Necker De Saussure, Professeur Honoraire de Mineralogie &c. à l'Académie de Genève, &c.* Paris. 1821.

THE author of this tour in Scotland is a grandson of the celebrated Saussure, well known as the best geologist of his day, and perhaps as the most approved writer that has appeared among that class of enquirers. His "*Voyages dans les Alpes*" are an enduring memorial of his zeal and scientific acquirements; and will be always read with pleasure by those who have more delight in studying the grand facts of nature, than in examining the flimsy theories of authors, who are content to view her operations through the medium of cabinet specimens.

Smitten with an hereditary love of scrambling among barren rocks and snow-capped mountains, Saussure the younger penetrated into the Highlands of Scotland, in the year 1807, with the intention of visiting the more remarkable of those localities, whether on the main land or in the islands, from which geologists have been wont to collect facts or draw inferences, in support of their several theories of the earth. We may remark, however, in passing, that it is not as a geological performance that his work will create any interest. He has not succeeded, as far as we can see, in bringing to light any new relations among mineral bodies, or in removing any of those numerous difficulties with which that branch of science has all along had to contend. It is therefore as a description of the country, of the people and of their manners, that Monsieur Saussure's three volumes will be read, either here or on the Continent, rather than as a treatise on Scottish mineralogy or an outline of northern

geognostic structure. Dr. Macculloch has exhausted this last subject completely, in his laborious work on the Western Isles. The time and the facilities placed at his command have enabled him to do more than any who went before him; and we have no expectation that any will succeed him in the examination of the wild Hebrides, better qualified than he was, to note the interesting geological appearances which they every where present. The author now before us, at least, has achieved comparatively nothing. He might, we think, have written on Mull and Sky, with all the fulness and intelligence which he has shewn, although he had never left the shores of the Leman Lake, or braved the storms of the Caledonian Archipelago.

We have remarked that it is chiefly as a description of the untamed scenery of the North, and of the equally untamed natives who inhabit it, that M. Saussure's book has any chance of being read in England or France. Not that he has said any thing about the Highlanders which is not already sufficiently known, or excited the slightest feeling of curiosity in regard to their past state or actual condition, which we have not already the means of gratifying: But there is, we must add, no small entertainment in observing the effects produced, or the sensibility of a foreigner, by the strange sights and sounds every where occurring in the Highlands, as well as in perusing the opinions and the language which these phenomena lead him to express. There is all that freshness and vigour in his descriptions, which are peculiar to the impressions made on the mind of a stranger. The mountains indeed remind him of his own Alps, and the Lochs which stretch along the deep vallies of Argyle and Inverness, bear a resemblance to those fine sheets of water which enliven the grand scenery of Switzerland; but the dress, the language, the pursuits, and the superstitions of the Highlanders, their music particularly and their poetry present a study of much interest and novelty to the young *Savant* of Geneva. On the two subjects last named, M. Saussure entertains some rather singular ideas, and states certain conclusions which we believe are entirely new even among Highland archæologists.

For example, he infers from the style of their poetry as well as from the patriarchal form of their ancient government, that the mountaineers of Scotland are the descendants of an oriental people, who, in the earliest ages of human history, had migrated towards the western shores of Europe. There are still, he thinks, so many points of resemblance between the modern Gaëls, and the tribes which anciently in-

habited Palestine and the shores of the Red Sea, that he has little doubt the former have drawn their origin from a wandering band of Jews or Arabs, and that the strains of Ossian and the institution of clans may be traced to the poetry of the East, at once sublime and pathetic, and to the family form of government which we find to have been established among the several branches of the Abrahamic dynasty.

"Mais ce n'est pas seulement dans la forme particuliere de l'etat social, qu'on decouvre d'etonnans rapports entre les Montagnards Ecossais et les anciens peuples de l'Orient. Les vêtemens, les armes, les coutumes, les superstitions, et jusqu'au langage, au genie de la poesie et de la musique, tout porte chez ce peuple une empreinte bien plus Asiatique qu'Européenne.—Quoi qu' il en soit, je crois que les observations que je presente sur la constitution civile et militaire des Clans, sur les usages et les coutumes superstitieuses encore repandues chez les Gaëls, sur les formes grammaticales de la langue gaëlique, formes particulieres aux langues Semitiques dont l'Hebrew fait partie, je crois, dis je, que toutes ces observations, considerées sous un point de vue generale, serviront a prouver que, de tous les peuples Européens, le pueple gaël est le seul qui porte encore l' empreinte evidente de son origine orientale."

It will be granted, on all hands, that there is one striking resemblance between the Highland clans, at least, as they were before the insurrection of 1745, and the twelve tribes of Israel: every Clan constituting a single family, and the government exercised by the head or chief being strictly patriarchal. The feudal system was founded on totally different principles, and proceeded on totally different grounds. It originated in conquest, and consequently regarded every retainer as a vassal or a slave. Among the orientals, on the contrary, as well as among the Scottish Highlanders, all the men of the same tribe were brothers; acknowledged the same head, as their common father and ruler; traced their lineage to the same origin; had the same history in every point; the same exploits to boast of, and the same misfortunes to bewail; the same love to their friends, and the same hatred to their enemies, the same heart and the same hand, in peace and in war. It is on this view of family connection and identity of blood that every Highlander, even the lowest and poorest, esteems himself a gentleman; being an acknowledged cadet of his chieftain's house, and able to trace distinctly the precise degree of consanguinity which binds him to that honoured stock. Hence, too, the history of *Scotch Cousins*—a species of relationship which in these times must necessarily be confined to the Highlanders, the

Welsh, and the Irish; among the purer tribes of whom some vestiges of the old patriarchal habits may still be marked, and not a few of those ancient filial attachments which even yet are found to direct themselves, as it were instinctively, to the representative of their family name.

Since we have got among the Clans, and as there is no earthly reason why any one subject should take the precedence of any other, in this analysis of the "Voyage en Ecosse," we shall here go on to say all about them that we meant to say.

There is a long chapter in the third volume on the "Mœurs des Montagnard's Ecossais, ou Highlanders, avant la rebellion de 1745;" in which are contained a great many notices, in regard to customs and superstitions, which cannot fail to prove extremely amusing to foreign readers. The ladies of Paris and the damsels of Geneva will be astonished to find so much romance, gallantry, and devotedness among the *Sauvages Ecossais*; of whom they have hitherto only heard that they exhibit their legs bare considerably above the knee, fight like furies in the field of battle, and have a great affection for any spare article not immediately wanted by a lowland neighbour. They will perhaps, only smile, however, when they read of the barbaric pomp with which it pleased the several sovereigns of those sans-culotte hordes to surround their persons; "dans le but," as M. Saussure words it, "d'inspirer plus de consideration encore a leurs subordonnés, et de maintenir leur rang auprès des chefs des autres Clans." When the head of the Macvuirechs, or the Macivors, or the Macrummons, or any other of the Macs undertook a journey into the mountains or paid a visit to a chief of equal rank with himself, he was followed by a cortêge of officers, whose various duties were defined with the most scrupulous exactness. This suite was composed

1mo. of the HENCHMAN or Esquire.
2 °. — the BARDE, or Poet.
3 °. — the PIPER, *ou joueur de cornemuse.*
4 °. — the BLADIER, *ou, l'orateur qui porte la parole.*
5 °. — the GILLIEMORE qui porte son épée.
6 °. Le GILLIE-CASFLUE, *qui porte le chef sur son dos pour traverser a gué les rivieres.*
7 °. La GILLIE-COMSTRAINE, *qui conduit son cheval dans les chemins dangereux.*
8 °. Le GILLIE-TRUSHANARNISH, qui porte le bagage.
9 °. Enfin, le PIPER'S GILLIE, *garçon du piper qui porte son cornemuse.*

The Henchman, we are told, was a person of great confi-

dence and responsibility. He was usually the foster-brother of the chief, and a sharer in all the advantages the young Laird enjoyed, in respect of book education and other accomplishments—in those days a matter of no very profound or tedious acquisition. At home and abroad he charged himself with the personal safety of his master, at whose side he constantly remained during meals, ready to expose his life for him should he happen to be attacked. As a proof of the jealous vigilance with which these 'squires were wont to guard the honour, and of the deference which they thought due to their superiors, M. Saussure relates, at second hand, the following anecdote.—An English officer happened to dine one day with a Highland chief and some other mountaineers of the same class, when, after drinking a good deal of whiskey, the conversation as usual became somewhat animated. The young Henchman who stood behind his master's chair marked the progress of the discussion, by the high tones and violent gesticulations of the several speakers; and conceiving from their expressions of feeling, for he did not know the language, that the officer meant to insult his beloved chief, he drew out his pistol and instantly fired it at the stranger's head. The piece fortunately hung fire, or the young savage missed his aim; to which accident alone our countryman owed his life.

It would amuse the reader could we abridge the particulars in which the modern Gaëls are imagined by our author to resemble the ancient Hebrews. The Jews had their genealogists; so have the Highlanders. The former people used to designate an individual not only by his own name but also by the name of his father and several other progenitors: in like manner the inhabitants of the Scottish mountains give a long list of ancestors whenever they proceed to substantiate the individuality of the meanest man of their tribe. Thus in a declaration made in 1800, before a justice of the peace, in the isle of Barra, by Lochlan Mac Vuirich, a descendant of the Mac Vuirichs, hereditary bards of the Clan Ronald,—no very musical name certainly for a family of poets—the said personage is designed as "Lauchlan, the son of Neil; the son of Lauchlan, the son of Neil; the son of Donald, the son of Lauchlan; the son of large Neil, the son of Lauchlan; the son of Donald, of the family of Vuirich."

They have an odd way of naming people in Norway, and, we believe, in other parts also of the Scandinavian peninsula. If a man's christian name be Robert, for example, all his family in the first generation become *Robertsons*; and if his eldest boy be baptized John, he is of course, John Robert-

son; and the girls in like manner, *pro hac vice*, are all Robert*sons*. When the son grows up and has children they will all be *Johnsons*, boys and girls as before; and so on, changing the family name every generation. If there happen to be three sons in a house, named, we shall say, Henrich, Frederick, and William, there will branch off three separate patronymicks from the three brothers, and their children will be, respectively, Hendrichsons, Fredericksons, and Williamsons.

The Gaëlic chiefs, as every one knows, were excessively proud of their rank and prerogatives. When the first Marquis of Huntley, then the chief of the Clan Gordon, was presented at the court of James VI. he did not so much as incline his head before his Sovereign. Being asked why he failed in this point of etiquette, he replied, that he had no intention whatever of showing any disrespect to his King; but that he came from a country where all the world were used to bow down before him.—Again, when George the Second offered a patent of nobility to the chief of the Grants, the proud Celt refused it, saying, "*Wha would then be laird of Grant?*" The family pride of this Clan, indeed, is said to be proverbial even in Scotland. Their claims to antiquity, at all events, are not exceeded in any part of the world—no, not by the proudest genealogies of Wales; and to humour them in this particular, a species of practical joke was exercised upon a late representative of that prosperous house, who was gravely informed by a wag then on a visit to him, that the Grants were at least of antediluvian extraction. Of that I have no doubt, said the old man; but how should you prove it to the satisfaction of the herald's court? It is in the Scriptures, replied the other, and forthwith opened the bible at the sixth chapter of Genesis, reading aloud in the ears of the venerable Gaël, "And there were Grants in those days." Show me the book, exclaimed the ancient; when behold, the slight change of one letter, neatly done with a pen, revealed to his gratified eyes the most indubitable of all written evidence, that his lineage could be traced beyond the great flood, and carried to a purer source than that of the patriarchal Noah himself.—We mention this anecdote, already we fear recorded in the immortal pages of Joe Miller, solely with the view of aiding M. Saussure in his speculations relative to the Asiatic origin of the Scottish Highlanders. From their language, music, and other habitudes, both bodily and mental, he has little doubt but that they came from Arabia or the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. This being established, nothing remains to be done beyond the making out *geologi-*

cally, that the waters of the Mosaic *debâcle* did not reach the summits of Ben Nevis and Cairngorum: and then the Grants of *those* days may indeed be held as the Grants of *these* days, and the Gaëlic tongue the purest idiom of the first language of mankind. We suggest this for the future consideration of M. A. L. Necker de Saussure.

Caroline, the queen of the second George, had a large share of that curiosity, which is said to be natural to all women in regard to the appearance and the domestic behaviour of men, who make a noise in the world. One day when conversing with the great Duke of Argyle about the Highlands, and in particular, about the strong political feeling which prevailed there at that time in favour of the Stuarts, she asked his Grace, what sort of persons those were whom she heard so often spoken of by the name of *Clans*, and who appeared to regulate the motions of the barbarous hordes of the north. Argyle piqued at the language used by her Majesty in reference to his countrymen, begged leave to assure his royal Mistress, that in some main points the Highland chiefs were very like German princes, *being very poor and very proud*.

The Highlanders have at all times been famed for hospitality, and the present author is loud in his praises of them, on this very head. This, indeed, is regarded as one of the features of that exulted character which identifies them with their progenitors, the Arabs and Hebrews; and M. Saussure dwells upon it, of course, with no small degree of emphasis. It has been remarked, he observes, that hospitality is a virtue common *to all savages*; an opinion which he combats with much success, and, in fact, completely exposes, by quoting examples of the most determined niggardliness and cruelty among the islanders of the South Sea. "Le caractere des peuples diffère à cet égard comme à bien d'autres, sans qu'il soit possible d'assigner une raison plausible de ces differences."

The following anecdote of "John Gunn" was entirely new to us, and will probably amuse the reader.

About the beginning of the last century, the county of Inverness was infested by a band of *catherans* or robbers commanded by John Gunn, who put the whole district under contribution, and advanced even to the very walls of the town, in defiance of a garrison of English soldiers then in possession of the castle. An officer who was on his way to Inverness, with money to pay the troops, and having with him only a very small detachment by way of an escort, was obliged to pass the night at an inn, about thirty miles from

the end of his journey. In the course of the evening he saw a man, of a good aspect, and dressed in the national costume make his appearance in the house, as if with the intention of remaining till morning: and as there happened to be only one apartment in the humble establishment, he invited the stranger to take a share of his supper. The Highlander accepted with an air of great reluctance. The officer finding from the conversation which ensued, that his guest was well acquainted with all the roads and defiles in the country, entreated him to accompany the little escort the following morning, on their way to Inverness; disclosing to him at the same time the object of his march through that wild district, and also the fears which he entertained of falling together with the depôt committed to his charge, into the hands of that formidable bandit known by the name of John Gunn. The mountaineer after some hesitation promised to be his guide. Early in the morning the officer renewed his march accompanied by his friend; and in traversing a solitary and sterile glen the conversation turned once more to the marauding exploits of the celebrated John Gunn: when all of a sudden the Celt addressing the Englishman with great energy said, "should you like to see that notorious freebooter?" Without waiting for an answer, the Highlander gave a whistle so loud and strong that all the rocks of the glen repeated the signal; and, in an instant, the officer and his party were surrounded by a body of men armed to the teeth, and so numerous, as to render every attempt at resistance quite unavailable. "Stranger, said the mysterious guide, *I am John Gunn!* your fears of him were not without foundation, for I came last night to your inn to discover the route you were to take to day, in order to ease you of your treasure: but I am incapable of betraying the confidence you have reposed in me, wherefore after thus shewing you that you are completely in my power, I send you away without loss or damage." Accordingly, after giving the officer the necessary directions for pursuing his journey, John Gunn disappeared with his troop in the same sudden manner, in which these last had presented themselves to view.

The generous self-devotion of Roderick Mackenzie has been often recited. This young man who had sought concealment among the mountains of Rosshire, after the battle of Culloden, was surprised by a party of the soldiers sent in pursuit of Charles Edward. His age, his figure, his air even deceived the military so completely, that they were going to secure him in the belief that they had at length got hold of the prince. Mackenzie perceived their mistake, and

with great fortitude and presence of mind instantly resolved to render it useful to his master. He drew his sword; and the courage with which he defended himself satisfied the soldiers that he could be no other than the Pretender. One of them fired at him: Mackenzie fell, and with his last breath exclaimed, "you have killed your prince!"—This generous sacrifice suspended for the time all pursuit, and afforded an opportunity to the unfortunate Charles to escape from the hands of his enemies.

It is well known, that Kennedy who repeatedly exposed his life to save that of the prince just named, and who, though mean and poor, despised the reward of 30,000l. which was offered for the person, dead or alive, of the royal fugitive, was afterwards hanged at Inverness for stealing a cow. A little before his execution, he pulled off his bonnet and rendered hearty thanks to God for that "he had never proved false to an engagement of any kind; that he had never injured a poor man; and never refused to share whatever he had with the indigent and the stranger!"

No people have ever carried to a greater degree than the natives of the Scottish mountains, the most thorough contempt for softness and effeminacy. Cameron of Lochiel being overtaken by night whilst returning from an expedition, lay down on the ground, then covered with snow, in the midst of his people, with no other covering than his plaid. Looking around him he very soon perceived that one of his grandsons had formed a ball of snow and placed it in such a position as to support his head whilst asleep. The old chief enraged at what he regarded as a mark of degeneracy in his family, started up, and kicking the snow-ball from under the head of the youth, cried shame! boy! art thou so effeminate as not to be able to sleep without a pillow!

There is not much to be said on the whole, in favour of these same chiefs, viewed in the light of Christian guides and patterns of morality. Toleration in matters of faith is unfortunately the very last grace which is engrafted upon the religious character; and generally speaking, it is not until mankind have become tired of cutting one another's throats and burning their fellow-creatures at stakes, that they will allow themselves to be induced to bear a difference of opinion, even on points where no man's opinion can be held as the standard of truth. Maclean, the Laird of Coll, adopted a very summary method to bring about uniformity of sentiment in one of the Hebrides, a small island called Rum. When he entered upon the possession of that sterile spot, he found all the inhabitants Roman Catholics; and being himself a

zealous Protestant, it was not without considerable vexation that he saw all his dependents having recourse to a mode of worship, so little in unison with his own views as a churchman. To effect a reform in this important concern, he placed himself one Sunday, during mass, at the entry of the chapel, and having ordered the congregation to be dismissed, he locked the door, and put the keys in his pocket; threatening the people as they passed him in going out, that he would cane every individual who should ever venture to return to take part in those superstitious ceremonies. From this moment all the inhabitants of Rum embraced the protestant faith and went to the kirk with the Laird. It happened that Maclean whilst thus exercising his zeal as a reformer, had seconded his menaces by shaking in the faces of his converts a golden-headed cane, which he gave them to understand would prove the instrument of their punishment in case of a relapse to popery. A circumstance which led the other Hebrideans, whenever they had occasion to speak of the conversion of the people of Rum, to call them the *protestants of the gold-headed cane!*

As to morals, they necessarily had a code of their own. Robbery and murder were venial offences, if committed according to the usage of the several clans, and not within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. The freebooters on the border were in this respect strictly like-minded. When the produce of a *foray* was expended, the lady of the marauder's tower served up a pair of spurs on a trencher to each of her guests; who, taking the hint thus administered to their sharp wits, were on horseback long ere the dawn of day and ready to jeopard their lives, with sword and lance, for the conquest of a fat drove or a barn-full of malt, over the bellies of the stout hinds of Cumberland.

We have done with the Highlanders, about whom M. Saussure is quite *entêté*. Indeed he is very fond of the Scotch in general, and is, of course, very much out of temper with *Messieurs les Anglais* for giving them so many hard names at home and carrying their evil report even among foreigners: and for all this misdoing, on the part of John Bull, our author is pleased to assign sundry motives which we have no wish to repeat. "Une des qualités qui distinguent les Ecossais des Anglais c'est la sociabilité. Ce desir de se reunir et de communiquer avec ses semblables, de partager de leurs impressions, et de leur faire partager les nôtres, qui fait un des plus grands charmes de la vie, est très foible chez les Anglais, et forme un des traits les plus saillans du caractere Ecossais. On a souvent reproché aux Anglais d'être froids

‡

avec les etrangers, de ne pas rechercher et même d'eviter leur societé : on pourrait avec plus de raison peut-etre, etendre ce reproche a leurs rapports avec leurs propres compatriotes. Les Anglais sont tres froids entre eux, mille obstacles les empêchent de communiquer facilement et librement les uns avec les autres. Il n'en est pas de même en Ecosse, la societe y est remarquable par son agrément : les Ecossais aiment la conversation, et y cherchent en même temps, l'instruction et le plaisir : la societé est facile parce que les distinctions de rang, quorqu'aussi respectées, se font pourtant moins sentir qu'en Angleterre."

The half of the first volume is occupied with a description of Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, which, as M. Saussure seems to have passed two years in it, we must believe to be perfectly correct. Of this city, so famed for fine views and bad smells, and which our author says " n'est pas indigne des titres d'Athènes du Nord, et de Capitale de la pensée," we cannot presume to give even the outline of the flattering picture which is here so laboriously filled up, and most minutely coloured. The account of Holyrood House is somewhat moving. There we are told, is shown in one of the antique towers the apartment of Mary Stuart, the unfortunate Queen of Scots, which is still kept in the same state in which it was when that unhappy princess left it, never to return. It consists properly speaking of two chambers, both of which are adorned with ancient tapestry (dans le genre des gobelins) ; the beds are of a gothic form having curtains of embroidered silk which must have been very beautiful. Several portraits are seen in the rooms, and among others one of Henry VIII. King of England. There is, continues the author a miniature of Mary herself, shut up in a dressing-box of ebony which made part of her toilette furniture : and this little painting gives the most perfect idea of that enchanting beauty, which proved the source of all her misfortunes, and exposed her to the persecution of her powerful rival.

" En entrant dans cet appartment, on se sont saisi d'une tristesse insurmontable. Tout vous transporte au temps où une Princesse si belle, si sensible, si spirituelle, et dont la memoire est encore chère aux Ecossais, habitait ce palais où elle se livroit a l'etude des beaux arts et de la poesie. Ce fut dans ce même appartement que Rizzio fut assassiné sous les yeux de Marie. Où montre la chambre en il soupoit avec la Reine et la comtesse d'Argyle, lorsque le roi qui vouloit sa mort, entra tout a coup dans la chambre par un escalier derobé, suivi des lords Morton et Ruthven et de quelques affidés armés de pied en cap. Cet escalier sombre et

etroit existe encore, et la porte qui y conduit de l'interieur de l'appartement est en grande partie cachée par l'antique tapisserie. Ou voit aussi la petite ante chambre où Rizzio fut entrainé par les assassins, apres avoir cherché vainement a se mettre sous la protection de la reine en se refugiant entre ses bras."

From Holyrood House we are conducted to the College where we are greeted with eulogies on most of the professors, particularly on Messrs. Stewart, Playfair and Leslie. Of the first of these learned men we are told that, "Il a renoncé à l'enseignement, et s'est retiré dans une terre à l'Ouest de l'Ecosse, où il suit ses savantes recherches; Ainsi nous pouvons esperer encore que le monde continuera à être eclairé par ses escrits.

The world we believe is not particularly impatient to be enlightened by that *emeritus* professor of Ethics. No man was more popular than Mr. Stewart as long as he continued to teach, but as his fame rested chiefly on his talent as a lecturer, his pen has not maintained the reputation which his oratory created. Respectable for his talents, however, and pure in character, Mr. Dugald Stewart will hold a place in public esteem, long after his defunct colleague shall be forgotten, or only thought of as a man who had no principles on the subject of religion, or was ashamed to confess them. Enough of this at present: an opportunity may soon occur to justify a few observations on the conduct of a man who, although once an officiating clergyman, seemed during the greater part of his life eager to shun the reproach of being thought a Christian. Throughout this portion of his book M. Saussure is much too landatory with respect both to men and systems. His opinion of certain branches of professional education and the mode of conducting them at Edinburgh is, we know, sanctioned by the approbation of several learned men in France, who are also in the habit of contrasting the practice of the Scottish seminaries, in these respects, with the less ostentatious methods pursued in our own universities. We dispute not the ground of this preference, as we have never yet heard it fairly explained, as relating to mere professional information and facilities; but assuredly as far as literature and philosophy are considered, we have always understood that Edinburgh, so far from having peculiar claims to praise, is much inferior, in point of system at least, to any other school in the empire.

As a part of the "Voyage en Ecosse," we find here minutely recorded a trip which M. Saussure made into East Lothian to pay a visit to Sir James Hall—the ardent patron of Huttonian geologists. Nothing escapes the eye or the

pen of our traveller. The uniform of a dragoon regiment first seizes his attention, next the name of a village derived from the Italian (Spanish, we think,) and then we are detained at Tranut till we have perused the history of the Rebellion in 1745, and made our way though the details of the battle in which "Johnny Cope" shewed his back to "Charlies' Highlanders." That locality is famous as the scene of several fights, and amongst others of the bloody business which terminated the negotiations for a marriage between the son of Henry VIII. and the young Queen of Scots—well known by the name of the *rough courtship*. Our author is evidently not at home in our English history. He informs us, in passing, that Edward the Sixth sent in 1548, "une armée Anglaise contre l'Ecosse—maniere peu galante d'obtenir pour son fils la main de la jeune reine Marie!" A mistake of this kind where the son is taken for the father, and the father left out of sight altogether, tends to shake our confidence materially in the accuracy of an historian. Indeed in many respects Mr. Saussure is greatly short of infallibility; his volumes exhibiting in several places and on a variety of subjects, the most irrefragable evidence that an author may be minute without being correct.

Upon his return from the east country our author set off for the isle of Arran—a mass of rock in the Firth of Clyde, about the nature and origin of which there has been much controversy among geologists. The details of this journey are extremely entertaining, and will amply reward the reader for the time bestowed upon their perusal.

Arrived at Loch-Ramza, says the traveller, we saw a house of a good appearance which they told us was the inn. The master of the place had been announced to us beforehand, as a man remarkable for his originality; he had acquired, no one knew how, a taste for geology; he wrote verses; was a musician, and even a composer in that line, without however neglecting the labours which his little farm demanded, or his fishing which likewise occupied a part of his time.

"Nous nous hatâmes d'entrer dans la maison, mais l'interieur etoit loin de repondre a ce que promettoient les dehors. La chambre où l'on nous introduisit, etoit a la fois une chambre à lit et la salle des buveurs; le plancher etoit percé de larges ouvertures, la moitie des vitres de la fenêtre etoit brisé, et des courants d'un air glacial penetroient de toutes parts. C'est là pourtant que nous trouvâmes Mr. Cowie, notre hôte, occupé a vider une brutielle de Whysky avec le Docteur de l'isle, qui faisoit la tournée de ses malades. Ce dernier qui nous avions deju vu a Brodrick, avoit prevenu Cowie de notre arrivée; aussi des qu'il nous vit, il se leva, et vint d'un air rayonnant de joie, nous demander a voir nos mine-

raux, et sans songer de nous faire preparer du feu et des alimens, il commençoit deja une dissertation geologique.—Il n'y avoit rien dans la maison, il fallut envoyer bien loin chercher de la tourbe. Une vieille femme qui desiroit nous traiter avec distinction, se donnoit un mouvement incroyable, montoit et descendoit l'escalier, parloit sans cesse, et n'apportoit rien. C'etoit un bruit affreux, et malgré tant d'empressement nous ne pouvious point obtenir ce que nous demandions. Enfin fatigués de tout ce vacarme, nous sortîmes de l'auberge en priant Mr. Cowie de nous montrer ce que les environs offroient de plus interessant pour la geologie."

It was near night when they returned to the inn, and nothing was yet prepared. They had not been able to procure any provisions. The tourist sent Cowie to throw his net into the lake: the fishing was fortunate, and a few flounders were produced,—poissons plats, du genre de la sole. "Shortly afterwards," says M. Saussure, "we heard our host tuning his violin to shew us that he was by no means a stranger to the fine arts." Having played Scotch airs till his auditors could no longer listen to him, he offered to procure them a specimen of a Highland dance.

"Il appela ses deux filles qui n'etoient rien moins que jolies: illes arriverent nus pieds comme sont en general toutes les femmes de l'isle, et commencerent a danser avec leur frere et notre guide."

When the travellers left his house, Cowie offered to accompany them, and says M. de Saussure,

"Nous etions a peine sortis de la maison qu'il nous avoit deju recité une tirade de vers de sa composition. Ces vers dans lasquels il decrivoit les montagnes et les rochers des environs, indiquoient un sentiment des beautés de la nature, et un germe de poésie.—Nous escaladâmes les rochers, pour bien examiner les filons de granit qu'ils renferment, et apres être montés aussi haut qu'il etoti possibile, nous redescendimes a Loch-Ranza; fort amusés des raisonnement geologiques de notre hôte, qui prenoit vivement parti dans les grande querrelle, entre les Werneriens et les Huttoniens."

Cowie, in short, was quite à character, and we have no doubt that even on geological subjects he spoke with as much intelligence and nearly as much knowlege, as the most learned of the rival theorists just named. Since we have mentioned that subject, however, we think it but candid to state that the result of repeated surveys and investigations in the isle of Arras, has been rather in favour of the partizans of Hutton. We allude to the fact so long disputed, whether granitic veins are to be observed disseminated among the strata which rest upon that primitive rock—an appearance which, we believe, is now completely established, as to the particular situation in question, and also confirmed by numerous ex-

amples derived from other quarters. The Huttonians at first were bad mineralogists, and often, of course, mistook one rock for another: whence it happened that not only were they occasionally detected in asserting what was actually found erroneous in certain given instances, but their statements, when really correct, were not implicitly received by their antagonists, in any circumstances; and on all controverted points especially, they were received with hesitation, or openly pronounced apocryphal. The disciples of the Platonic schools, however, have of late, made such rapid advances in the knowledge of minerals, that it is no longer safe to contradict them at random; and, we must add, their improved acquaintance with this branch of the science has tended to confirm some of their former statements, whilst as yet they were in comparative ignorance. The granite veins of Goatfield and Tor-nid-neor are a case in point; for these are now admitted to be not only actual granite veins, but also to be in connection with central mass, and to radiate from it into the superincumbent strata. These particulars were all perfectly ascertained by M. Saussure.

" Je m'appliquai surtout à bien m'assurer, si ces filons partoient effectivement de la masse de granit voisine, et je me convainquis par pleusieurs observations, que le granit des filons et celui de la montagne font corps ensemble, et ne sont separés par aucun intervalle, pas même par le plus légère fissure. Le grain et la nature des filons, à l'endroit où ils entrent dans le schiste est si parfaitement semblable à celui de la masse entiere, qu'il est impossible en ne considerant que le granit, de dire où finit la masse et où commence le filon. Cela etant, on peut affirmer que l'epoque de formation de la masse de granit est contemporaine de celle de filon. Mais il se presente une difficulté, lorsqu'il s'agit de determiner l'antiquité relative du granit et du schiste; car dans un cas pareil, le system de superposition de Werner, se trouve en contradiction evidente avec sa propre theorie des filons."

After these considerations, he informs us, he has not been able to see without astonishment the learned Professor Jameson refusing decidedly to admit the existence of veins proceeding from a mass of granite, and spreading themselves in a superincumbent rock. He cannot believe that Mr. Jameson has actually seen the mountain of Tor-nid-neor, or at least examined it with his usual attention, otherwise he could not have twice formally denied, in his " Elements of Geognosy," a fact so important and at the same time so clear.

We have reason to think that this fact is no longer denied among the disciples of the Freyburg school. To obviate its force, however, they have introduced a new principle, or

rather, perhaps, extended the application of an old one, by means of which they explain all such appearances, by ascribing the whole mass of strata in which the veins occur, together with the rock whence they proceed, to a *contemporary formation.* As nearly all the rocks of the primitive class are found to graduate into one another by an insensible change and mixture of their common ingredients at the point of junction, the Wernerian views of geology have of late been greatly modified in regard to the origin and succession of the several strata belonging to that class. Indeed, we are not without an impression that the same principle has been applied to the transition and secondary rocks, thereby superseding to a great extent the operation of that powerful agent, to which we were formerly indebted for so many of those breciated and stratified portions of the earth's crust which fill up the wide interval between the most ancient and the most new.

In the third volume of the work now before us, there is a treatise, in the form of an Appendix, on the Natural History of Scotland, which, from the circumstances mentioned in the beginning of this article, contains nothing of any interest to the student of plants or minerals. Fifteen years have elapsed since M. Saussure performed his journey in that portion of our island; an interval during which several able works have appeared in every department of Natural History, and many separate papers inserted in periodical publications as well as in the memoirs of scientific bodies. His notices and opinions on these subjects, therefore, cannot possibly attract any attention; but as a topographical description of the country, and as a lively portrait of manners and usages, the "Voyage en Ecosse," will in all probability prove a popular work among the lovers of light reading at Paris and Geneva.

ART. II. *The First Canto of Ricciardetto: translated from the Italian of Forteguerri: with an Introduction, concerning the principal Romantic, Burlesque, and Mock-Heroic Poets; and Notes, Critical and Philological. By Sylvester (Douglas) Lord Glenbervie.* 8vo. pp. 260. 10s. 6d. Murray. 1822.

WE do not think that the naturalization of the Italian romancers, however well commenced by Messrs. William and Robert Whistlecraft, has been very felicitously conducted since those respectable brethren have ceased to print. We augured happily from their prospectus, and their two first cantos; not that we supposed they would be *generally* un-

derstood, or estimated according to their deserts, but that we were certain that by those who *did* understand they would be properly estimated; and that such was the only praise which writers of their class considered worth gaining. As ill fortune would have it, the easy gait of their slipshod muse has tempted a herd of imitators to crowd on their steps. With mere Dullness we should not think it necessary to war; for, give her but time enough, and Dullness is always a *felo-de-se*; but the playfulness of their style has been pressed into the service of vice; and those instruments which in their hands were directed only to innocent amusement, have, under the Satanic abuse of others, been rendered subservient to voluptuousness and impiety. Messrs. Whistlecraft would never have turned up the soil of romance, if they could have foreseen that Beppo and Don Juan were to be the bastard produce which the enemy would sow in their furrows.

At more than the age of man Lord Glenbervie has nibbled at the laurel; and this statement is enough in itself to disarm all the rudeness of criticism, if there were not indeed still more imperious circumstances which render us unwilling to be otherwise than gentle judges to his lordship's muse. We will not admit, however, that he needs this prejudice in his favour; if he were placed at our bar to take his chance like any other literary criminal, he would have no reason to be dissatisfied with the sentence which in conscience we should be bound to register.

That his lordship's book is desultory and gossiping he knows quite as well as ourselves; and this in fact we consider as one of its chief merits. A septuagenarian author has a prescriptive right to treat *de omni scibili*; and he will have profited little by his long experience of life if he does not tell us twice as much, in four times as many words, as any writer of half his age would think necessary for the same purpose. We can willingly allow, therefore, for 27 pages of preface, 45 of introduction, 82 of notes, and 44 of index, which otherwise might seem disproportioned to 95 stanzas of *ottava rima*; and there is not one of these pages from which we could part, without feeling that the peculiar character which gives a charm to the volume would be injured by the subtraction.

All that we claim in return, is leave to gossip also; permission to begin with his lordship's work at the beginning, and to ramble through its several bye-paths till we can disentangle ourselves at its conclusion. In the preface, among other objections which the noble writer deprecates, is the charge of

certain faulty and inadmissible rhymes of which he has been accused, in the private circle of his literary friends. Some of those which he mentions it has been doubtless quite as well to expunge before a public appearance; for the muse in a gentleman's own drawing-room and in his bookseller's shop are two very different personages. We rejoice, therefore, that since the impression of the poem for limited distribution, sundry pairs of words which made but an ill match have been formally divorced from each other; among them are "*coast*" and "*accost*;" "*count*" and "*account*;" "*mine*" and "*mine*," the same word identically in sense and sound; "*scene*" and "*seen*;" "*drest*" and "*addrest*." We could also have wished that the word "strophé," which we are accustomed from Hellenic associations to consider a dyssyllable (however it may sound briefer to more northern ears,) were not so hardly pressed into the service by being compelled to associate with "off" and "doff."

With all our respect, however, for euphonous termination, we are far from admitting that Prior has been betrayed into a false rhyme, as Lord Glenbervie imagines, in the following couplet in his Solomon.

> "Perhaps, alas! the pleasing dream was brought
> From this man's error, from another's fault."

We scarcely think, indeed, that this particular usage can be termed even a licence; it is far more probable that the lapse of upwards of a century has altered our pronunciation in this word, and that among the English Augustan writers the L in *fault* was mute. The following passages occur to us, at the moment, from Pope; and we are certain that we might more than double them from our still nobler, though sometimes less correct, master of versification.

> "O! born in sin, and forth in folly brought,
> Works damned, or to be damned, your father's fault."
> Dunciad I. 225.

> "Wrapt up in self, a God without a thought,
> Regardless of our merit, or default."
> Dunciad IV. 485.

> "I know there are to whose presumptuous thoughts
> Those freer beauties ev'n in them are faults."
> Essay on Criticism, 169.

> "Before his sacred name flies every fault,
> And each exalted stanza teems with thought."
> Essay on Criticism, 422.

"I ought to grieve, but cannot what I ought;
I mourn the lover, nor lament the fault."
Eloisa to Abelard, 182.

"Then say not man's imperfect, heaven in fault,
Say rather man's as perfect as he ought."
Essay on Man, 88.

"That nature gives, and where the lesson taught
Is but to please, can pleasure seem a fault."
Moral Essays, II. 211.

"My liege, why writers little claim your thought
I guess; and with your leave will tell the fault."
Imitations of Horace, Book I. Epist. II. 356.

The Abbé Delille once assured Lord Glenbervie not only that he preferred the *Lutrin* to the Rape of the Lock, but confessed that he had never been able to relish the beauties which *we* ascribe to the last. This is the more surprizing, as Delille was well read in English poetry, and not least so in the works of Pope, whose conciseness he not only admired but endeavoured to imitate. A very lax English translation of his own poem *Les Jardins*, was sent by Lord Glenbervie to the Abbé: in acknowledging its receipt, he used the following words:

"J'avais essayé d'atteindre la precision de Pope dans ces vers sur les rochers embellis par des plantations—

'Câchez, ou découvrez, variez à la fois,
Les bois par les rochers, les rochers par les bois;'

mais ces deux vers se trouvent tellement delayés par ce traducteur dans une langue si superieure à la nôtre par la precision, qu'en les lisant, 'voilà un Anglais,' ai-je dit, 'qui met de l'eau dans mon punch.'" P. 110.

To come to the bard, a portion of whose romance Lord Glenbervie has now translated: Niccolo Forteguerri, or Fortiguerra, was born at Pistoia, in Tuscany, of respectable parents, in the year 1674. According to the pedantic fashion of his day he assumed the magnanimous name Carteromaco, and was known also by a second gentler alias among the Arcadians of the academy, Nidalmo Tisco. His father designed him for the law, but like many other truants he was destined

——"his father's hope to cross,
And pen a stanza, when he should engross."

After going through the ordinary course of education in the university of Pisa, he established himself at Rome, under the

patronage of his mother's near relation, Cardinal Fabroni. What his precise employment was does not appear; but on the death of this early friend Fortiguerri seems to have been much neglected till the accession of Clement XII. when he was appointed secretary to the congregation of cardinals, called *della propaganda*. He enjoyed much of the Pope's society and confidence, though he died without higher advancement, in possession of his first office, on the 17th of February, 1735, in the 61st year of his age.

Forteguerri distinguished himself in various branches of composition; but few of his Latin orations, many of which he drew up, both to meet public occasions, and for his own amusement, on speculative topics, are now extant; and it is supposed that his fame has not materially suffered by their extinction. In his Arcadian capacity he poured forth odes, *canzoni*, sonnets, and *capitoli* innumerable; and during the intervals of repose from his *magnum opus*, Ricciardetto, he produced a translation of Terence, which the Italian critics mention with high commendation; a praise which we admit cautiously, since we recollect that sundry English critics also, in times past, were used to do the same with George Colman's meagre version of the Roman Dramatist. Forteguerri was a considerable joker, and as such among his friends obtained the philommeidic title of *Il lepido*. His propensities to laughter, if we credit his biographers, were sometimes irresistible. He once projected a poem on the plan of the *Gerusalemme*: its subject was to have been Bajazet; but when he was proceeding to describe the barbarian conqueror boxed up in his iron cage, he was so carried away by a sudden train of ludicrous images that he relinquished the plan.

The origin of the Ricciardetto is thus told by himself in a letter prefixed to the first edition of it.

"In that letter he states, that at a country-house of his, near his native Pistoia, in a society of friends assembled there in the autumn of the year 1716, there were several young men of great erudition, with whom, in the evenings, while others of his company diverted themselves with play in another room, he used to read sometimes Berni, sometimes the Morgante of Pulci, sometimes Ariosto, which readings, he says, were a source of very particular delight; that one evening, during some intervening pause, after they had read for a considerable time, one of his young friends said, 'God knows what a labour it must have cost the authors of those poems to compose, not to say an entire Canto, but even a dozen of their stanzas, and the greater the facility of the measure and of the rhyme appears to be, so much greater must their exer-

tions have been.' That his other friends present all concurred in this remark: 'Upon this,' continues he, 'I, less considerate, or at least more confident, observed with a smile, in good faith those poets have, peradventure, laboured much less than you imagine, for in poetry, if not the whole, at least more than one half, is due to nature, and he who has not been benignly seconded by nature, will do well not to meddle with so noble and delectable an occupation, but rather betake himself to some other employment of his time, where art, not nature, may be his guide. And not to waste more words, but to prove in fact what I have asserted, I engage to produce to you a Canto to-morrow evening, containing in it the style of the different bards we have been reading; for to speak freely, nature has been rather liberal to me than scanty, in her gifts of that sort. The engagement was received with applause by all, and having retired after supper, I executed it punctually, and produced and read the new Canto the next evening, to the no ordinary satisfaction of the society.' The whole thirty cantos are said to have been finished in thirty days." P. 37.

The Ricciardetto has always been popular in Italy; and was a favourite with the present translator when he visited that country more than half a century ago. The canto now offered to the public has been put together as the amusement of leisure hours, and is executed with much spirit and fidelity. It is prettily introduced by the following stanza.

"To the Earl of G——d.

"G——d! to laughter-moving song a friend,
And full of pleasant jokes and quaint remark,
An ear to Forteguerri's stories lend;
A learned wight was he and witty spark;
And, if his sense I mar instead of mend,
For words and rhymes oft groping in the dark,
My strains uncouth with kind indulgence scan,
And spare the poet if you love the man."

Of the story of the poem we have little hope of offering any abstract which the reader shall comprehend, if he is unacquainted with the Italian *Burlesca.* It is a chronicle taken from Garbolin (the Turpin of our bard) and relates to Charlemagne and his Paladins, and their chivalrous feats against the Kings of Cafria and Negroland. The first of these, King Scricc ('tis a pitiful name for a black autocrat, and the original *Scricca* is far more dignified) had lost his son in a former war by the hand of Ricciardetto. Despina, his fair daughter, so loved her brother that she resolved to barter her hand for the head of his conqueror; and Bulasso, the monarch of Negroland, who was not the pleasanter suitor

for being a hideous giant, hastened to try for the prize. The King of Lapland too, who by poetical contrast is represented "all shaggy, lean, and lank," brings his arms to the like contest: and while the allied Paynims are preparing to invade France, the Paladins, as usual, are setting out in search of the mad Orlando. Astolphus, Richard, and Alard travel through Spain; at nightfall they are met by a dwarf, who presents a nosegay in his lady's name. This lady shall tell her own employment and wishes in her own way.

XXXVII.

"Meantime bright flaming torches meet the sight,
Each borne by damsel blithe in jocund guise;
While from their cymbals, with sweet garlands dight,
Dulcet harmonious symphonies arise,
That take the ravish'd ear with strange delight:
They all are fair, but to our warrior's eyes
Their mistress, in the midst, excels as far
The rest, as Luna doth the meanest star.

XXXVIII.

"Of bright celestial hue her garment was,
Falling but little way below her knee;
Round her fair locks a golden wreath did pass;
With graceful, decent air advanceth she;
Her taper arms were bare, and smooth as glass;
Carv'd with nice skill an ivory lyre they see
Hung round that neck, the which, I ween, doth show
More white than falls from heaven its purest snow.

XXXIX.

"And singing, thus she said—'Ador'd and dear,
Thou, holy Freedom, art! What price too high
To purchase thee! Who sells thee must be near
The last despair of starving penury!—
—To soften woe, arrest the gushing tear,
Lend mirth to sadness, check the rising sigh—
These are thy gifts; true glory lives with thee;
The dastard licks the dust! the brave are free!

XL.

"'For me, the liberty I most approve
Is that which reigns supreme in female hearts;
Which spurns the fetters of the tyrant Love,
And genuine joy still unalloy'd imparts;
Happy! who from the cradle learn to move,
Nor lur'd, deceiv'd, nor vanquish'd by his arts.—
—Thus I in shady arbours choose to dwell,
And all his wiles defeat, and darts repel.'" P. 69.

Astolphus, according to his well known fashion, becomes desperately enamoured of Stella, but the lady is little willing to gratify his passion in the customary method of knights and dames, and prefers curing him with all due regard to her character, by some raspings of Brazil nut. This powerful medicine produces so rapid an effect, that he renews his journey on the following morning completely heart-whole.

Rinaldo, to whom the story now passes by one of those transitions so common in romance, had rode forth alone. La Rochelle was his first *point d'appui;* and hence he was uncertain whether he should proceed to Persia or Utopia, which latter kingdom, for the benefit of such as are unskilled in chivalric geography, we beg leave to remark lies between the first named realm and Ethiopia; so that any map will readily shew it. Somewhere on the confines of Ocean, or Euxine, he meets a peasant girl, pursued by a huge serpent, " with gaping, gory mouth;" and without much ado he dispatches the " monstrous worm." Arrived at an inn (which he does *not* mistake for a castle,) he hears from his landlord a pitiful story of two lovers, who on their nuptial morn had been changed by an enchantress, who was in love with the bridegroom, into the inconvenient forms of a buck and doe. Their disincantation could only be effected by any one bold enough to attack the foul witch in her castle, which was situated on a lofty steep, and guarded by the fierce giants Stritch and Traggéa. Rinaldo undertakes the adventure, kills the giants, and does not stop with this.

LXXXVI.

" But presses on to where, in garden fair,
There sat a damsel, weeping and forlorn;
' Loose flow'd the soft redundance of her hair,'
Part clothed she was, part naked as when born.
Her alabaster breast and arms were bare;
Her eyes the stars of heaven itself might scorn;
Like orient suns on flowery meads they shine,
Shedding mild lustre o'er her face divine.

LXXXVII.

" The Knight draws near. The damsel trembles sore,
But trembling seems more beauteous in his sight,
And, as his fury melteth more and more,
By gazing on those humid rays so bright,
The dame, provided with a copious store
Of cunning, sighing loud, exclaims, ' Sir Knight,
Help! help! for honour's sake commiserate
A poor devoted maiden's ruthless fate.'

LXXXVIII.

" Unmann'd he stands, and, less alive than dead,
From nerveless arm lets fall his trusty sword.
The sorceress' eyes, now tearless, burning red,
Dart forth a sulphurous flame and smoke abhorr'd,
And straight to seize him as her prey she sped;
But, govern'd by his book's unerring word,
Now following up his system, stout and steady,
A ball of cord he dexterously gets ready;

LXXXIX.

" Then binds her as our woodmen faggots bind,
Ties her, thus fetter'd, to a neighbouring tree,
And clips her flowing locks with shears unkind,
When, lo! no more fair maiden seemeth she,
But (which the book foretold him he would find)
O! strange result of all her sorcery!
A goblin old, unsavoury, and uncouth,
Wrinkled, deform'd, eyes blear'd, and ne'er a tooth.

XC.

" He then piles round the witch of wood a heap,
Which, kindled, smokes and blazes tow'rds the skies;
Shrieks the foul fiend, and tries to bound and leap,
Soon as the crackling flame did upwards rise;
But tether'd fast, and forced her place to keep,
The fire soon meets the sulphur of her eyes,
And soon her worthless life remains extinguish'd,
A mass of ashes, by no shape distinguish'd.

XCI.

" Our hero gathers up the wretch's embers,
And with assiduous care and hasten'd pace,
(For all the book had taught he well remembers),
He makes his way to the predicted place,
And putting in a sieve the pristine members
Of her, thus brought to death in vile disgrace,
Sifts them where doe and buck were doom'd to pass,
And take again the form of lad and lass." P. 94.

The lovers resume their natural form, and while the conqueror is receiving their congratulations and thanks, he is summoned to Charlemagne by a messenger, who informs him

" That once again in France unchristian wár is seen,
And Paris close besieg'd by heathens Sáracen."

Here the first canto abruptly breaks off. Lord Glenbervie is discouraged from continuing his translation by learning that the same task is in other hands, and that two cantos are

already published. We can pass no judgment upon a work which we have not seen; but in reference to this now before us, we should pronounce it a difficult undertaking to present the English reader with a more correct notion of the species of poetry which it professes to represent. The value assigned to the particular class to which it belongs will of course vary with different tastes. For ourselves, as our readers perhaps by this time have discovered to their cost, we are inclined to regard the *Burlesca* with very favourable eyes. It may be heresy to breathe such a whisper, but we have drawn more pleasure by a hundred fold from the insane pranks of Orlando, than from the measured and regular transactions of the *pius Æneas*.

ART. III. *The History and Antiquities of the Tower of London, with Biographical Anecdotes of Royal and Distinguished Persons, deduced from Records, State-Papers, and Manuscripts, and from other Original and Authentic Sources. By John Bayley, Esq. F. A. S. of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, and one of His Majesty's Sub-Commissioners on the Public Records.* In Two Parts, Part I.—27 Plates, 4to. pp. 312. 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* Cadell. 1821.

IT is a trite remark, that the places about which we know least are those most open to our knowledge: and we believe many a man who can count the seven hills of Rome off hand would be grievously puzzled if he were asked to tell how many London stands upon. We are not surprised therefore to find that there is much to be heard about the Tower which we had never heard before, and which, but for Mr. Bayley's labours, it is probable we should never have heard at all: and we are not a little obliged to the antiquarian and topographical diligence which has collected in so pleasing a form as that of the volume now before us, so large a mass of information respecting a building connected with some of the most interesting transactions of our History.

Tradition assigns the foundation of the Tower to the Romans. Stukeley, in his account of Stonehenge, states, that "the Tower of London was erected about the time of Constantine the Great:" and Dr. Milles, President of the Society of Antiquaries in 1778, still more broadly asserts, that "was undoubtedly the capital fortress of the Romans; it

was their treasury as well as their mint;" and he rests his hypothesis on the discovery of some gold coins and a silver ingot, which were dug up on the south-side of the White Tower. One of the coins bore the impress of Honorius, the other two that of his brother Arcadius; and on the ingot were some characters which were read *ex offic. Honorii.* Its shape reminds us of the ἡμιπλίνθια, which Croesus offered at Delphi. It was a double wedge, four inches long, and about half as broad, and weighed upwards of eleven ounces. The learned President was assuredly somewhat bold in assuming these antiquities which, as Mr. Bayley observes, were incidental to any part of the Roman city or its suburbs, as positive evidences of his confident assertion: and it does not appear that more certain testimony than this can be found to carry back the origin of any existiug part of the fortress, or indeed the existence of any fortress at all, till some years after the Norman Conquest. The structure now known as the White Tower was then built by command of William I. under the superintendance of Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, the most celebrated military architect of his time.

In the civil wars, during the reign of Stephen, the Tower was already sufficiently strong to stand a successful siege: and in the succeeding reign, if we credit one of the writers of the day, the mortar used in its repairs was so tempered as must have made it impregnable by any mere human force. Fitstephens terms it, "*arcem palatinam maximam et fortissimam cujus areæ muri a fundamento profundissimo exsurgunt, cemento cum sanguine animalium temperati.*" But it was to the munificence of Henry III. that some of the most interesting of its buildings now extant may be ascribed. In 1239, this Prince had laid up up vast treasures in the Tower, and expended upwards of 12,000 marks in increasing its fortifications. A series of extraordinary disasters opposed his progress. "The works were scarcely completed when on the night of St. George in the following year the foundation gave way, and a noble portal with the walls and bulwarks, on which so much pains and expence had been bestowed, all fell down as if by the effect of an earthquake; and strange to relate, no sooner were these works restored, than, in 1241, the whole fell down again on the very night, and, as we are told, at the self same hour that had proved destructive in the year preceding." P. 15. Matthew Paris, in recording this event gives it a still higher colouring of the marvellous: by which we are enabled to trace the king's calamity rather to the turbulence of his Barons and the discontent of his Clergy, than to the miraculous agency which

the Historian calls in. A very learned and pious Clerk of those days beheld in a vision an Archbishop, in his pontifical habiliments, and holding a cross in his hands. The Prelate advanced to the new works with a stern countenance, and, striking them impetuously with the cross, demanded why they were rebuilt? The walls thereat suddenly tottered and fell down. The Clerk was astounded in his dream; he feared to question the Archbishop himself, and humbly craved a chaplain, who followed in his train, to tell the name of the Teichoclast. It is the blessed Martyr, Thomas, replied the chaplain. Himself a Londoner, he destroys without hope of restoration these walls built to oppress the Londoners. God bless us, what a waste of time and money have we been at! quoth the Clerk. If they had been built, rejoined the Chaplain, to furnish victuals to the poor workmen, then we might have put up with them. As it is, since they were not meant as a defence of the realm, but as a burden to the inoffensive Citizens, rest assured that if the blessed Thomas had been quiet, the blessed Edmund, the Confessor, who succeeded him, would have done the business yet more effectually. When the Clerk awoke he called up the whole house, and told the story: and what was his surprise the next morning when he found his dream was true!

Three years afterwards, (1244), Griffin, son of Lewellin, Prince of Wales, attempted to escape from the Tower in which he had long been kept prisoner with his son and several other hostages. Having made a rope with the bedclothes he endeavoured to lower himself. The rope broke, and the same historian informs us, that he was found, on the following morning, with his head thrust in between his shoulders, a frightful spectacle!

When King Henry kept his Easter in the Tower, the constable and bailiffs of Gloucester were commanded by a writ to catch all the Lampreys that could be found in their bailiwick, and send them up from day to day. Edward I. it seems, never held his court within these walls; but he tenanted them largely. Six hundred Jews were confined in them at once for clipping and coining in 1278. Edward II. had a daughter born to him in this fortress, to which she owed her title, Jane of the Tower. In Edward IIId's brilliant course of victory it was occupied by a long series of noble and illustrious captives. The Count of Eu, Constable of France, the Count of Tankerville, and 300 of the most opulent citizens of Caen were the first occupants: next came King David Bruce: he was succeeded by Charles de Blois, a competitor for the duchy of Britanny; and not long after

by John of Vienne, the Governor of Calais, so well known for his brilliant defence. The list was completed by John, King of France, and his son Philip, who after lodging in a gentler captivity successively at the Savoy and at Windsor, were, on Edward's second expedition into France, transferred to the Tower; where as Lord Berners tells us from Froissart, "moche of their pleasure and sport was restrayned; for they were then straytlyer kept than they were before."

Mr. Bayley is a staunch convert to Lord Orford's "Historic doubts." It is probable that he attaches more belief to Richard's innocence than the noble author himself felt in his heart; for we have always considered Lord Orford's tract more as a specimen of ingenious hypothesis, than as the fruit of conviction. One thing is sufficiently clear; that the bones found in Charles IId's time, and interred in Westminster Abbey, as those of the two murdered Princes, were *not* found under the staircase, now pointed out as their former hiding place, in the Tower which from this circumstance has undeservedly acquired the foul name of the Bloody Tower; but in a very different part: "on the south-side of the White Tower, at the foot of a staircase which leads to the Chapel in that building." The mistake in locality however does not affect the fact of the commission of the crime: and if we reject the mass of traditional evidence and contemporary belief upon which this rests, we scarcely know that event in History which may not be denied with equal appearance of fair reasoning.

At the coronation of Henry VIII. the King when he set out from the Tower was drest in a robe of crimson velvet, and a jacket of raised gold. "The placard," continues Hall, "was set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, and the bawdrike with great balasses: the trappings of his horse were of damask gold, with a deep pursell of ermine." So caparisoned he proceeded to Westminster with Catharine of Arragon. The pomp which accompanied Anne Boleyn was still greater. The whole city, as she passed, was thick set with "marvellous cunning pageants," in which the Heathen Gods and Christian Saints had intermingled parts: for while Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces showered gratulations in Latin, the cardinal virtues pointed to the new Queen as the mirror in which they fashioned themselves, and Mary the wife of Cleophas with her children wished her a numerous progeny.

The fate which Ann Boleyn soon afterwards encountered was reserved also for Catharine Howard. In the Record Office in the Tower is still preserved a letter from an eye-

witness of her execution, bearing date London the 15th day of February, 1541. From this Mr. Bayley furnishes the following interesting extract.

"Since my writing to you on Sunday last," says an eye-witness of this catastrophe, "I see the quene and the lady Rotchford suffer within the Tower the day following, whos sowles, I doubt not, be with God, for thay made the moost godly and Christian's end that ever was hard tell of, I thinke, sins the world's creation, uttering thayer lively faith in the blode of Christe onely, with wonderfull pacience and constancye to the death, and with goodly words and stedfast countenances thay desyred all Christen people to take regard unto thayer worthy and just punishment with death for thayer offences, and agenst God hainously, from thayer youth upward, in breaking all his comandments; and agenst the king's royall majesty very daungeriously: wherfor thay being justly condempned, as thay sayed, by the lawes of the realme and parlement, to dye, required the people, I say, to take example at them, for amendement of thayer ungodly lyves, and gladly to obey the king in all things; for whose preservation, thay did hartely pray, and willed all people so to do, comending thayer sowles to God and earnestly calling for mercy upon him; whom," continues the writer, "I besieche to geve us grace with suche faith, hope, and charite, at our departing owt of this miserable world, to come to the fruytion of his godhead in joy everlasting." P. 73.

Shortly after Catharine's execution, a prisoner of distinction died in a singular manner. Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, a natural son of Edward IV. had been committed on suspicion of a treacherous betrayal of the Town of Calais to the French. His innocence being established, the king sent him a ring as a token of favour; and excess of joy at the unexpected termination of his captivity threw Lord Lisle into convulsions which deprived him of life.

A less fatal derangement of the human frame is mentioned by Stow as occurring about this time in the same place.

"In the year 1546, the 27th of April, being Tuesday in Easter-week, William Foxley, pot-maker for the Mint in the Tower of London, fell asleep, and so continued sleeping, and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwise burning whatsoever, till the first day of term, which was 14 days and 15 nights. The cause of his thus sleeping could not be known, though the same were diligently searched after by the king's physicians and other learned men: yea, the king himself examined the said William Foxley, who was, in all points, found at his wakening, to be as if he had slept but one night; and he lived more than 40 years after in the said Tower, to wit, until the year of Christ, 1587, and then deceased on Wednesday in Easter-week." P. 74.

The execution of the Protector Somerset in the third year of Edward VI. was attended with circumstances of peculiar bitterness. He had placed his head on the block, when a rushing noise was heard in the distance, and an officer approached, whom the populace, in accordance with their hopes, supposed to be the bearer of a pardon. A shout of "God save King Edward," was raised for a moment. The Duke discovered the false hope which had caused the interruption, and calmly waving his cap, and intreating the spectators to be silent and respectful, submitted himself to the axe.

In 1668 a plot was discovered, in which Col. Rathborne and other Parliamentary Officers had resolved to seize the Tower, and after putting certain obnoxious persons to death to have declared for the favourite measure of an equal division of lands. The fortifications had been diligently reconnoitred, and boats and scaling ladders were provided for the passage of the fosse and the ascent of the walls. The third of September was selected for the attempt, "as being found by a scheme erected for the purpose, a lucky day; a planet then ruling which portended the downfall of monarchy;" but the planet proved dishonest, and the treason failed.

During the Fire of London the flames almost reached the gates of the Tower: by pulling down houses on the outside of the ditch and on the walls, and by a fortunate change in the direction of the wind, it was saved from destruction. From the time of James II. who was the first monarch who omitted the procession through the city preparatory to his coronation, the Tower gradually became neglected; the domestic apartments of the royal residence were pulled down in his reign and that of William and Mary; and in the subsequent alterations and repairs little attention has been paid to the original character of the building.

Tower Hill was first appropriated to the execution of state criminals in the reign of Richard II. A catalogue of the sufferers upon its memorable area unhappily presents many of the most distinguished names in our history. The Chapel of St. Peter within the walls, which was erected by Edward the First, contains the headless trunks of not a few victims either of civil rage or their own ambition. Among them are still to be found Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and Lord Deputy of Ireland. This distinguished prisoner, it is true, escaped the hand of the executioner to which his son and five brothers were afterwards condemned. He died of a broken heart in 1534. Here also were laid Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Fisher was at first interred in Barking Church-yard;

but was removed in order that his remains might share the same grave with his friend and fellow-sufferer; but it seems as if this union was not to be granted, for More's body not long after was transferred to Chelsea by his excellent and extraordinary daughter Margaret Roper. Anna Boleyn, her brother George Lord Rochford, and Catharine Howard, repose by the altar: near them is the last of the Plantagenets, Margaret Countess of Salisbury: to these we may add Cromwell, Earl of Essex; the two Seymours; Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; his son Philip, Earl of Arundel; Devereux, Earl of Essex; the Duke of Monmouth; Lords Kilmarnock, Balmarino, and Lovat. We trust these sepulchres are not likely to be again unclosed.

The severity with which prisoners of state were sometimes treated is strongly depicted in a letter from Bishop Fisher, still preserved in the Cottonian Collection, and written during his confinement in the Tower. It was addressed to Cromwell, at that time secretary of state, and concludes as follows:

"Forthermoore I byseche yow to be gode master un to me in my necessite; for I have neither shirt, nor sute, nor yett other clothes, that ar necessary for me to wear, but that bee ragged, and rent to shamefully. Notwithstondyng I myght easyly suffer that, if thei wold keep my body warm. But my dyett allso, God knoweth how slendar it is at meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may nott awaye but with a few kynd of meats, which if I want, I decaye forthwith, & fall in to coafes & diseases of my bodye, & kan not keep myself in health. And, ass our Lord knoweth, I have no thyng laft un to me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own purs layeth out for me, to his great hynderance. Wherefoor gode master secretarye eftsones I byseche yow to have sum pittee uppon me, and latt me have such thyngs ass are necessary for me in myn age, and specially for my health. And allso that itt may pleas yow by yor hygh wysdom, to move the Kyng's Highness to take me un to his gracioss favor agane, & to restore me un to my liberty, owt of this cold and paynefull emprysonment; whearby ye shall bynd me to be your pore beadsman for ever un to Allmyghty God, who ever have yow in his proteccion & custoody.

"Other twayne thyngs I mustt allso desyer uppon yow: thatt con is, that itt may pleas yow that I may take some preest with in the Towr, by the assyngment of master levetenant, to hear my confession againste this hooly tyme:

"That other is, that I may borow sum bowks to styr my devocion mor effectuelly thes hooly dayes, for the comforth of my sowl. This I byseche yow to grant me of your charitie. And thus our

Lord send yow a mery Christenmass & a comforthable, to your hart's desyer. At the Towr the xxii. day of December.

" Yo^r pore Beadsmañ. Jo. Roff." P. 136.

The Duke of Norfolk who was ordered for execution on the morning of Henry VIIIth's death, and who was saved as it is said by a fortunate guess *, was not used with greater gentleness. He petitioned the Council that he might be allowed sheets to lie upon. He asked also for some books.

" For says he, ' unless I have books to read, ere long I fall asleep, and after I wake again I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen years,' farther requesting, ' that he might have a ghostly father sent to him, and that he might receive his maker;' and ' that he might have mass, and to be bound upon his life to speak no word to him that shall say mass, which he may do in the other chamber and I to remain within.' He also begged to have license in the day-time to walk in the chamber without, and in the night to be locked in as he then was. ' At my first coming,' says he, ' I had a chamber without a-days. I would gladly have license to send to London, to buy one book of St. Augustin's, *de Civitate Dei;* and one of Josephus, *de Antiquitatibus;* and another of Sabellicus, who doth declare, most of any book I have read, how the bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes, by their unwise sufferance." P. 137.

Several memorials of the unhappy persons who have pined in imprisonment are still extant in different parts of the fortress; and are more or less curious from themselves, or from their authors. We shall select a few from those which Mr. Bayley has transcribed.

Over the entrance of the uppermost room in the Bell Tower is the following anonymous and undated inscription, rudely cut in stone.

" BY . TORTVRE. STRAVNGE . MY .
TROVTH . WAS . TRIED. YET. . OF .
MY . LYBERTIE . DENIED : THER . FOR .
RESON . HATH . ME . PERSWADED :
THAT . PASYENS . MVST . BE . YM.
BRASYD : THOGH . HARD . FORTVNE .
CHASYTH . ME . WYTH . SMART .
YET . PASYENS . SHALL . PREVAYL ." P. 134.

The Beauchamp Tower is rich in these monuments of woe. The names of Marmaduke Neville and Thomas Peverel are

* When the Lieutenant entered his cell in the morning to prepare him for the scaffold he answered, " No master Lieutenant, the King is dead !" Upon enquiry this statement proved true. It is probable the Duke had received private information.

engraven on its walls. Lord Arundel (eldest son of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572, for aspiring to the bed of Mary Queen of Scots) has recorded his piety in two inscriptions. The one,

> "Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro. Arundell. June 22, 1587.
> Gloria et honore eum coronasti domine.
> In memoria æterna erit justus.
> At ....."

The other,

> "Sicut pecati causa vinciri opprobrium est, ita e contra, pro Christo custodiæ vincula sustinera, maxima gloria est.
> Arundell. May 28, 1587."

The fate of this unhappy nobleman was peculiarly unjust and cruel. In the religious convulsions of Elizabeth's reign his attachment to popery was construed into treason. The main points urged against him in evidence on his trial were, "that the Queen of Scots had considered him as one of her best friends, and that Cardinal Allen had spoken of him as the chief hope of the Roman Catholics in England." After condemnation, he asked permission that his wife might visit him with his infant son, whom he had never seen, having been born during his imprisonment. Elizabeth knew nothing of those strong ties of nature, and she refused the petition. She afterwards offered him his liberty on condition of a renunciation of his faith; but he firmly resisted the lure; and having been reprieved from time to time he died in prison, in the fortieth year of his age; having passed nearly the eleven last in close captivity.

Dudley, earl of Warwick, brother to the husband of Lady Jane Grey was pardoned also and died in prison soon after. He has left on the walls his badge of the lion and bear with the ragged staff, with a border of oak sprigs, roses, and two other species of flowers which he intended, as appears from the following lines, to be emblematical of his four brothers, Ambrose, Robert, Guildford, and Henry.

> "YOW THAT THESE BEASTS DO WEL BEHOLD AND SE,
> MAY DEME WITH EASE WHEREFORE HERE MADE THEY BE,
> WITH BORDERS EKE WHEREIN ——————— *
> 4 BROTHERS NAMES WHO LIST TO SERCHE THE GROUND."

* "This line may be filled up with the words, *there may be found.*"

Under the name Thomas Rooper with the date 1705, which probably may connect the unhappy sufferer with Sir Thomas More's son in law, appears the figure of a skeleton with this line in French.

"Per passage penible passons a port plaisant."

Two years before the same sentiment had been written in English by Arthur Poole.

"A passage perillus makethe a port pleasant."

Whose hand still earlier had thus marked his abode in captivity.

"DEO. SERVIRE.
PENITENTIAM. IMIRE.
FATO. OBEDIRE.
REGNARE. EST.
A. POOLE.
1564.
I.H.S."

In an apartment on the basement floor is a nameless distich which might serve as a motto for a penitentiary.

"THE MAN WHOM THIS HOUSE CAN NOT MEND
HATHE EVIL BECOM AND WORSE WILL END."

Nor is this tower without still more recent memorials; two epitaphs, one on a goldfinch, the other on a cat, named Citizen, are written on the wall of the upper chamber, by John Augustus Bonney, a person who was apprehended for high treason with Horne Tooke, and Thelwall, in the year 1794. They are not worth the trouble of transcription.

Tradition assigns a gloomy chamber in the Bowyer Tower as the scene of George Duke of Clarence's murder. In the Jewel Tower are deposited the regalia. The office of keeper of the jewels was once a post of great honour and emolument. Henry VIII. bestowed it on Cromwell, Earl of Essex. In Charles IInd's time, the salary and perquisites amounted to 1300*l.* yearly; and the holder of it took precedence next to privy councillors and dined at the baron's table on the coronation. Since that reign the fees have principally merged in the office of Lord Chamberlain.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was master of the jewels in 1678, when Blood made his famous attempt upon them. They were intrusted to the immediate custody of one Talbot Edwards, who died at more than eighty years of age, and is buried in St. Peter's chapel: from the relation of this venerable old

man and other sources Mr. Bayley has compiled the following narrative of the transaction.

"About three weeks before this audacious villain made his attempt upon the crown, he came to the Tower in the habit of a parson, with a long cloak, cassock, and canonical girdle, accompanied by a woman whom he called his wife. They desired to see the regalia, and just as their wishes had been gratified, the lady feigned sudden indisposition: this called forth the kind offices of Mrs. Edwards, the keeper's wife, who having courteously invited her into their house to repose herself, she soon recovered; and on their departure professed themselves thankful for this civility.

"A few days after, Blood came again, bringing a present to Mrs. Edwards of four pairs of white gloves, from his pretended wife; and, having thus begun the acquaintance, they made frequent visits to improve it. After a short respite of their compliments, the disguised ruffian returned again: and, in conversation with Mrs. Edwards, said that his wife could discourse of nothing but the kindness of those good people in the Tower: that she had long studied, and at length bethought herself of a handsome way of requital. You have, quoth he, a pretty young gentlewoman for your daughter, and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred a year in land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve it, I'll bring him here to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match. This was easily assented to by old Mr. Edwards, who invited the parson to dine with him on that day: he readily accepted the invitation; and, taking upon him to say grace, performed it with great seeming devotion, and, casting up his eyes, concluded it with a prayer for the king, queen, and royal family. After dinner he went up to see the rooms, and, observing a handsome case of pistols hang there, expressed a great desire to buy them, to present to a young lord who was his neighbour; a pretence by which he thought of disarming the house against the period intended for the execution of his design. At his departure, 'which was a canonical benediction of the good company, he appointed a day and hour * to bring his young nephew to see his mistress; which was the very day that he made his daring attempt.'

"The good old gentleman had got up ready to receive his guest, and the daughter was in her best dress to entertain her expected lover; when, behold, parson Blood, with three more, came to the jewel-house, all armed with rapier blades in their canes, and every one a dagger, and a brace of pocket pistols. Two of his companions entered in with him, on pretence of seeing the crown, and the third stayed at the door, as if to look after the young lady,

* "The ninth of May, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.—The hour, not very seasonable for such an interview, was accounted for by the excuse that two friends, whom he wished to bring with him to see the regalia, were about to leave town early that morning."

a jewel of a more charming description, but in reality as a watch. The daughter, who thought it not modest to come down till she was called, sent the maid to take a view of the company, and bring a description of her gallant; and the servant conceiving that he was the intended bridegroom who stayed at the door, being the youngest of the party, returned to soothe the anxiety of her young mistress with the idea she had formed of his person.

"'Blood told Mr. Edwards, that they would not go up stairs till his wife came, and desired him to shew his friends the crown to pass the time till then; and they had no sooner entered the room, and the door, as usual, shut, than a cloak was thrown over the old man's head, and a gag put in his mouth.

"Thus secured, they told him, that their resolution was to have the crown, globe, and sceptre; and, if he would quietly submit to it, they would spare his life; otherwise he was to expect no mercy. He thereupon endeavoured to make all the noise he possibly could, to be heard above; they then knocked him down with a wooden mallet, and told him, that, if yet he would lie quietly, they would spare his life; but if not, upon his next attempt to discover them, they would kill him:' Mr. Edwards, however, according to his own account, was not intimidated by this threat, but strained himself, to make the greater noise, and in consequence received several more blows on the head with the mallet, and was stabbed in the belly: this again brought the poor old man to the ground, where he lay for some time in so senseless a state, that one of the villains pronounced him dead. Edwards had come a little to himself, and, hearing this, lay quietly, conceiving it best to be thought so. The booty was now to be disposed of, and one of them, named Parrot *, put the orb in his breeches: Blood held the crown under his cloak; and the third was about to file the sceptre in two, in order that it might be placed in a bag, brought for that purpose; but fortunately, the son of Mr. Edwards, who had been in Flanders with sir John Talbot, and on his landing in England had obtained leave to come away, post, to visit his father, happened to arrive whilst this scene was acting; and on coming to the door the person that stood centinel asked, with whom he would speak? to which he answered, that he belonged to the house; and perceiving the person to be a stranger, told him that if he had any business with his father that he would acquaint him with it, and so hastened up stairs to salute his friends. This unexpected accident spread confusion amongst the party, and they instantly decamped with the crown and orb, leaving the sceptre yet unfiled.

"The aged keeper now raised himself upon his legs, forced the gag from his mouth, and cried, *treason! murder!* which being heard by his daughter, who was, perhaps, anxiously expecting far other sounds, ran out and reiterated the cry. The alarm now be-

* "He was a silk dyer in Southwark, and, in the rebellion, had been a lieutenant under major general Harrison."

came general, and young Edwards and his brother-in-law, captain Beckman, ran after the conspirators; whom a warder put himself in a position to stop; but Blood discharged a pistol at him, and he fell, although unhurt, and the thieves proceeded safely to the next post; where one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell, stood centinel: but he offered no opposition, and they accordingly passed the drawbridge. Horses were waiting for them at St. Catherine's gate, and as they ran that way, along the Tower wharf, they themselves cried out, *stop the rogues:* by which they passed on unsuspected till captain Beckman overtook them. At his head Blood fired another pistol, but missed him, and was seized. Under the cloak of this daring villain was found the crown, and, although he saw himself a prisoner, he had yet the impudence to struggle for his prey; and when it was finally wrested from him, said, *It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful; it was for a crown!* P. 197."

A few stones fell out in the struggle but nothing considerable was eventually missing. Blood, who was the son of a blacksmith in Ireland, and who had already distinguished himself by several atrocious crimes; among which one was a nearly successful attempt to hang the Duke of Ormond at Tyburn, saved his life on this occasion by a bold answer. Charles II. examined him in person, and to a question relative to the persons concerned in the attack on the Duke of Ormond, Blood replied, "that he never would betray a friend's life, nor deny a guilt in defence of his own." This frankness, added to the confession of a design once entertained against the king himself, in which he had been checked at the very moment of projected assassination "by an awe of majesty," captivated the good nature of the easy Charles: Blood was pardoned, and had a pension of 500*l.* a year bestowed upon him in Ireland. Lord Arlington was commissioned by the king to state his pleasure that the Duke of Ormond should drop the prosecution which he had commenced against this desperate ruffian. Lord Arlington was about to assign Charles's reasons when the duke stopped him by a memorable reply. "If his Majesty can forgive Blood's stealing the crown, he may easily pardon his attempt upon my life; and if such be his Majesty's pleasure that is a sufficient reason for me;—Your Lordship may spare the rest."

In the Record Tower, the earliest Rolls extant are forty-one containing a miscellaneous collection of grants and charters from the time of Edward the Confessor to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Chancery Rolls commence in King John's reign. From the accession of Henry III. they are for the most part in an unbroken series to the death of Edward IV.; in number exceeding 2200. They may be

briefly comprehended under the following heads. Almain Rolls, Charter Rolls, Close Rolls, Conventiones Pacis, Coronation Rolls, Extracta Donationum, Fine Rolls, *French Rolls*, Gascoign Rolls, Liberate Rolls, Norman Rolls, Parliament Rolls, Patent Rolls, Perambulation Rolls, Redisseisin Rolls, Roman Rolls, Scotch Rolls, Statute Rolls, Treaties and Truces, Welsh Rolls.

"Besides the rolls comprehended in the above-mentioned general series, there is a vast collection of other records preserved in the Tower, of an equally important nature. Among these may be particularly noticed the Inquisitions post mortem, and Ad quod damnum; writs and returns of knights, citizens, and burgesses to parliament; the hundred rolls, and forest claims; rolls containing the homage of the nobility and great men of Scotland to king Edward the First, and the taxation roll of the same reign; there are also treaties of peace; letters of foreign princes and states; instructions to ambassadors; papal bulls: petitions to parliament, and to the king and council; privy-seal warrants; signet bills, and a great variety of writs, and miscellaneous rolls and documents.

"These are all comprised under the title of the records of the court of chancery, and they form a collection of memorials of the highest national and individual importance: indeed, they are the ground-work of the constitution; the basis of the laws; and a source, without the aid of which, 'no story of the nation can be written or proved.'" P. 224.

The preservation and arrangement of these national treasures has employed the attention of government for some years past; and considerable progress has been made in this great work from time to time. The importance of the records may be estimated by this short remark of Mr. Bayley, "there is not one of the ancient nobility of the realm who could prove either his title to his estates, or his rank as peer, if they were to be called in question without their aid; nor is there a person of landed property in the kingdom who is not vitally interested in their preservation." The custody of the records is confided to a keeper appointed for life by the Master of the Rolls under the king's sign manual; and the charge is esteemed one of honour and importance. Queen Elizabeth gave it to Lambard, the perambulator, known in his life time as *the handsome man of Kent*; and always chose to receive his reports from himself in person. Selden held it under the Parliament; and on the Restoration it was given to the notorious William Prynne. Was not this a goodly reign in which a reprieved thief was pensioned, and a crop ear'd libeller promoted to trust and favour! But harles knew how to throw sops when he wished to stop a

troublesome barking. Some one asked him what should be done with Prynne to keep him quiet? "Why," said the king, "let him amuse himself with writing against the catholics, and poring over the records in the Tower:" and his patent was made out accordingly. The fruits of his own pen which this indefatigable "helluo librorum" presented to the library of Lincoln's Inn amount to forty volumes in folio and quarto, containing nearly two hundred different works. In our own time Mr. Lysons has filled this office with honour to himself, and advantage to the public; and on his death in 1819, he was succeeded by Mr. Petrie, the present learned and diligent keeper.

A single department of the Tower remains to be noticed; and it is that which is most familiar to ourselves and probably to many of our readers also; the menagerie. Henry III. kept a bear in the Tower, for whose maintenance the sheriffs of London were commanded to pay fourpence a day. A quarter of mutton was allowed daily for Edward IIIrds. lion, and three halfpence for his keeper: the man perhaps would readily have exchanged with the beast. Subsequently, the lion and the leopard each received sixpence a day, while several esquires confined there as prisoners were obliged to be content with a penny for their support. We wonder whether the Poet Laureat was among the number.

> "Non habit infelix Numitor quod mittat amico;
> Quintillæ quod donet habet: nec defuit illi
> Unde emeret multa pascendum carne Leonem
> Jam domitum: constat leviori bellua sumtu
> Nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina Poetæ."

The plates to this volume are well executed: more particularly the general view as frontispiece; and the interesting copy of the survey made in 1597. Mr. Bayley promises a second part to complete his work; and if it is put together with as much spirit and fidelity as this portion of his labours we shall be right glad to hear of its early appearance.

ART. IV. *A View of the Restoration of the Helvetic Confederacy, being a Sequel to the History of that Republic. By Joseph Planta, Esq.* 8vo. 74 pp. 5s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1822.

FEW crimes of the French Revolution were more atrocious in themselves, or excited deeper commiseration for the

fbrers by them, than the invasion and conquest of the United Cantons: and the period distinguished by those calamitous events has already found an able historian in Mr. Planta. We turn with pleasure to his present little volume, which is intended to record such circumstances as have occurred in the valleys of Swisserland since the destruction of the Federative Government in 1798. Fortunately the scenes which he has now to paint are of a more tranquil nature, than those upon which his pen has heretofore been employed; and if there is less of striking incident to occupy it, we must, at the same time, call to mind, that striking incident is too often purchased by the surrender of human happiness; and that the most brilliant periods in history, are not those in which the great interests of mankind have been most progressive: but on the other hand, that the few intervals of profound repose which the chronicles of nations present, however unattractive to the composer or the reader of annals, have been by far the most beneficial to the real actors on the theatre of life.

The "History of the Helvetic Confederacy," terminated with the destruction of the Underwalders by Schawemberg. The present view opens with a brief sketch of the *internal* causes which assisted the arms of the French in dissolving the Union. Among these will be found the difference of religions, local interests, dialects, and domestic habits, which marked the separate members of the league; the great disparity of power among the several Cantons, and their unqualified independence on each other: the obedience to the decrees of the general diet of Arau having been, for the most part, optional. The singular nature of the complicated jurisdictions which prevailed in many of the free districts is shewn, by the reference of the Italian Bailiwicks in spiritual concerns to the Bishop of Como, and in seculars to their sovereign cantons. So far indeed did the immunities on such occasions extend, that the inhabitants of Neufchatel, though dependent upon the King of Prussia, served in large bodies in the army of France, during the seven years' war, without imputation of dishonour or rebellion. These numerous incongruities forebade a hope of any permanent union; and on turning to the history of the fall of Swisserland, we shall readily perceive that the policy of attacking in detail, which France had learnt to practise elsewhere with so great success, was called into play with greater effect in no other part of Europe than the United Cantons; between which she had previously taken care to exasperate and inflame the existing causes of jealousy and disagreement. The patriotism of individuals was little able to combat the revolutionary principles, which the

agents of the Directory had long disseminated from Basle, the metropolis and emporium of Jacobinism; and when the storm burst with all its collected fury upon the wavering and improvident Bernese, the heroic exertions of d'Erlach and Steiguer in the field, were as unavailing as their wisdom had already proved in the cabinet. In the hour of danger, the Swiss were not wanting to their country in valour; but by the "better part of valour," if they would have used it, it is not impossible that the hour of danger might have been prevented. By a vigorous shew of arms, Geneva, at an earlier period, had been rescued from the artifices of the invader; and if the Diet convened at the beginning of 1798 had called forth a general levy of the Cantons, instead of contenting itself by the mock renewal of the league of Stanz, it is more than probable that Brune at least at that moment, would have given up his design of attack.

The conquest of Berne was followed by the promulgation of the usual Constitution imposed by France on its vanquished provinces. Without regard to those Cantons which were even then in arms, or against which no pretext of spoliation had as yet been invented, the whole country was portioned into eighteen districts; and these again were subdivided into communities and municipalities; a Directory of five presided over two Legislative Councils; and, under the plausible appearance of reform, all property, whether public or private, found its way into the treasury of France, and replenished the military chest which was to supply the expences of the Egyptian expedition.

The state of Swisserland during the three years which succeeded the conquests of Brune and Schawemberg, is marked by intestine commotion, anarchy, and all the horrors of military occupation. In 1799, this unhappy country was the theatre of war between the French and Austro-Russian armies: and the deliverance, which in the commencement of the campaign had been so nearly effected by the successes of the Archduke Charles, was frustrated in the end by the timid and selfish policy of the cabinet, under the orders of which he acted. We never can read the disappointments of the veteran Suvaroff, after his brilliant passage of St. Gothard, without the most lively emotion; and we listen with equal commiseration and disgust to the well-founded complaints of the violated faith and "shameful equivocal promises" of the Austrians, by which the last days of this grey-haired hero were embittered and overclouded. It scarcely needed the neglect of his insane and tyrannical master to complete the mortification of the septuagenarian conqueror; and his heart was broke-

(even before Paul refused him access to his imperial person, and the honours due to his rank,) when he found the fruits of his triumphs in Italy were to be destroyed in Swisserland, by the cowardice and treachery of the court of Vienna.

At the close of 1802, the First Consul, Bonaparte, offered his mediation to the eighteen Cantons, through General Rapp; and the offer was made effective by a continued influx of French troops, and an order for disarming the natives. A new federal union was adopted, and sanctioned, under this compulsory mediator, in February, 1803; the leading features of which were, the abolition of the prerogatives of families, and the emancipation of the subject provinces. Whatever objection may be raised to this imperious mandate, which forced a constitution upon a country which had a natural right to chuse its own government, it must be confessed that Swisserland was benefited by Bonaparte's interposition. Much was gained by the establishment of a single power to which every appeal was final; and the rage of party being awhile repressed, the talents, which had been enslaved to faction, were turned into channels more advantageous to the public weal. It is to this period of temporary repose which Swisserland enjoyed after her long distractions, that Mr. Planta refers the revival, if not the origin, of many institutions for which she has latterly been distinguished. Without entering into any farther disquisition upon the merits or demerits of the establishments of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, it must be admitted that they could not have arisen amid the terrors of foreign war, or the convulsions of political hatred.

On the peace of Presburg, the Swiss received from both parties the most solemn assurances of the strict observance of their neutrality. The battle of Jena placed Bonaparte at the zenith of his glory, and the consequence was, a change of tone towards Swisserland. It may be as well to recall to our readers, in the concise and energetic words of Mr. Planta, the position of Europe in 1807, and the gigantic power which Napoleon then wielded.

"He had four kings of his creation; all the dominions of the Prussian monarchy were in his occupancy; Venice was annexed to the kingdom of Italy; part of the Tyrol was conferred by him on the King of Bavaria; and the sovereignty of Neufchatel was made over to his Marshal, Berthier. All the German States, Italy, Spain, Holland, Swisserland, and Turkey, were his obsequious allies. England was staggered at the enormity of her National Debt, and would perhaps gladly have looked on, had the insatiable despot known how to put bounds to his extravagant ambition." P. 25.

In reply to the remonstrances which the Cantons laid before him he comprised his demands under three heads. That they should beware of disrespectful language against his person: that they should recal all their regiments in the British pay, and that they should forthwith provide their complement to his own conscription.

The remaining acts of Bonaparte while his power continued unbroken were little likely to conciliate attachment. Obedience he had insured by overwhelming force. The Italian bailiwicks and the Valais were both incorporated with the French empire. The prohibitions against English commerce were enforced with the most rigid severity, and contributions were heavily exacted without regard to the impoverished state of the country. The public authorities were loud in expressions of respect and fidelity; but discontent was in the hearts of the people.

The events of 1813, again brought the allied armies to the confines of Swisserland, and the Landamman, Reinhard, drew a cordon of new raised troops along the frontiers, and declared the neutrality of the Cantons. Bonaparte willingly ratified the act, for its acknowledgment would have secured him from attack on the side which he knew to be most assailable.

The allied sovereigns admitted the neutrality, but from the necessity of the case demanded a free passage for their troops. In this dilemma (for the power of Bonaparte was not then so shaken as to preclude the fear of a recovery, the consequences of which must have been dreadful to those who had profited by his adversity,) the Swiss acted with promptness and decision. They annulled the act of mediation, and resolved to strengthen their northern and western frontiers. New dissentions and animosities were the immediate consequence; and it seemed as if anarchy was again prepared to rear itself with all its horrors.

By virtue of a capitulation the Prince of Coburg took possession of Basle on 21st of December (1813,) and on that and the four following days it is computed that not less than 200,000 men proceeded through its gates to Alsatia. Other columns advanced at the same time through Schaffhausen, Zuric, and Argau, to Berne, the Pays de Vaud, and Geneva. The privations and sacrifices consequent on the march even of a friendly army are not slight; and the terrified citizens considered the visit of the allies only as a prelude to still severer sufferings.

The Senate of Berne took the lead in the re-establishment of an efficient administration; and voted the revi-

of the old constitution as it stood before 1798. There were many things in this ancient feudal structure which required removal. The Pays de Vaud and Argau were anxious to preserve their independence of the Aristocratic Cantons from which they had been severed by the Revolution; Basle and Zuric from commercial reasons looked to France; and the new districts, proud of their petty liberty, clamoured for the continuance of the mediation.

To prevent the natural consequences of this lamentable disorganization, the ministers of the allies recommended a special commission to investigate the principles of a new Constitution. The Swiss contented themselves with the repetition of a useless Diet, in which the debates were angry and tumultuous; and a civil war seemed rapidly approaching.

Fortunately the allied sovereigns met at Basle in January 1814, and the parade of 36,000 men in arms disposed the minds of the most factious agitators to more tranquil discussion. The plenipotentiaries of the five leading powers of Europe were admitted to the Diet held in March, at Zuric. Their deliberations continued till September, when a final Constitution adopting the distribution into nineteen Cantons, and providing compensations for Berne and Basle, was voted by a majority of members. At the same time it was resolved to appeal to the allies then assembled in Congress for assistance in the establishment of the new government.

These steps led the way to the official "declaration of the powers on the affairs of the Helvetic Confederacy," which was the basis of the Federal Act ultimately adopted. By this the perpetual neutrality of Swisserland was guaranteed. The XIX Cantons as they existed in 1813, were acknowledged. The Valais, Geneva, and Neufchatel were united as three new Cantons to the Federation, and the bishopric of Basle and territory of Bienne were annexed to Berne. After some minor provisions, the necessity of a general amnesty was strongly impressed as the only means of consolidating the power of Swisserland as a nation.

When this protocol was referred by the deputies of the Helvetic Diet to their respective constituents, abundance of remonstrances as might be expected, poured in. The Grisons submitted to the loss of their sovereignty in the Italian provinces, but complained bitterly of the measure which stripped individuals of their landed property. The lower district of Underwalden refused any abandonment of its ancient Constitution, alleging their objection to be incorporated with other legislative bodies, whose decrees they fancied might clash with their own favourite opinions and propensities.

At length in spite of these scruples the Diet succeeded in promulgating an act known under the title of the FEDERAL COMPACT. Herein XXII Cantons mutually guarantee each others territory and constitution. The contingent of troops to be furnished by the general body is in the proportion of two soldiers from every hundred men, and amounts in the whole to 32,886. The contingent of money is fixed at 540,107 French livres. All separate alliances are deprecated, and an important article settled the long contested question of political rights.

"Art. 7. *Political Rights.*—'The Confederacy sanctions the principle, that as, after the recognition of the twenty-two cantons, there exist in Swisserland no longer any subject provinces, so likewise the enjoyment of political rights can never, in any canton, become an exclusive privilege in favour of a particular class of citizens.'" P. *52.*

Zurich, Berne, and Lucern, are termed directing Cantons, and a rotation of presidency in the Diet devolves upon each of these every two years. Various provisions are made for separate branches of administration; and the Compact freely entered into was ratified by the most solemn oaths.

We subjoin Mr. Planta's account, respecting ecclesiastical matters. They appear to us to be conducted with a very dangerous laxity.

"The reader has probably noticed that in the above Federal Act no decree or regulation is laid down for the administration of the Ecclesiastical concerns of the country, the 12th article only excepted, which provides for the further existence and guarantee of the convents and chapters, and the security of their properties, as far as may depend on their respective Governments. Nor are the secondary treaties sufficiently explicit on the subject. May we not hence infer that the previous religious institutions did not appear to them to stand in need of any material corrective, and that in fact any partial emendation might safely be left to the local authorities? All that we can therefore gather from the documents hitherto obtained, merely concerns the general system of church discipline relating to the collective body, and may be summed up under the following heads:

"The Supreme Federal Tribunal or Diet cannot exercise any positive authority or jurisdiction in religious matters; and whatever influence it may occasionally be called upon to exercise must depend entirely on the feelings and circumstances of the moment.

"The principal rights of supremacy, which seem to belong to each individual Canton, but which in fact extend over the whole collectively, are: the exercise of a strict superintendence and controul over all religious establishments by the supreme sec

power; the right of examining into the mode of acquiring and disposing of all ecclesiastical and monastic property; the liability of all such property to all burdens imposed by the state on secular possessions; and the subjection of all Papal bulls, pastoral letters, &c. to the *placet* or *exsequatur* of Government, prior to their publication.

"Only three bishoprics exist at present in the country; viz. those of Lausanne or Friburg, of Sion and of Coire; but it is in contemplation to establish two in addition, at Lucern and at Soleure. Besides these, the foreign sees of Milan, Como, and Annecy extend their jurisdictions over several parts of the country.

"Notwithstanding a few restrictive inhibitions in some of the Catholic cantons, such as Lucern, Friburg, &c., a general spirit of toleration seems to predominate throughout the republic; and how far the Papal power has dwindled may be gathered from the instance of the abbey of St. Gallen, the abbot of which, by his arbitrary proceedings, occasioned an insurrection in the year 1798, which drove him to seek refuge in a neighbouring state, and in the end brought on the secularization of that venerable foundation. The sovereign Pontiff exerted all the means in his power to bring about the re-establishment of the chapter; but neither his dictates nor his intercessions could avail, the cantonal Diet firmly adhering to their decision." P. 58.

During the reign of 100 days the tranquillity of Swisserland was once again threatened: but no time was lost to put the country in a state of defence, and 60,000 men presented themselves in arms. The Swiss regiments which had been raised for the service of Louis XVIII. remained firm to their allegiance; and with the exception of five officers, (of whom it must be observed in palliation that they had followed Bonaparte in all his campaigns) they refused to join the invader's army; and having disbanded themselves, returned home. The storm passed away, and Basle was the only spot, as if in retribution for its former perfidy, which was affected by the brief war. The FEDERAL COMPACT received the personal sanction of the great sovereigns in Congress, at the second occupation of Paris; and the inviolability of the Swiss, and their independence from all foreign influence was declared to be conformable to the true interests of the politics of Europe.

Mr. Planta has drawn his narrative from the works of Meister, Usteri, Picot, and Marten; and the huge collection of official documents which have been presented to Parliament. We cannot take leave of him without expressing our thanks for the liberal manner in which by this separate Tract he has accommodated the purchasers of his former editions, and we trust he will be amply repaid by the extensive circulation of that which is forthcoming.

ART. V. *The Rights of Sovereignty in Christian States defended in some chief particulars: a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of London, May 24, 1821. With Dissertations and Collections illustrating the same Subject; with Reference to the Works of Mr. Hooker, and Bishop Warburton; together with those of Grotius, De Marca, and others. By Joseph Holden Pott, A. M. Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and Archdeacon of London.* 8vo. pp. 336. Rivingtons. 1821.

THE justice of the wise man's commendation of a word spoken in due season, is well illustrated by the work before us. The venerable Archdeacon of London has wisely improved the opportunity of communicating with the assembled Clergy of his Archdeaconry, by bringing under their consideration those great principles of our Protestant Establishment which have been too much neglected by some of our modern statesmen, in their anxiety to promote a favourite measure. In a short preface, the Archdeacon indeed disclaims, and doubtless with great sincerity, any intention of offering an opinion on those public measures which have been propounded, and may be drawn again into debate. And those who take up his volume, with a hope of finding in it any strictures on the views and objects of the persons who now advocate the Roman Catholic claims; or any remarks on the various plans which they have at different times recommended to the legislature, will be disappointed. The Archdeacon, like a wise master builder, looks to the foundations; he does not occupy his own time, or that of the assembled Clergy, in discussing the propositions which the wisdom of Parliament has already refused to entertain; or in anticipating the new shape in which the question may be next brought forward; or in pointing out the evils inseparable from the adoption of the measure, under any of the modifications to which it has been hitherto subjected: but he traces and vindicates the grounds on which those principles are built, in conformity with which our Protestant Establishment in Church and State has been settled, and every public measure by which the interests and security of that Establishment may be affected, should at all times be governed and restrained. A correct knowledge of these principles is, we humbly conceive, essentially requisite to the beneficial discussion of such questions as the supporters of the Roman Catholics are annually forcing upon us: and as they have not given us any proof of their accurate ac-

quaintance with them, there is a peculiar propriety in bringing them under the notice of the public, in those words in which the industry and talents of some of the ablest men this country ever produced have left them upon record, for the instruction and direction of their posterity.

After a few introductory observations, the Archdeacon remarks upon the Spirit of Proselytism, as distinguished from true religious zeal; the one shewing itself in an anxious desire by all methods to make converts to a party, the other labouring only to spread the knowledge of the Gospel in the world, without regard to any sinister motives, or factious advantages. The Pharisee whom our Saviour described, bore the distinguishing marks of the proselyting spirit; and the Gnostic, the Heretic, the Donatist, and the Papist have all inherited them; and as they have worked after the same pattern, the effects produced by their labours have been similar.

To those who maintain, that this spirit is one and the same with that honest zeal which ought to influence every Christian, the Archdeacon replies,

"Is this true? Have the wisest and the best men, the disciples of an heavenly Teacher, displayed this overbearing temper in all ages? Has their zeal been of that kind only to which the censure of our Lord applies? Do we find this temper grafted upon the injunctions given by him to his own appointed witnesses? Was it ever visible in their examples; St. Paul in his conversion, retained indeed his noble zeal for truth, but the blind and headlong spirit of the Pharisee was supplied from thenceforth, by a steady moderation, by discretion and forbearance, by a calm attendance on the will of God, exactly limited to what was fit and prudent in all cases. To which let it be added in answer to the taunting caviller, that the zeal which is so justly marked with censure, is found at all times in as high degrees of obstinacy and of headlong eagerness, in men who are professed and open enemies to all religion, who stand forth as the foes to every good thing in every form. They seldom fail to manifest the same indefatigable pains to warp the minds of others and to gather proselytes. I may safely leave it, then, to the good sense and experience of our own age, to distinguish between a steady zeal for all sound principles and for every good design, and a busy, meddling, overweening zeal, which carries with it at all times the morbid character by which its restless temper is excited, and its partial humour no less visibly denoted. When, indeed, sincere and upright men, who do not share in all the views of keener leaders, are contented to partake in some part of their designs, they will not I trust, impute a faulty zeal to others, who may pause a little before they consent to yield the cautionary limit, or to forego the present grounds of safety, even where the purpose is the noble one of redressing in-

conveniences and removing evils, which are frequently more easy to be seen and felt, than to be remedied." P. 3.

These are observations which will naturally present themselves to the mind of every thinking man, when he contemplates the extraordinary union of various hostile spirits, to promote the cause of concession to the Romish Church. All and each of those, who now support the claims of that domineering Church, have felt her supremacy to be injurious to their interests. Experience has proved, that she has never yet possessed power, without exerting it for purposes as incompatible with the views of the political theorists whom she now reckons among her advocates, as they have been detrimental to the religious liberty for which her sectarian defenders have so fiercely contended. The generations which have passed away were wise enough to see this. The politicians from whom our modern whigs have borrowed their name without inheriting their principles, have gained an honourable place in history by their spirited and successful resistance of papal domination: and the dissenters of the same period, were clear-sighted enough to perceive, that the little finger of Rome, would be heavier than the loins of the Church of England; and that, if they united with the papists in overturning the mild authority of the Established Religion, they must expect to change a toleration, which left to the conscientious man, nothing more to wish for on the score of religion, for outward conformity to popish superstition, or a persecution which would destroy where it could not convert. Some modern statesmen, and modern sectarists have taken what they doubtless think a more enlarged and liberal view of the question: they seem to think, that the apprehensions which disturbed the rest of their forefathers were the mere dreams of a disordered fancy; and that the bulwarks, which they erected against Romish aggression, were an unnecessary demonstration of jealousy and fear.

We may then adopt the Archdeacon's language, and presume that even *they* will allow, "that those restrictions against which such urgent pleas have been put forward, were once at least deemed necessary."

"They are not the fetters, then, which have been forged by bigotry, or devised by headlong zealots; unless you will rank in that tainted class, the calmest and the wisest men, in all departments, which this land hath ever bred. It is a generous sentiment, no doubt, which ever way our judgment may incline at present, which disposes candid men to think and believe, that the

season for new measures, where improvement is the object, is arrived. It is a virtuous feeling which inclines men to think that restraints which are sufficiently deplorable, and never warranted but by strict necessity, for preservation or defence, may at length be laid aside. It is too, let me be allowed to say, a sentiment as pure, as free from bigotry and headlong zeal, as full of all care for the public good; and above all, for the best interests of religion, on which the public good must be established, which disposes others to use much caution and consideration; to look well to those direful and unchanging principles which first produced the sad necessity for civil and religious separations; principles which admit no variation and can suffer no abatement, since they bear the fancied seal, and plead the bold but unsupported challenge, of infallible authority." P. 5.

Of these principles, the first is that "which limits the whole hope of salvation, and confines the christian name itself to one portion of the Christian Church." While this is maintained, no ground can be found, on which the Romanists and the Protestant can meet with mutual confidence. The Roman Catholic, believing that no salvation can be found out of his own Church, will be urged by the strongest and best feelings of his nature, to snatch the Protestant from perdition by any available means; by entreaty, argument or force: and a Protestant Church must ever be upon her guard, against the invasions of those, who hold her very existence in horror, as a snare and a trap for the souls of men.

"Who," says the Archdeacon, "would not strive for proselytes, if such a notion could be true? You may frame laws, and grant indulgences, in the generous hope of promoting union in the land; but where can be the points of mutual forbearance, where the warmest feelings of the heart are thus engaged on settled grounds of mispersuasion: not roused to contend for victory or power, but to snatch men from perdition." P. 6.

He anticipates the answer, that, admitting all this danger to be real, it cannot be prevented, and therefore ought not to be assailed by restraints on temporal rights. But, is it true that temporal rights as they are called, (and be it remembered that by temporal rights we are here to understand political power, which upon the principles of those who oppose us is the right of no individual, but is given by society to those only who appear to the united body to be best fitted to promote its common welfare,) is it true, that restraints on such rights may not lessen the danger? Experience would seem to teach a contrary lesson; and it scarcely becomes us, who enjoy the blessings of a Protestant Establishment, blessings which we believe to have been hitherto secured to us

by those very restraints, to admit that the safe-guards provided by our ancestors are nugatory, while they appear to us to have produced their intended effects.

We confess ourselves inclined to argue, that restraints on the possession of political power by individuals, may be lawfully imposed by all societies: and that, in such a society as that in which we live, consisting of Church and State, united by a constitution guaranteeing to each its own privileges and security, in a mode compatible with the common interests of both; it is not only lawful or expedient, but absolutely necessary, to withhold political power, from all whose principles are essentially hostile to the security of either.

"Who can deny," says the Archdeacon, "that the same zeal which we know cannot be restrained by human laws, and is not the proper object of them, will not be abundantly assisted, and find its strength renewed by the influence of public credit, by the share to be acquired in legislative powers, and by wide and intimate participations in the public councils and mixed government of the country. It is not, I suppose, the wish to lend such strength to be employed against the Protestant Establishments with which the best interests and acknowledged basis of the government in this land are essentially connected." P. 7.

This is undoubtedly a sound practical view of the question. We are called upon to determine, not whether we will restrain the Roman Catholics, but whether we will grant them that power of which our ancestors, by sad experience of the use they made of it, were induced to deprive them. We have unhappily no reason to believe that their principles are changed, we have therefore no inducements to alter our policy.

There are but two ways in the Archdeacon's opinion, in which peace can be found, or security preserved. The one is by a change of principle on the part of the Roman Catholics: but this he considers to be hopeless, as their boast is that all change is impossible. The other is a change of feeling, and of this he thinks that the prospect is abundantly more favourable. It may be so; but to those who look for any permanent security from such a change, we recommend a serious consideration of the following passage.

"The misfortune is, with respect even to those sects which are less tied to fix determinations than the Church of Rome is, that after better feelings have prevailed over fierce and narrow declarations; after what is frantic or fanatical, the growth of superstitious fancies or of wild delusion, has worked off, and is either covered or forgotten, the sect itself remains in all its separate dis-

tinctions, and with all the plausible improvement which arises from retaining what is good in life and manners, and which, though combined still with whimsical particulars, forms a real ground of solid worth. Thus the bond of union is irreparably broken, even where the worst features have been softened, and where a better garb has been assumed." P. 8.

If an illustration of the truth of this remark is required, it may be furnished by the history of our own protestant divisions. When we trace them back to the original objections taken against our Church by the puritans, the nursing fathers of sectarianism, we shall find that scarcely any plea then urged by them as an apology for separation is now persisted in. The original grounds of disunion have been in great measure surrendered, at least in practice; and on all these points a great change of feeling has taken place; but the spirit of division still survives, and its influence is undiminished.

Deprecating all querulous remarks, and every hasty or violent measure as unworthy of our cause and character; and protesting with equal earnestness against all negligence or indifference in so critical a juncture; the Archdeacon conceives our best mode of defence to consist in a vindication of the main principles of union, against which at any time accidental combinations or direct attacks are made.

"The ground of union in this land, under the good care of Providence, derives its chief stability from that well defined and fundamental rule of government, by which in every state and every country, things sacred and things civil should be subject to one Sovereign Supremacy. This was the first point which at the dawn of reformation in this land, was rescued from the gradual encroachments which had been made by those, who traversed rocks and seas, the natural limits of the states of this world, in order to fix a visionary throne, of more than magic power and mystic influence, in the bosoms of far severed empires.

"Our aim must be, if it be yet possible, to convince the great body of our countrymen of the real excellence of that which they possess, in order that they may look well to what they are required to give away. This is a task which in all reason we should think to be no hard one, and yet it is always found to be most difficult in practice: as if nothing could be seen to any just advantage which a man holds already in his hand, and which he may continue to retain, if he has the wisdom to understand his own good, and not to yield it as the child does the best thing which he possesses, for any worthless counterfeit." P. 10.

The law of England knows but of one sovereign Power. The King is the supreme head of the realm, in all causes,

and over all persons, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The Roman Catholic does not admit the obligation of the law in this respect: he acknowledges the King as his sovereign in temporal causes only: in all spiritual concerns he conceives that his allegiance is due to another power, to the Pope as the supreme head of the Church on earth.

The advocates of concession require us therefore to grant a complete participation of political power and influence in our free state to those who yield only a divided allegiance to the King who is its head; and profess that they owe obedience in some particulars to another sovereign, who is essentially hostile to one branch of our Constitution as by law established. When they are called upon to shew us how such a point can be safely conceded, the question is never fairly met; but an attempt is made to evade it, by a sophistical representation of the supremacy claimed by the Pope, that it may appear compatible with the legitimate rights of the Sovereign, and the safety of the State: as if, in this case at least, a kingdom might be divided against itself without being brought to desolation; and a man might serve two masters, without prejudice to the interests of either. Where then such opinions prevail, and are perseveringly defended, the rule must be plainly laid down, and the grounds on which it is framed as plainly stated: and for this purpose we cannot do better than use the words of the volume before us.

"It is of the nature then and essence of all governments, of what kind soever they may be, and whatever societies they may include, to have all things subject in some measure to the sovereign authority. From this subjection nothing is exempted but what belongs indeed to some rule, over which no control of man can be rightfully exerted; such as the privilege of conscience: the duty of self-preservation; the regard to public welfare, as that forms the main end of laws and government; and more especially the things which are prescribed by express and indubitable precepts of divine authority clearly and sufficiently made known. With these restrictions, the principles of sovereignty in our own land, are applicable to all things and persons. They have been traced accordingly by our best writers to this fourfold ground; to the common right, which I have just named, of sovereignty in all states and under every dispensation—to the pattern of the Jewish state particularly, sanctioned as that was by the divine appointment, and displayed in a matter which was neither local nor peculiar—to the plain intimation of the will of God declared on this head in the page of Scripture, first in the word of prophecy concerning Christian states and rulers, and then in the subsequent directions which were given, with immediate reference to the civil power, by Christ himself and his first witnesses—and to the laws

of this realm, before they were overborne by foreign usurpation. These are the grounds which we have to maintain, and I trust that we never shall desert them." P. 13.

The propriety of giving to the Sovereign, sway in religious causes, and over religious persons, follows from the necessity of religion itself, as the foundation of our common welfare, and mutual confidence. For religion being that, without which society cannot long subsist, nor the best interests of society be at all preserved; the sovereign ruler, whose duty it is to watch over the interests, and maintain inviolate the bonds of society, must have the concerns of religion within his ken, and under his controul. In only one instance, as it has often been observed, has an attempt been made to govern a state without providing for religion; and the result has been such as will scarcely induce any wise or good man to wish that the experiment may be repeated. Two popular objections have been urged against a state religion. It has been said that as religion is a private and personal concern, the ruler ought not to interfere with its principles; that he cannot controul its feelings, nor take cognizance of that inward tribute of sincere obedience which it exacts. To this it is answered, that, as the outward act of obedience which the Sovereign is indisputably authorized, nay, bound to exact, will depend in great measure, for the zeal, punctuality, and effect with which it is performed, on those religious principles which are and have been the only sure guides of human conduct to a good end; unless he provide for the inculcation of these principles, it may be in vain for him to require the outward act of obedience. It is also alleged, that, if the Sovereign has a power of prescribing in matters of religion, he may prescribe things injurious to its interests, if he be either deceived himself, or thinks that his own interests will be served by upholding the deceptions which others may practice. To this it is a sufficient reply, that all power may be abused in every instance in which it may be exerted. But, as it is necessary for the good of all, that power should be placed somewhere, though it may be abused; to prevent its exercise in any thing of real moment, because it may by possibility be injuriously directed, would be as unsafe in practice, as the plea on which that restraint is justified is false in reasoning.

"To deny the salutary power of civil rulers in things of chief moment in the common interests of men, so far as they are left to human arbitration, because men may abuse their power and pervert their reason, would be to impeach all governments, and to

renounce the use of reason also. Men must consent about the first, and they must use their reason though it may mislead them; for what else shall be their guide? God never gave a rule to supersede it. It is in the hand of God alone to guide and govern all things with unerring truth and wisdom, according to his gracious word and sacred promise to his Church and household." P. 17.

For a further elucidation of the important subject before him, the Archdeacon refers his hearers

"To the judgment of our own Divines, but more especially as their sense has been collected and enforced by the pen of Hooker, of whose work what was remarked of Barrow might have been as truly said, that he left nothing for others to supply. And so stood the matter, until men grew weary of walking in one track, and until one eminent Divine of our own Church, who would never tread in any man's steps, professed to give a model of his own." P. 17.

In the remainder of his Charge, the Archdeacon shews the points of difference between the doctrines held by Hooker and Warburton on this subject; and gives his suffrage for the former, as best according with Scripture, reason, and the judgment conformable to both, upon which the model of our own happy and well settled government in Church and State has been established. Hooker maintains that, though the Church and the Commonwealth be in themselves distinct and separate societies, there is no reason why one and the same person, or governing power, may not bear principal sway in both. He shews that

" 'The heathen had their spiritual laws and causes always severed from the temporal: but this did not constitute two independent states among them.' He makes the same remark concerning Israel, and observes that, as this was the case 'where the Lord himself appointed both the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction; some reason must be alleged why it should be otherwise in the Church of Christ.' He then lays down this as 'the principle which the Church and commonwealth of this realm have decidedly adopted;' and he asks, 'whether in order to defeat the whole pretension which rests upon the perpetual reason and the constant ends of government, and hath the clear example of all states sacred and profane, it can be thought that kings by embracing Christianity, do thereby receive any such law as takes away from them the weightiest part of their sovereignty: whether being infidel, they might do more in causes of religion, than now they can being true Believers, whether they must submit to a domestic or a foreign head, and be subject either to their subjects, or to

mander of another country, and that in the chiefest things wherein commonwealths do stand.'

"Bishop Warburton 'maintains that the distinction between the societies is necessary and perpetual, which Hooker does not deny: but he will not admit with Hooker, that it is natural and proper that the Sovereign Power, in all things not excepted by divine appointment, should retain their right of government over all persons and in all causes: nor will he grant that where the state is Christian, the same person who bears the chief sway has the right to rule as supreme over the Church. On the contrary, instead of maintaining with the whole stream of our best writers and divines the common right in this respect of sovereign princes, and the fit controul of Christian powers in Christian states upon the ground of this right, and on the score of mutual duty, he contends for a voluntary compact, in which the Church resigns her independence for protection. He makes the whole supremacy to be the result of this agreement. This is the peculiar feature of his scheme and constitutes its marked difference from that of Hooker. It lies open to much inconvenience, and is entangled with some inconsistency when he comes to replace, as he does, in every point, the leading principles which he professes to neglect: for whoever will look with attention through the work of Bishop Warburton, will find that after much shew of variation from preceding writers, and some marks of contempt too for their judgment, he replaces one by one, in remoter parts of his treatise, every stone which he professes to cast out from the first foundation of his own design. There is this main inconvenience in his scheme, that what rests upon no fixed ground of common right, may be disputed without end. But surely it is just as reasonable to suppose with Mr. Hooker, that nothing hinders but that Christian princes may bear sway in Christian states, the voice of nature directing that there should be but one Sovereign Power in one state, and the Church never having had a privilege against this; as it is to suppose with Bishop Warburton, that Supreme Powers may rule upon compact or agreement, and that the Church may yield its privileges for the sake of the protection given. The author of the Alliance grants that without that protection, the Church could not long subsist as a society, and yet he will not allow the provision made to this effect to have been appointed by the laws of Providence. He refers us for the grounds of it to mutual consent for mutual benefit. Such is the chief particular for the sake of which this ingenious writer makes a shew of forsaking all preceding authorities, though in fact, having amply proved the point of mutual benefit, which has never been disputed, he comes round to the same position which had been before so well established and defended." P. 20.

The Archdeacon then proceeds to sum up Hooker's argument.

"The sum of Mr. Hooker's judgment appears then to be, that

the Christian dispensation did not take away the original authority and just rights of civil governors; but left to them all such power as they ever had over all persons and causes, with the necessary exceptions of those things which are determined and provided by the laws of God, whose own word, in such particular respects, prevents that total devolution of authority which both Locke and Warburton appear to think might take place where any right for prescribing in such things, should be granted." P. 20.

And again,

"Mr. Hooker never denies that God hath prescribed for the government of the Church the standing and perpetual laws of his revealed will, of which the Scripture is the sole depository. He shews plainly that there are ministerial powers invested in the spiritual Pastor which can belong to no other.

"He draws this conclusion, 'that for the received laws and liberties of the Church, the King hath supreme authority, but against them, never.'

"In a word the personal union of the Church and Commonwealth, where the same individuals compose both, cannot be denied: but this does not destroy the natural distinction of societies, or cancel those rights which belong essentially to each. The spiritual Pastor retains his privilege of which he cannot be divested, and the sovereign Power keeps its supremacy within those limits which the word of God, and the known ends of government must always put. It is impossible to deny that this Supremacy may be exercised in things relating to religion by the Sovereign Power in Christian States, unless we will take one of these opinions, either that the Christian character itself excludes all such dominion; or restrains it to a fancied reign of Christ on earth, distinct from his universal rule; or confines it to his Ministers alone; or vests it in some supposed vicegerent to whom it is thought to be derived. All these notions have had their turn in the world, and are most opposite to Scripture, reason, and the judgment (conformable to both) upon which the model of our own happy and well settled government in Church and State, hath been established.

"Thus by defending the capacity and privileges of Sovereign Power to bear sway in all causes, that are left free to discretion, and by shewing at the same time the perpetual exception as to things determined and provided by Divine authority, Mr. Hooker has for ever overthrown both the wild suggestions of Erastian theorists, and the groundless claim of a perpetual empire in the Church, independent, even in Christian countries, on the Sovereign Power." P. 24.

The concluding passage of the Charge is as follows:

"Whatever may be the wish of any man to grant indulgences, for which no man feels more heartily inclined than I do, even to the utmost point beyond which it may be impossible to go further,

and yet preserve the limits which have been so hardly won from inroad and encroachment, yet let us look well to fixed and well laid principles; for if they shall be weakened or conceded it may cost a bitter strife for their recovery. The value of things once yielded is ill learned by the loss itself which takes place, and by the consequences which ensue." P. 27.

We have given this extract with pleasure, and we fully accord with its spirit. At the same time, we do not hesitate to express our solemn and deliberate conviction, a conviction, as we believe, not formed on slight grounds; certainly not with unbecoming haste, or upon a mere superficial examination of the question; that greater indulgences cannot be safely granted; because we have already arrived at that "point, beyond which it is impossible to go further, and at the same time to preserve the limits which have been so hardly won from inroad and encroachment."

The Dissertations and Collections which form the larger portion of this volume, are intended to illustrate the main subject of the Charge, by producing the sentiments of the most illustrious writers on the question which it discusses; and at the same time to justify the observations which the Archdeacon has thought it right to make upon "the alliance" of Bishop Warburton, by some references to the work itself. He has thought it necessary to apologize for the length to which these dissertations and collections have been extended, and the disproportionate size of them as compared with the Charge which they are intended to illustrate.

The apology we will venture to say was unnecessary. Every reader who wishes to investigate this important, and in some respects difficult question, will feel grateful to the Archdeacon for the materials which he has thus accumulated; and the judgment with which he has selected, from many ponderous volumes, the sentiments of men who have long been considered as the greatest authorities on such subjects.

Taking the known rule of St. Augustin as the text on which his comments are to be raised; "in hoc Reges Deo servire, in quantum Reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant; non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ pertinent ad divinam religionem*;" the Archdeacon shews how ably it was explained and defended by the illustrious writers of our own Church, in that most learned period of her history which comprises the interval from the accession of Elizabeth to the Resto-

* "August. Contr. Cresçon. lib. 3. c. 51."

ration. He appeals to Whitgift and Bancroft; he produces at some length the opinions of Jewell, who in defending his Apology against Harding, takes up this cause; and he cites several passages from Bishop Bilson, whose judgment was formed on a most accurate knowledge of the history of the primitive Church, and a clear view of the difference between the offices of lay and spiritual governors, and the supremacy which the former might lawfully exercise without interfering with the peculiar functions of the latter. The same line of argument was pursued by the learned Bishop Andrews, by Bishop Carleton, Archbishop Bramhall, Jeremy Taylor, and Falkner. From the well known, and unanswerable treatise of Isaac Barrow he cites but one short passage, as he had before appealed to his authority in his Charge, and as a subsequent section of this Appendix is chiefly occupied by a selection of extracts from this work and his discourse of the unity of the Church. Having thus produced the testimony of some of the ablest divines of our Church, the next author whom he cites is the unhappy Charles 1st. who had studied the nature, privileges, and powers of the Christian Church with great attention, and was eminently qualified to give a correct opinion on the subject under consideration.

"There is an authority" says the Archdeacon, "to which I shall now refer, which appears to me in a very special manner to explain most happily what Bishop Warburton makes to be a matter of concession. That which Bishop Warburton makes to be a voluntary cession of some part of the natural independency of the Church, and which Bishop Bilson intimates to be no more than an application of the natural right of Sovereign Powers where the Christian faith is entertained, 'acting thereby with a better qualified exertion of their general care for sacred things;' this is more distinctly stated in the answer of King Charles the First, to the Commissioners at the Isle of Wight. Nothing can be more exact than that reply. It runs thus, 'his Majesty sees no necessity that the Bishops, challenge to the power of jurisdiction should be at all times as large as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have been; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times; and therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes do challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their ecclesiastical office precisely, as was exercised in the primitive time by Bishops before the days of Constantine. The reason of the difference being evident, that in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct body of itself divided from the Commonwealth, and was governed by its own rules and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over men's persons—

estates, yet in as much as every Christian man when he became a member of the Church did ipso facto, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their government, they exercised a very large power of jurisdiction in spiritualities; in making ecclesiastical canons; receiving accusations; convening the accused; examining witnesses; judging of crimes; excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lord's Supper, enjoining penances upon them; casting them out of the Church; receiving them again upon their repentance. But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Commonwealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the civil and ecclesiastical Powers, the jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto and limitable by the Supreme Civil Power, and hath been and is at this day so acknowledged by the Bishops of this realm *." This accurate and perspicuous determination of a question in which that Prince was so well skilled, was written but a few months before the close of his eventful life: it was written by one who at his greatest need, and when deprived of all helps from his own eminent Divines, knew well how to state and defend such points against all opponents and under every present disadvantage." P. 38.

The last writer of this period whom the Archdeacon brings forward is Mason; that wise master builder, as his quibble-loving sovereign used to call him, who, in his "Vindication of the Church of England," has drawn an accurate distinction between the power claimed for the civil magistrate, and the right use of this power; and has asserted that the authority of Christian kings in this particular cannot be less than that of the Jewish rulers. As the latter were, "Supremi Gubernatores in rebus ecclesiasticis, proinde similis honor piis regibus sub evangelio quoque est tribuendus †." P. 41.

To the testimony of writers of our own communion, the Archdeacon subjoins that also of others of our country, unhappily divided from us, but bearing a like suffrage with us in this respect. He shews that the London ministers in 1647, in their joint work concerning the divine right of Church government, maintained very fully the common right of the supreme power in the state, in things relating to religion. They take a methodical view of the subject, and distinctly establish each of the four fundamental principles which the Archdeacon has laid down in his charge. And they add in conclusion, that

"This is not their private judgment, or the opinion of some few particular persons touching the granting or bounding the magistrates

* "Lib. 3. ch. 1. s. 1."

† "King Charles the First's Third Paper at the Isle of Wight."

power about matters of religion; but with us we have the suffrage of many reformed Churches, who in their confessions of faith published to the world do fully and clearly express themselves to the the same effect." P. 45.

He brings forward Baxter, as holding the same opinions: and Prynne, as citing the authority of history to shew that, even in the time of Mary, bigoted as she was to the views, and subservient in other respects to the claims of Popery, the Convocation did nothing in matters of doctrine or discipline, but what the queen first directed. He then produces the same acute disputant arguing for the supremacy in ecclesiastical as well as civil matters from the case of the Jews, and of all Christian kings and magistrates under the Gospel.

He proves that the Presbyteries (and it was against their usurpations he was contending) could not claim more, than the Jewish High Priest and Levites hold under the law, nor grant less, to the magistrate under the Gospel, than divine authority gave to the godly king and magistrate under the law. Such a claim on their part, and such a refusal would lead, as he declares, to a tyranny equal in extent to that of Popery; and then, he exclaims, "the Lord have mercy upon us miserable sinners, we may sooner bewail than remove that spiritual yoke of bondage which we thus suffer voluntarily to be imposed on our own and others necks *." P. 49.

While Prynne was thus reasoning against the usurping demands set forth by the congregational divines as a body, some of them individually adopted the same sentiment. Names of no less note than Philip Nye, Stephen Marshall, and his editor George Firmin are cited by the Archdeacon: and their opinions are expressed with all the acuteness and force which characterized the writings of these able, but violent and factious persons. Returning to writers who, though laymen, were members of the Church of England, he next gives a summary of Sir R. Twysden's argument in his Vindication of the Church of England. Who, first establishing the fact of the supremacy having been exercised by the Christian emperors, then shews by a distinct view of the laws of this realm from Edward the Confessor, proceeding through every code since extant, that the outward policy or government of the Church in *foro exteriori* was ever understood by this nation to have much depended on the king. That it was so admitted at the Reformation is notorious from all the proceedings of the time, which were so far mistaken or wilfully

* "Diotrephes Catechized, p. 15."

misrepresented by the enemies of the Church, both Popish and Protestant, that she was taunted with having a parliament religion, a parliament Gospel, a parliament faith, a state reformation. But, as he shews, the state never interfered beyond its province. The articles of our faith were framed in our own synods, and by our ecclesiastical authorities before they were confirmed and legalized by the state: and the peculiar offices of our spiritual rulers were not invaded, though in the exercise of them they were properly held in subjection to the one supreme power in the nation. The next great lay authority which he cites is the illustrious Clarendon; who, in a work entirely devoted to the consideration of this subject, has accurately defined the power of the rulers in Church and State, and vindicated the claims of the civil governor against the usurpations of the See of Rome. Having thus fortified his positions by authorities which no judicious reasoner will undervalue, and few will be bold enough to resist; in the second section the Archdeacon undertakes to make good what he has advanced respecting Warburton's celebrated work, by some references to its language and reasoning. This is a most important part of the volume, as it brings forward with deserved commendation, the many excellent arguments and positions of Warburton's treatise; and at the same time shews, that the passages which seem open to reasonable objection, as professing to set aside principles which had obtained before, and are more agreeable to reason and scripture than the theory which the Bishop attempted to build upon their ruin, are in fact every one of them indirectly replaced by himself in different parts of his work. Although then the examination instituted by the Archdeacon may point out some inconsistencies in the Bishop's mode of reasoning; it at least deprives those writers of his support, who have endeavoured by his arguments to supersede a system which was irreconcileable with their own; and which places the constitution of England in Church and State, as at present established under one supreme head, on solid and impregnable ground. It shews, that the ingenious and powerful mind of the Bishop, though in this, as in other remarkable instances, it disdained the beaten path, and chose to pursue a method of its own; could not overstep the truth, or part with that support which was necessary to the subject under its consideration.

With this object in view, the Archdeacon first extracts those parts of Warburton's work, wherein he disallows or overlooks the principles which others, and Hooker more par-

ticularly had ably maintained; and then brings forward his proofs that, in other parts of the treatise he has carefully restored what he had seemed to lay aside. He has performed this part of his undertaking with great candour and fairness: and the following observations will shew, that it is far from his wish to undervalue the stupendous talents, or depreciate the valuable labours of this powerful writer.

"Having ventured thus to offer some remarks concerning the Bishop's treatise, let it not be thought that they breathe a spirit of disrespect for that very learned and distinguished Prelate. If his theory has been questioned, it has been disputed upon the authority of preceding writers no less eminent, from all of whom he professes to differ. The best arguments in his book will remain good, though the singularities be laid aside. Nor should I have meddled at this time with a work long since written, were it not for this particular reason, that from those singularities which he advances, various adversaries draw their means of offence. Opponents of all sorts appeal to his treatise as to the chief work of our divines upon this subject. It is therefore extremely necessary to have it understood, that it differs widely in those very points of which such assailants avail themselves, from the sentiments of foregoing writers of the established Church. Thus they who wish to unsettle some of the fences of the Establishment, take care to bring up the matter of alliance as stated in the scheme of Warburton; and as it is there said to rest upon the ground of voluntary union, with much concession made for mutual benefit; they refer to this as the last and best work which we have upon this subject; and then declare immediately that they should give their voice in such a treaty, against the alliance; for that the several parties, in their opinion, can only come together for the worse: whereas upon the ancient and true ground, there is no room for this debate. The chief power in every State is there left to its perpetual rights of Sovereignty; and the chartered rights and essential privileges of the Church, are established on the word of God. The alliance therefore springs, in this view, from reciprocal and necessary duties; and a mutual advantage follows. It becomes therefore eminently necessary to vindicate these solid principles. "Stand in the old ways," is sound scripture, and true wisdom. The rules of reason then, which are applicable to all governments; the testimony of sacred Scripture in the page of prophecy; the pattern of the old Israel in things of common obligation; the law of the land, and its ancient usages before the papal usurpation; these grounds of the Sovereign right will suffice for us, and well understood and properly defended, may defy all cavils. If we wanted any foreign witness or example, can we forget the stand made in an age not far distant from our own, by the parliaments of France against the Papal Power, when the Sovereign was dis-

posed to yield the rights of the Supremacy *? Or have we lost sight of the exceptions made in Spain and elsewhere to the decrees of the Trent council: by which exceptions they chose to renounce the infallible authority of the council on some points, rather than to yield the sovereign privilege of their respective States. That good service to the cause of truth was wrought by a firm adherence to the principles of sovereign right. It is the complaint of some that the same principles wrought more largely for the Reformation in this land: if this were so, it is the best eulogy for the maxims we defend." P. 75.

Having thus justified his own positions, and given to Warburton the praise which is his due, at the same time that he has guarded against the mischievous advantage which may be taken by the adversary of the singularity and novelty of his statements, and the boldness of some of his positions; he does not forget to profit by the masterly and effectual refutation which the Bishop's work contains of the schemes of those, who had opposed that which in substance he maintained, though in a manner peculiar to himself. For this purpose, he refers to the parts of the Alliance in which the notions of the Bishop coincide with those for which he is contending; and where he defeats opponents who have deviated more widely and injuriously from the line of argument before pursued. We regret the impossibility of conveying to our readers any adequate idea of the manner in which this is accomplished; but we should do injury to that cause which he has so meritoriously laboured to serve, did we induce any persons to rest satisfied with the superficial view of his reasoning which alone we could supply, if we attempted to compress it within our accustomed limits. The main difference however between the views of Warburton, and those who have preceded him, may perhaps be thus shortly stated.

The original independence of the Church as a Society, is maintained by all the best writers on the subject: but Hooker, and those who harmonize with him contend, that, this independence has its natural boundaries, and is not impeached by that subjection, in some respects, which brings all persons and all causes in one state under one supremacy residing in the Sovereign Power. Some, however, especially the Roman Catholic writers assert, that the independence of the Church has no such limits, and that her visible head on earth, the Pope, holds the supremacy in all ecclesiastical causes and spiritual matters: while others again, advance the points of Sovereign right in Princes and States so far, as to exclude

* "See Burnet's Rights of Princes."

all traces of remaining independence in the Church, and either to deny its powers and privileges in point of government, or transfer them to the State. Warburton on the other hand maintains, that the Church has yielded her independence to the State by voluntary compact for a special benefit. While it is not difficult to shew, that the Bishop himself admits all the principles on which Hooker, and the writers who agree with him have built their doctrine of the right of the Supreme Power to interfere with controuling authority in all causes, and over all persons for its own security, and the common purposes of all good government; his arguments may be adduced to demolish entirely the divided sovereignty for which the Roman Catholic pleads, as they maintain, that the original independence of the Church has been surrendered by a voluntary compact. And they are equally adverse to the notions of those who put no limits to the civil power, and speak of it as if it would admit of none; as they take it for granted, as it were, that the two Societies still subsist entire, though in subordination of one to the other; and plead that, on this account, it seems agreeable to natural equity that no alteration should be made in Church Government without the consent of both.

"The Bishop having shewn that our Lord's declaration 'My kingdom is not of this world,' was calculated to shew the independence of his kingdom in its essential interests upon all civil communities, and its whole distinction from the Kingdom of God in Israel, which was administered with temporal rewards and punishments, adds, 'the very reason which made it proper for the Mosaic religion to be united to the state, made it fit that the Christian should be left free and independent. But for what end, if not for this, to be at liberty to adapt itself to the many various kinds of civil policies by a suitable union and alliance; whereby the famous prophecy of Isaiah might receive its ultimate completion: 'thus saith the Lord of Hosts, behold I will lift up my hand to the Gentile, and set up my standard to the people; and kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers.' An alliance then we must conclude the Christian Church to be at liberty to make with the State, notwithstanding the declared nature of Christ's kingdom. So far is indeed true, that it is debarred from entering into any alliance with the State that may admit any legislator into Christ's kingdom but himself, which would make his kingdom of this world: but by our alliance, no such power is granted, and therefore an established religion is no violation of this famous declaration *.'

* E. 2. ch. 4. p. 179.

It is, as we before observed, but a cold conclusion from these last particulars of the pattern of Israel and the word of prophecy, that they shew that men were left at liberty to form the union we contend for, and the reason which he gives, though partly true, is quite misapplied. It is true that the method of government in Israel was not to oblige others, and that men were left to form their own: but it is not true that the sovereign right should not subsist in every government, and this destroys his narrow application. But the peculiarity of the Bishop's notions in some respects would not permit him to adopt the pattern in any way but that of approbation; and yet no one shews more plainly the necessity for this union for the interests both of Church and State.

Enough then has been produced from this able and ingenious work, to shew that its author has not taken the civil supremacy entirely from its old foundations, though he builds after his own fashion. Allowing him his privilege, we find that he is never far from the truth as it subsists in practice, and where he seems to decline acknowledged principles, it is by maxims which have a ground of truth, and may be usefully applied. He abounds with excellent remarks, and has made good in the main a vigorous defence of the establishment against very different kinds of adversaries. What has been said has not been marked, I trust, with disrespect, or any want of deference for superior talents; but has had for its aim to guard against the mischiefs of departing from those solid and consistent principles, the grounds of which the learned Prelate could not but admit. In attempting this I shall not, I hope, be taxed with arrogance or indiscretion when I have kept closely to authorities which even Warburton might have been well satisfied to follow, and which he certainly has not been able to supersede." P. 97.

In the course of his examination of Bishop Warburton's positions and reasoning, the author has been led also to make many references to the opinions and arguments of Mr. Plowden.

He concedes to this writer the praise of ingenuity, considerable talent, and great candour in several parts of his work; but he convicts him of having adopted the chief particulars in which Warburton unhappily differs from preceding writers of the best name; and of exceeding him in the measure of his misconceptions. He proves also that, even while he deals severely with Warburton for many of his positions, he is induced by the necessity of maintaining his own system, to overlook the very point to which his arguments against the Bishop would seem to lead him; and to evade the force of inferences fairly to be drawn from his own reasoning, by using the erroneous conclusions of the very author whom it is the object of that reasoning to condemn. The question,

how far the commands of the civil power are binding upon the conscience of the subject, falls under the consideration of the Archdeacon as he pursues his investigation; and his attention is thus called to some positions laid down by Blackstone in his introductory chapter which seem, as he says, to "put very narrow limits to the ties of conscience in these respects." Blackstone remarks, that "in regard to natural duties, and such offences as are *mala in se*, here we are bound in conscience, because we are bound by superior laws, before those human laws were in being, to perform the one and abstain from the other." P. 103. "But, in relation to those laws which enjoin only positive duties, and forbid only such things as are not *mala in se*, but *mala prohibita*, merely annexing a penalty to non-compliance; here, says he, I apprehend conscience is no further exercised, than by directing a submission to the penalty in case of a breach of these laws." P. 104. Against this position the Archdeacon argues, as it appears to us, very conclusively, that if a law be known, and there be any general bond of conscience between the civil ruler and the subject, which is admitted to be the case, it is not easy then to see how the guilt is excluded in such instances of wilful trespass.

We are commanded to fear God and honour the King; but as the author well puts his question,

> "What is honouring the King, but keeping his laws: or to what would our reverence amount, if we should dispense with that circumstance? With respect also to the notion of civil laws binding only to penalty, if it be levied, surely it is obedience to the law, and not submission to the penalty, which forms the primary object of all laws, and the aim of all who have a competent authority to command. When the penitent young man in the parable, is made to say, 'Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and before thee,' does the latter circumstance go for nothing? Grotius grants an accumulative power to bind the conscience in all such cases." P. 106.

We must refer our reader to the section itself for many other useful remarks upon Mr. Plowden's reasoning; and many passages of considerable value which the Archdeacon has produced from his volume. The following observations on the principle of test laws, and the extent to which they may be justly applied, will show that Mr. Plowden can at times be as candid, as he always is ingenious. Perhaps, when he wrote the concluding paragraph of the extract, he did not clearly see how forcibly the argument it contains may be urged by the Church of England against the claims of the

Roman Catholics. But, the rule he there lays down is too just to be controverted; it is built upon the natural and unalienable right of all societies to defend themselves; and its application never can be questioned, where reasonable ground of apprehending the evil against which it is to guard can be produced.

"No nonconformist with the established religion, can admit that a test law is the necessary consequence of a civil establishment of religion; or that a test law does not operate as positive hardship and punishment upon those whom it excludes from the advantages of the State: but the nonconformist does not therefore question the right and duty of the Legislature, to impose, in certain circumstances, this hardship and punishment upon some for the general good of the whole. The judgment of the Civil Magistrate upon the exigency of these circumstances must be regulated by his own discretion and conviction, which will generally therefore differ from the judgment and feeling of the sufferers, who will of course be the minority of the Community. Although the judgment of the excluded Dissenter will probably differ from that of the majority upon the expediency or necessity of applying the principle, yet will he not therefore deny the principle itself*."

He remarks as fairly, that "if the parties excluded by a test law be reasonably presumed by the State to be obnoxious, mischievous, or dangerous to be admitted into the common participation of its advantages, than as long as such reasonable presumption or conviction lasts, so long, and no longer, is it the duty of a Civil Magistrate to keep on footing a test law †." P. 135.

We pass over the author's observations on some statements made by the celebrated Leslie in his case of the Regale, and avail ourselves of the little room yet left us to introduce the following passage which appears to sum up the contents of the section, and to place the position for which the Archdeacon contends on a firm, intelligible, and satisfactory basis.

"The principles before detailed, but more especially from the view which Hooker gives of them, neither suppose the whole management of spiritual concerns to be arbitrary in the body of Christians, which appears to be the sense of some; nor to be so determined in all points that there is nothing left free to discretion; nor do they constitute two several impaled societies in one Christian Community, so as to establish two independent estates in one realm: they vindicate to the Civil Ruler that care and jurisdiction which belong to him of right, which bears an inseparable relation to religion as the great foundation of society, in recognising which,

* P. 386. † P. 388.

the scheme of Warburton is much to be preferred to any of those which have been noticed as deviations from the first established principles. The Civil Ruler, then, has this care and jurisdiction in his own right; it was the denying this as it applies to every dispensation of religion, and more especially to that which God hath furnished for the succour and salvation of mankind, in which the place for it is so evidently marked out by the plainest intimations of the word of God as well as by the rules of precedent in things neither local nor peculiar to the Jewish people—it was this denial, which led to the peculiarities of a scheme which rests on voluntary compacts, of which I will add no more, than, that if there were no other, better ground, as indeed there is, I should think that of Warburton sufficient, and much to be preferred to every other scheme which stands in opposition to the principles which have descended to a late age in our Church. If the Civil Ruler's Power in matters of religion be in any manner restrained, it is restrained by the word of God himself, not in matters of natural equity, but in such things as the positive and prescribed rules of Christ's kingdom and the covenant of grace require; nor does the Christian charter in providing and prescribing such things, set aside the sole Supremacy of the Civil Ruler in each State, or destroy his proper power to require obedience, for conscience sake, in all things lawful, and conducive to the common welfare both in Church and State. Of the received laws and liberties of the Church of Christ, contained in its public charter, the written word of God forms the perpetual rule and standard, with which whatever is provided in the Church under any form of its subsistence, must agree, or lose its binding power. In a word, the personal union which has been noticed where one people compose the several societies, does not destroy the natural and perpetual distinction of the two societies, or cancel those rights which have the warrant of divine prescription: nor yet does the independency of the Church in such respects, destroy the right of Sovereign Power in things relating to religion, within those limits which the word of God, and the known ends of government must always put. What is said by Mr. Hooker, that 'the Jewish people was not part of them the Commonwealth, and part of them the Church, but the self-same people whole and entire under one chief governor:' must not be construed, nor was it so intended by him, as if the two cases were exactly parallel when the comparison is made between the old Israel and the new. In the old Israel, it is true, the society was but one, under one law and charter; but this is not true of Christian States, in which the civil and ecclesiastical societies remain distinct in many eminent respects; though the same persons be members of both, and though all be subject to one Sovereign Power." P. 147.

From the testimonies of our own Divines, the archdeacon passes to those of foreign writers maintaining the same principles. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth sections, he gives the

opinions of Grotius, Puffendorf, Burlamaqui, and De Marca on the point. Without defending every one of the positions of Grotius, he shews that, in the main particulars, he has fully established those grounds which are here advanced; and chiefly that of the common right of Sovereign Powers, concerning which he says that "nothing is exempt from Sovereign controul."

When having argued rightly for the supremacy of the Sovereign Power in all states, he goes further, and makes all rule and government in things relating to religion to be an emanation from the civil authority; "this," says the Archdeacon, is "a march to the camp of Erastus in which we must be excused from following the learned Grotius; unless you will understand him of things which are given by the Civil Ruler, but do not belong to the pastoral commission." P. 156. And he proves, that these remarks are wholly inconsistent with his admissions respecting the inherent right of every society, and of the Church as such, to legislate for itself in things left free, and with a due conformity to the written word. Grotius indeed labours diligently to remove all substantial ground of Church authority; and the Archdeacon produces sufficient proofs of his ingenuity. But he further adds, and surely in language not too strong for the occasion, that there are so many hard "strains, so much awkward concession, and so much self contradiction, that the bare perusal must discover to us the subterfuges of a labouring cause." P. 161.

Puffendorf has been sometimes ranked with those who entirely separate the concerns of Christianity from those of the State: But in his work on "the nature and qualifications of religion in reference to civil society," he says what is abundantly sufficient to all the purposes of the civil supremacy on the grounds which our writers have maintained; though he gives "those tostimonies rather as what could not be denied or avoided, and therefore his suffrage is the more to be esteemed." P. 178.

Burlamaqui, who has written, says the Archdeacon, with great clearness and simplicity on the subject, contends that, "if matters of religion have in several respects need of human regulation, the right of finally determining them can only belong to the Sovereign." P. 195. But that "the Sovereign cannot assume to himself an empire over consciences, as if it was in his power to impose the necessity of believing such or such an article in matters of religion. Nature itself, and the divine laws are equally contrary to this pretension." P. 198.

The name of De Marca, and the merits of his work appear to Archdeacon Pott to be so considerable, that he devotes an entire section to the developement of his opinions.

The work may be allowed to speak for itself; and its authority fortunately does not depend upon the character of its author, but upon the cogency of his arguments, and the correctness of his views. He does not perhaps deserve all the severity with which he has been spoken of by some: but a man who could prevaricate, for that is the softest word which the Archdeacon can persuade himself to use, in order to obtain preferment; and could condescend to flatter and cajole the Pope by a seeming retractation of his opinions for the sake of securing a Bishoprick, at the same time that he had the art not to surrender their substance, was guilty of a double treachery which induces us to receive his testimony with distrust, and not to be very proud of his support. But, whatever may be our opinion of De Marca as a man, as a writer his learning and talents undoubtedly entitle him to respect. And we are much indebted to the venerable Archdeacon for having traced his opinions through a volume which few have within their reach, and fewer still will study with the diligence required to separate the sounder parts of his argument from the hay and stubble which the weakness of his character prompted him to mingle with more precious materials.

In the sixth section, the Archdeacon has given a series of extracts from the valuable work of Barrow; thus bringing together in a connected shape the several passages scattered throughout the treatise, and the discourse on the unity of the Church appended to it. To these he adds the evidence produced by Archbishops Usher, Brerewood, Bucer, and Hammond, respecting the Metropolitical government. On this point, Barrow had spoken with some hesitation; considering it rather as an introduction of human prudence, following considerations of public necessity or utility, than as an apostolical institution. When the evidence thus collected in its favour is carefully weighed, especially that of the learned Hammond, in his comprehensive treatise on Schism, as the Archdeacon justly calls it, probably the doubt suggested by the cautious language of Barrow will be removed. In the seventh and last section of his volume, the Archdeacon collects the sentiments of Leslie from his Letter to the Bishop of Meaux; and the remarks which that Prelate drew from Bishop Bull, in answer to the hope which he had expressed (whether politely or insidiously we will not determine) of "the conversion of that eminent divine to what he is pleased

to call the Church, with exclusive claims for that of Rome." The concluding extracts are from the pen of Bishop Stillingfleet, "a Prelate," says the author, "not less eminent in every branch of learning, and distinguished equally by his wisdom, and his great and shining talents." P. 327.

When we look back upon the mass of valuable evidence which the Archdeacon has accumulated, we can readily assent to his concluding observation, that "the labour has not been slight to trace this subject." It is a labour however which must not be appreciated merely by its severity, however great, but by its utility. And this no man will be disposed to undervalue, who considers the vital importance of that question which it is our lot to hear annually discussed by the Legislature; or has observed the strange want of correct information respecting the fundamental principles on which the whole fabrick of our Protestant Constitution in Church and State is built, exhibited in the progress of that discussion. If it be in truth a distinctive tenet of the Roman Church, that she is the mother and mistress of all Churches, and the source and centre of Catholic unity, as her best writers assert; and if that tenet is false, and the claim itself a mere usurpation, with no warrant of Scriptural or historical authority to support it; why should we re-forge the fetters which our Fathers broke, or from a vain wish of conciliation take that yoke upon us which they found so intolerable? We know we shall be told, that no such servitude is preparing for us by those who call for further concessions, or meditated by those who advocate them. Our answer is this: The Roman Catholic defines the Church to be an assembly of Christians united in the profession of the same faith, and the communion of the same sacraments, under the rule of lawful pastors, *of whom the Pope of Rome is the first* *. He believes, that *out of this Church salvation is not to be hoped for*, or obtained †. He therefore considers himself bound by duty to the Church, and by charity to his brethren, to tolerate no other communion; and to bring all within that pale to which, according to his belief, salvation is confined. Grant him power, and he will, nay conscientiously, according to his view of the case, he is bound to exert it for this end; and to bow our Protestant independent Church of England

* Ecclesia merito quidem a Catholicis definitur, Christianorum cœtus ejusdem fidei professione et eorumdem sacramentorum communione conjunctorum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, *quorum primus est Romanus Pontifex.*
Tractatus de Eccles. Christi. L. D. Delahogue, p. 3.

† Ista sola societas est ipsius (Christi) Ecclesia, *extra quam non est speranda salus.*—Ibid. p. 4.

under the dominion of "the mother and mistress of all Churches."

That the supremacy he thus claims for the Roman Church does not of right belong to her, is sufficiently proved by the host of witnesses which the Archdeacon of London has arrayed before us. That she will never forego her claim to it, never cease to assert it when she can, and as far as she is able, her whole history shews; nay all her proceedings throughout the lengthened struggle for restoration to political power which she has, and is still maintaining against us, render the fact indisputable. How then can it be consistently asserted, that such is not her object; that the chains are not forging for the limbs, and the yoke preparing for the necks of Protestants, while she thus proudly, pertinaciously, and vigorously pursues her road to dominion? As a Church, she has nothing to look for in this country but supremacy; nothing to wish for but the influence and emoluments which supremacy will confer. Place them then within her reach, by investing her with the rod of authority, and it is as clear as history and experience can make it, that she will not neglect the opportunity which the folly of some, and the carelessness of others have furnished. Among the protestant advocates for these dangerous claims are to be found many, who, upon all other political questions are fond of reverting to abstract principles. The Archdeacon has enabled them to discover the real principles on which our Protestant Establishment was formed, and that supremacy civil and ecclesiastical which they would wantonly invade, was, as our ancestors fondly hoped, inseparably annexed, as its proudest jewel, to the British Crown. They have now no excuse for those mischievous misconceptions which have hitherto led them astray. And if they persevere, on them will be the shame and guilt of that fearful struggle which will be the too probable consequence of their success; a struggle of which no man can foresee the duration, or prophesy the event.

ART. VI. *Classical Excursion from Rome to Arpino, by Charles Kelsall. Geneva.* 8vo. pp. 256. 1820.

ON his visit to Arpino Mr. Kelsall was very scurvily treated by "mine host of the garter" in that town. The apartment which he had in fancy secured for his own private comfort

the inn, was transferred during his absence on classical investigations, to the use of a company of strolling players. Scarron himself could not have taken the invasion more easily. Mr. Kelsall retreated, all houseless and supperless to a truss of hay in the adjoining stable; and employed himself, without a murmur, in catching fleas till the next morning.

All travellers, however, may not possess equal meekness; and as there is but one room, in one inn, in the whole town of Arpino, it is not improbable that the same circumstances may frequently recur. To bear with them is the part of a philosopher; to ameliorate them is the part of a philanthropist; and Mr. Kelsall whose fortitude is well matched by his benevolence, has shewn not only that he can submit to be flea-bitten himself, but that he will do all in his power to prevent the flea-bites of others.

When a projector has once fairly got a plan into his head, it is his own fault if he does not provide motives which shall secure its completion. Many a man who cares not a straw about fleas, will be persuaded that it is a point of honor "to develope art in an interesting and satisfactory manner," and to build a monument to Cicero in his own country; and it is for these ostensible reasons that Mr. Kelsall makes the following propositions for erecting a Ciceronian Caravansary at Arpino.

"1. That subscription-books be opened in the houses of the principal bankers in Europe.

"2. That the sum described shall not exceed 30,000*l.*

"3. That the house of Torlonia at Rome, be the central communicating, and finally receiving bank.

"4. That a committee of three of the first antiquaries, or connoisseurs in Rome, be appointed to name the artists, who shall send in designs for the frescoes about to be described." P. 215.

This Tullian Tontine when built, is to be dedicated "to the memory of Conyers Middleton, Ernestus and all the Biographers and Commentators of Cicero." The elevation consists of a central rotunda supported by wings; and the architectural details are very minutely filled up by the proposer. Fourteen frescoes (the subjects from Cicero's life,) will adorn the inner walls. In one the great orator is to be shewn "pelted with mud and stones by the populace," and in another, "he arrives at Agrigentum covered with dust and sweat." This selection is not a little creditable to the taste of the designer, and must be particularly stimulant to

the exertions of the fortunate artist who shall be called upon for its execution.

If this plan be approved, future travellers will find that there is "something *beyond* modern Rome worth visiting; something full as satisfactory as cross keys and tiaras in the Amalthea at Arpinum." Whether the plan *will* be approved, is perhaps somewhat doubtful: in the mean time we shall state in brief, what Mr. Kelsall has found already, to put him, who, in other respects, seems a mild spirited gentleman, so much out of humour with "cross keys and tiaras."

On arriving at the Ponte Molle in Rome, he saw a dead beggar; and by a very natural deduction condemned all hierarchical governments. Among the busts in the Campidoglio he paid particular reverence to one of the Emperor Julian: "a man of such rare endowments as to neutralise even the criticism of bigots; and who, had he lived another ten years, might have left effects on the religious and political systems of Europe, felt peradventure at this very hour." What effects the survival of the arch apostate might have had on the congress of Vienna, or the relations of Russia with the Porte, we leave diplomatists to resolve; but we cannot think that the Commissioners for enlarging Churches would have had their functions much diminished by it. But Julian is a fair catchword, and we looked for some such remark as the one we found.

The view of St. Peter's, suggested two reflections to Mr. Kelsall. One that "Voltaire was the first individual in modern Europe, who had the magnanimity to erect a temple to the Deity;" the other, that "the spirit of the catholic doctrine is too contracted to allow paying due respect to the first cause." From the difference between Mohammedanism and Christianity in this respect he drew the following consequences.

"Friendship of a devoted kind is not uncommon in Turkey; in Rome it is certainly rare. The testimonies of numerous travellers concur in stating that a low shop-keeper in Turkey scorns to ask even of a Christian, a greater sum than he would of a Turk. Most of the Roman shop-keepers turn foreigners to the best account they can. The Turk will sometimes rob by open force; but he scorns pilfering, as common at Rome as in London and Paris." P. 14.

Arpino is naturally proud of its distinguished townsmen. Several of the modern inhabitants have borne the *prænomina, Marco Tullio.* In the sack of Rome by Charles V., *Marco Tullio Cicerone* himself, a distinguished offi-

the town, cut off the hand of the governor of the castle of St. Angelo, by a single stroke of his sabre. In the wars between Ferdinand of Arragon and the House of Anjou, for the Neapolitan throne, Pius II. gave orders to his general to spare the *Arpinates.* " *Parce Arpinatibus ob Caii Marii, et Marci Tullii memoriam.* At present the municipal insignia are the three letters M. T. C.

Mr. Kelsall found the men of Arpino prompt in intellect, and fluent in discourse, and the women beautiful and fascinating. He read the tract *de Legibus* on the site of the Arpine Villa; and encouraged the following train of thought much, no doubt, to his edification.

" It is incontestable that many individuals in modern times, have taken incredible pains with their minds; but we search in vain, in the productions of thoes reputed the most successful, for the supported argumentative powers of Demosthenes, or the grandeur, variety, and rotundity of the Ciceronian periods. To what are we to attribute the failure? To our love of daintier food, and more luxurious habits, than the great men of antiquity? To our physical and mental inferiority? Or to the crippling that the mind suffers, from its more multiplied ramifications? It is not easy to determine. I ended the above reflections with the conviction, that a great and honest lawyer is of inestimable value, and forms the brightest ornament of every civilized state." P. 103.

We cannot follow Mr. Kelsall through his separate criticisms, however laconically they are given, on the works of Tully. It seems that we ought to consider the *De Natura Deorum*, as " one of the fair havens resorted to by those, whose *minds are buffeted by the contemplation of the obscurity*, that broods on our condition here below." As Mr. Kelsall's mind appears to be not unfrequently buffeted by obscurity, we doubt not that the *De Natura Deorum* is often consulted by him. It is a favourite treatise with us also: not indeed as a " fair haven;" for miserable indeed is he who hopes to find shelter from the storm of doubt in so fallacious an anchorage: but because it shows the " folly of the wise," and the imbecility of the most gigantic intellect, when it is applied to subjects which must ever lie in hopeless darkness, without " light from heaven."

Mr. Kelsall having exhausted Cicero's birth-place, made a voyage to Capri. Here he was better treated by his landlord than at Arpino. A jolly vintner accosted him on his landing with " *Signore, roba di Tiberio Cesare,*" and leading the way to his cellars, tapped a cask or two of his own wine. This reception was so much to the visitor's satisfaction, that we hear no proposal of a subscription for the

Spintriæ and *Sellarii*, which the traveller otherwise might have been tempted to restore as fit monuments of the imperial recluse.

ART. VII. *Memoirs of a Life, chiefly passed in Pennsylvania, within the last Sixty Years.* 8vo. pp. 440. 9s. 6d. Blackwood. Edinburgh. 1822.

ART. VIII. *A Visit to North America, and the English Settlements in Illinois, with a Winter Residence at Philadelphia; solely to ascertain the actual Prospects of the Emigrating Agriculturist, Mechanic, and Commercial Speculator. By Adlard Welby, Esq. South Rauceby, Lincolnshire.* 8vo. 14 plates. pp. 236. 10s. 6d. Drury. 1821.

THE first of these books may, perhaps, hold a distinguished rank among the products of the Trans-atlantic press: and we doubt not, it is a fair specimen of the average state of American Literature. Mr. Galt, however, perhaps, overrates it a little, in stating it to be "rich in the various excellencies of style, description, and impartiality," and in feeling assured that it "will obtain for its author no mean place among those who have added permanent lustre to the English language." This is not exactly the impression it has left upon our minds; but it is idle to quarrel about differences of taste; and, if Mr. Galt really thinks thus, he is, no doubt, quite right, in having republished the volume in Edinburgh; and we hope he has secured himself from the possibility of being undeceived by the unanswerable *argumentum ad crumenam*.

Be this as it may, we do not think we should have paid much attention to the Sexagenarian of Pennsylvania, if Mr. Welby's little volume had not fallen into our hands. But, lest Mr. Welby should imagine this avowal to be more complimentary to himself, than, in common honesty, we can allow that it is intended to be, we will fairly state once for all, that we take each of these two publications in hand solely on account of the comparison which they enable us to institute between America as it was, and America as it is. We shall not pretend to draw the contrast ourselves; but we shall leave our readers to do so, by placing before them a few extracts from the pages of one who was an actor during the season of

hope, and one who has been a spectator during that of realization.

The Pennsylvanian must allow us to run hastily over the anecdotes of his youth. Auto-biography is, perhaps, more amusing to the writer than to the reader; and we can easily understand the difficulty of blotting when self is the theme; but if an author forgets to erase, the critic may apply a safe remedy, by remembering not to transcribe. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with briefly noticing, that the Pennsylvanian is of right American lineage. His father was an Irish settler, and his mother was born in Barbadoes, of a cross breed, between a German trader, and a Scotch body from Glasgow. His mother having been left a widow early, superintended a boarding-house in Philadelphia; and among the other guests of her table, once numbered Sir William Draper. The son was bred to the law, and seems to have been a bit of a rake in his time; for he tells us that he lived with players and metaphysicians, and aped the style of Lovelace, in his correspondence with the ladies.

On the assembly of Congress at Philadelphia, in 1775, preparatory to decided hostilities with the mother country, our author received a commission as Captain; and as great anxiety was manifested that the new regiment should be particularly well officered, he selected an apothecary's apprentice as his second lieutenant: taking good care to unite in the same person, the attributes of that god, who was at once *iatric* and *ecebolic*; skilled (if we may be permitted such a pun) in the pestle as well as the *mortar*.

But, however easy it was to obtain those who should command, there was some scarcity of such as were to obey: and a battalion, as every body knows, looks but scanty without rank and file. The patriotic rabble were well content to drink at the noble captain's expence; but his party for a long time, drew no more rations than supplied himself, his second lieutenant, a corporal, and a drummer. Towards Spring, however, his complement was made up; and showed itself "*comparatively* well armed, uniformed, and equipped." Its positive merits may be estimated, by the following account of the troops assembled at New York.

"A considerable portion of our motley army had already assembled in New York and its vicinity. The troops were chiefly from the eastern provinces; those from the southern, with the exception of Hand's, Magaw's, and our regiment had not yet come on. The appearance of things was not much calculated to excite sanguine expectations in the mind of a sober observer. Great numbers of people were indeed to be seen, and those who are not

accustomed to the sight of bodies under arms are always prone to exaggerate them. But this propensity to swell the mass had not an equal tendency to convert it into soldiery; and the irregularity, want of discipline, bad arms, and defective equipment in all respects, of this multitudinous assemblage, gave no favourable impression of its prowess. The materials of which the eastern battalions were composed were apparently the same as those of which I had seen so unpromising a specimen at Lake George. I speak particularly of the officers, who were in no single respect distinguishable from their men, other than in the coloured cockades, which, for this very purpose, had been prescribed in general orders, a different colour being assigned to the officers of each grade." *Memoirs*, P. 145.

"Among the military phenomena of this campaign, the Connecticut light horse ought not to be forgotten. These consisted of a considerable number of old-fashioned men, probably farmers and heads of families, as they were generally middle-aged, and many of them apparently beyond the meridian of life. They were truly irregulars; and whether their clothing, their equipments, or caparisons were regarded, it would have been difficult to have discovered any circumstance of uniformity; though in the features derived from "local habitation," they were one and the same. Instead of carbines and sabres, they generally carried fowling-pieces; some of them very long, and such as in Pennsylvania are used for shooting ducks. Here and there, one, "his youthful garments well saved," appeared in a dingy regimental of scarlet, with a triangular, tarnished, laced hat. In short, so little were they like modern soldiers, in air or costume, that dropping the necessary number of years, they might have been supposed the identical men who had in part composed Pepperil's army at the taking of Louisbourg. Their order of march corresponded with their other irregularities. It "spindled into longitude immense," presenting so extended and ill-compacted a flank, as though they had disdained the adventitious prowess derived from concentration. These singular dragoons were volunteers, who came to make a tender of their services to the commander-in-chief. But they staid not long at New York. As such a body of cavalry had not been counted upon, there was, in all probability, a want of forage for their *jades*, which, in the spirit of ancient knighthood, they absolutely refused to descend from; and as the general had no use for cavaliers in his insular operations, they were forthwith dismissed with suitable acknowledgments for their truly chivalrous ardour *. An unlucky trooper of this school had, by some means or other, found his way to Long Island, and was taken by the enemy in the battle of the 27th of August. The British officers made themselves very merry at his expence, and obliged him to

"* It appears from a letter of General Washington, that they refused fatigue duty, because it was beneath the dignity of troopers."

amble about for their entertainment. On being asked, what had been his duty in the rebel army, he answered, that it was *to flank a little, and carry tidings.* Such, at least, was the story at New York among the prisoners." *Memoirs*, P. 152.

In the retreat from Long Island, our author's regiment formed part of the covering party: and with the natural impetuosity of young soldiers, having "come off too soon," it had to return with all expedition to its abandoned post. The troops formed with great spirit, against a false alarm; and covered themselves with glory in resisting the charge of some wild colts who pastured near their encampment. Some of these raw soldiers were distinguished as rifle men; and the Pennsylvanian, much to the credit of his humanity, loudly reprobates the system which was first introduced in this war, of picking out individuals for slaughter in cold blood. He once, indeed, stopped a brother officer from taking deliberate aim at an unoffending outpost, simply because he was a fair shot. Desertion was frequent in the ranks, and the Automoli seldom went off empty handed.

"I very well recollect that it was found necessary to post a guard at Kingsbridge to stop the fugitives; and that, upon one of them being arrested with a number of *notions* (qu?) in a bag, there was found among them a cannon ball, which, he said he was taking home to his mother, for the purpose of pounding mustard." *Memoirs.* P. 127.

Occasional plunder improved the quality of the American equipments. A Hessian picquet was once carried by a serjeant, and a few men on the Author's station; and the serjeant, as the Pennsylvanian observes, like one of Homer's heroes; or as we should say, like a Malay pirate, (perhaps there is little difference after all) appeared on parade, in the uniform of an officer whom he had killed with his own hands.

In the engagement at Fort Washington, our author was taken prisoner, and in that capacity saw many strange varieties of *the fortune of war*, in the different treatment which he experienced from separate individuals. A Scotch serjeant gravely warned him,—"Young man, you should never fight against your King." A Hessian retainer grinned at him, in broken English, "Eh you rebel, you dam rebel;" and a light infantry officer threatened to "give him the butt" of his fusee. To others again, whom he specifies with the most grateful acknowledgment he was indebted for every kindness which could alleviate his misfortune. We select the following instance as highly creditable both to the giver and receiver.

"Previously to entering the city, we were drawn up, for about an hour, on the high ground near the East river. Here, the officers being separated from the men, we were conducted into a church, where, if I mistake not, we signed a parole. While in this building, which, with the addition of those spectators who pressed in along with us, was pretty much crowded, a portly, well looking, middle aged, non-commissioned officer of the 42d regiment, approached me, observing, in a low voice, that he was sure he had seen me before: Was not my name———? I answered in the affirmative. I thought so said he, I have often seen you at your mother's in Philadelphia; and though you were then but a boy, I clearly retrace your features. As you are probably in want of money, may I beg of you to accept of this? slipping into my hand a dollar. I objected to taking it, as I might never have an opportunity of paying him. No matter if you have not, said he; it is but a trifle, but such as it is, you cannot oblige me more than by accepting it. I accordingly put it in my pocket, the confusion and bustle of the scene preventing my taking measures for ascertaining the means of seeing him again; and, having never afterwards met with him, I am still indebted to this amount." *Memoirs*. P. 228.

Through the exertions of his mother, who paid a visit to Sir William Howe, in person, our author was released on his parole: and he did not a second time expose himself to military hazards. As he advanced in life, his *patriotism* appears to have cooled. He preferred Burke's reasonings on the French Revolution, to those of Tom Paine; and he has at length subsided into a belief, little compatible with his juvenile ardour, "that England has long been, and still is, fighting the battle of the civilized world."

We come now to Mr. Welby. This gentleman was induced to visit North America, in 1819, principally with a view of examining into the veracity of Mr. Birkbeck's statements. We do not think he was lucky in his passage. The ship was crowded beyond its fit complement; a cabin passenger was safely delivered of her first boy, within a fortnight after setting sail; and once or twice the vessel ran a-ground. These were *particular* grievances; for the benefit of fresh water sailors, we will add those which we suppose are universal.

"SHIP COOKERY.

"Anything but clean,—anything but simple—anything but what one is used to.

"SITUATION OF A PASSENGER ON BOARD SHIP.

"Some risk,—little comfort,—a total inversion of all accustomed habits,—a feeling of insecurity,—irratibility,—a longing to be ashore; in short, a total *be-blue-devilment*." *Visit, &c.* P. 9.

In the boarding-house at Hobroken, near New-York, Mr. Welby first encountered the effects of what he properly terms "freedom without refinement." When he inquired for the landlord, a young woman who was sweeping the floor, slip-shod, desired him to walk into a room to which she pointed, and "wait for further orders." At Paterson, he was introduced to a new order of society.

"I asked the little shabby bare-footed boy, our guide, whether he worked at a wool manufactory we were passing, 'No,' said he, rather bluntly; 'I go to school; my father's a 'squire:' thinking I did not hear correctly, I repeated the question and received the same answer. 'And pray what is a 'squire, what does he do?' "Oh, he attends sessions, trials, and hears causes." "And what may your father do at other times?' 'He *assists* Mr. ****** at the tavern there, in the bar!'" *Visit, &c.* P. 24.

A Virginia gentleman who had visited Pittsburgh, to attend a trial, gave a singular description of the manners of an American court of justice. Neither counsel nor judge, as is well known, wear any gown. The barrister retained in the present instance, being incommoded by heat, first stripped off his coat, and then his waistcoat. In an interval of pleading he put a segar in his mouth, and deliberately smoked it, till the opposite counsel had wound up his reply.

The Pennsylvanian in the early part of his career, while recruiting, met with a country gentleman, who was an amateur in biting and gouging, or as it may be correctly termed, the tooth and nail fancy. Pointing to one of the most distinguished practitioners in this science, he observed, "There is a fellow that has not his match in the country: see what a set of teeth he has! a man's thumb would be nothing to them!" Mr. Welby found these accomplishments still encouraged. He heard of a man who had been so mauled in a "rough and tumble," that a friend compassionating his condition said, "You have come badly off this time, I doubt:" "Have I," was the triumphant hero's answer, "what do you think then of this eye?" at the same moment drawing one from his pocket.

The police of Indiana, does not appear to be very strictly regulated. Mr. Flower related to Mr. Welby an *accident* which had recently occurred in the Prairie country, and which had been passed over without legal investigation. A party proposed to each other, to go and shoot a neighbour who had frequently behaved ill to them. The plan was settled, and the old man was quietly *rifled* in his own field, while at plow.

Mr. Welby was tempted by the assurance of an "excel-

lent road," to accept an invitation to a country-house about twenty miles from Vincennes. For the benefit of the Commissioners of Turnpikes, we transcribe the method by which these excellent roads are formed.

"Imagine a woodland in a state of nature: through this, guiding themselves by compass, people get on as they can, chopping a piece of bark from the trees in the line, which they call "blazing," as a direction to those who follow with tools to cut down the trees between those blazed, which they do at about a foot to a foot and a half from the ground, leaving the stumps and brushwood standing. In a short time this latter gets worn away, but the stumps remain a long while; and between these, horsemen, waggons, and other carriages proceed, steering between, or bumping upon them, which is at times unavoidable." *Visit, &c.* P. 99.

But the Illinois was the grand object of search. After passing bog, wood, gully and stump, Boulton House Prairie was descried. The inn, in its vicinity, reminds us of some of those which it was Sancho's hard lot so frequently to encounter. There was no stable save a straw-yard for the horses. The men, with difficulty, obtained some very rancid butter, a little sour bread, some tough slices of thin fried beef, and a basin of bad coffee, sweetened with wild honey. Water was not to be had. Mr. Birkbeck had a plentifully supplied well, but his answer was sufficiently concise, "that he made it a general rule to refuse every application." A wheelwright, who had been tempted by *his reading*, to repair to this gentleman's paradise, found himself starving at the end of six months, so he quitted his new master, and set up for himself. He told Mr. Welby, that now he had plenty of work, but was doubtful of his pay. From which statement, it is more than probable, therefore, that he has got some more starving in reserve, even yet.

"Our tavern-keeper, who was a very respectable farmer, left a good farm near Baldock in Hertfordshire, guided by Mr. Birkbeck's book, to find health, wealth, and freedom at Boulton-house Prairie: of the two first both himself and family were quickly getting rid, while they were absolutely working each day like horses without one comfort left.—"How came you," said I, "to leave so good a farm, as you had in England?" His answer was, 'Mr. Birkbeck's book.'—'You would be glad now to return?' added I. 'Sir,' said he, 'we must not think that way; we have buried our property in getting here, and must here remain!' Such facts as these are worth a thousand flattering theories on the other side; and another may be here added,—perhaps a salutary caution to Mr. B. if this should be the first intimation—that the angry feelings of the poor people who had been entrapped by the

deceptious colouring of his writings, flashed out in true English threats of tossing him in a blanket!" *Visit, &c.* P. 118.

The Americans have no dearth of bugs, which appear to be autochthonous. For rats, they say, they are indebted to the English. Water is not in much request: none is ever taken up stairs at a tavern, unless by special order; a few tin basins are placed under a shed in the morning, in which each guest rubs his face and hands; but ablutions beyond these, are considered unnecessary; and an English youth happening to let his shirt down to the waistband, in order to obtain a more effectual dabble, called forth by this his unusual act, loud shouts of laughter and surprise.

Mr. Welby is far from recommending the Western country to any farmers who have not made up their minds to some risk, much trouble, and a total sacrifice of numerous comforts. The gentleman and the idle man he thinks wholly misplaced there. Young Physicians may open taverns for their support: but there are Lawyers enough for the population; and the only profitable speculation for professional men appears to exist among *dissenting teachers in Religion*.

Some farms are easily held by the tenant: but on a tenure which we should think was not quite agreeable to the landlord.

"An instance of this lately occurred in a distant part of Pennsylvania: a proprietor having heard of several settlers upon his land without purchase or permission, mounted his horse and journeying to his allotment soon came up to a good log house; a Squatter was at his door, and the owner, by way of entering into conversation with him, observed that he had erected a comfortable dwelling there; to which the other assented.—'But my friend, I am told that you and several more have built here without any title to the land, and the owner is coming to remove you.' The man, who had his rifle in his hand, immediately pointing to a pig at a distance took aim and shot it dead; then turning to the alarmed proprietor told him, that if the owner should ever come to disturb him he would serve him as he had served that pig." *Visit, &c.* P. 165.

Mr. Welby was present at the celebration of Washington's birthday, (Feb. 22,) which took place during his stay in Philadelphia. Drums and fifes awakened the citizens before daybreak. At 10 A. M. a large company assembled in Washington Hall, where half a dozen wind instruments played English tunes. The city militia at the same time entered with the aforesaid drums and fifes, and having ordered arms between their legs, sate down upon benches. A young student of the law had been selected to pronounce

ad oration. When he ascended the rostrum the six wind instruments struck up the National Air "Yankee Doodle," and every leg, arm, and head was quickly in motion to beat time to this animating strain. The address was received with thunders of applause; at its close the drums, fifes, and wind instruments renewed their harmony; and the company dispersed, much gratified by the amusements of the day.

We had no intention of emigrating to America before we opened Mr. Welby's volume, and we see nothing in his statements which is likely to inspire us with a wish to that effect after reading them.

ART. IX. *Iliadis Fragmenta Antiquissima, cum Figuris; item Scholia Vetera ad Odysseam. Edente Angelo Maio, Ambrosiani Collegii Doctore, Regiarum Galliæ, Belgii, Bavariæ, et Neapolis, Academiarum Sodale.* Mediolani, Regiis Typis, M.DCCC.XIX. Royal folio, pp. 283. Plates lviii.

ART. X. *Ulphilæ Partium Ineditarum in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis, ab Angelo Maio repertarum, Specimen, conjunctis curis ejusdem Maii et Caroli Octavii Castillionæi editum.* Mediolani, Regiis Typis, M.DCCC.XIX. 4to. pp. xxiv. 36, with two Plates *.

THE revival of classical literature was one of the principal circumstances which contributed to restore society, in Europe, from the moral and intellectual degradation into which it had fallen in the dark ages, that is, from the sixth to the eleventh century. During that period, though Latin was the language of the ecclesiastics, yet we rarely meet with any quotations except from the Vulgate, or from theological writers. The study of those great authors, who illustrated the Augustan age, especially the poets, was almost prohibited. A change for the better took place in the course of the twelfth century; and the polite literature, as well as the sciences of antiquity, became the subject of cultivation. In the following century, the prevalence of the scholastic philosophy, with all its refined subtleties, seems to have caused the decline of classical literature: but, about the middle of the fourteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier, an ardent zeal

* These publications are imported by Messrs. Trewttel and Co. by whom they have been communicated to the Editor.

for the restoration of ancient learning began to display itself: libraries were formed in various parts of Europe; and Petrarch, Boccacio, and Coluccio Salutato (a man of less general fame) distinguished themselves by their indefatigable researches after ancient manuscripts preserved in the monasteries, to the discovery of which, however, the gross and supine ignorance of the monks interposed almost incredible difficulties. What Petrarch began in the fourteenth century, was carried on by a new generation with unabating industry. The whole lives of Italian scholars, in the fifteenth century, were devoted to the recovery of manuscripts, and to the revival of philology: and, among these restorers of ancient learning, Ambrogio Traversari, general of the monastic order of Camalduli, eminently signalized himself, not only by his personal efforts in discovering the works of Greek and Latin Authors, but particularly by inspiring the munificent and princely merchant, Cosmo de' Medici, with similar zeal and assiduity: and the same vessels, which were freighted with the most costly productions of the East, also brought him the most precious treasures of classic Greece. The discovery of an unknown manuscript was regarded almost as the conquest of a kingdom; and, besides the names already mentioned, those of Poggio Bracciolini, Niccolo Niccoli, Laurentius Valla, Francesco Filelfo, and Giovanni Aurispa, will ever be dear to all who cherish any regard for the sciences and literature of Greece and Rome. In our own times, (to omit the successful researches of the late Professor Carlyle and Dr. E. D. Clarke in Greece, and of Dr. Buchanan in India), Signor Maï, the editor of the splendid volume now before us, stands pre-eminent among the literati of Europe, for the number, variety, and importance, of the classical productions which he has rescued from oblivion: and upwards of *twenty* publications attest at once his industry, and the success which has crowned his researches, during the time that he held the office of Professor of the Oriental Languages in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Among these publications we may enumerate the Fragments of six inedited Orations of Cicero (which have been reprinted in this country,) the hitherto inedited works of Marcus Cornelius Fronto, together with some inedited Letters of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Appian; Fragments of eight Speeches of Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, some Fragments of Plautus, and some Commentaries on Terence; the entire Oration of Isseus on the estate of Cleonymus (part of which only had hitherto been published), an oration of Themistius, an epitome of part of the *Antiquitates Romanæ* of

Dionysius Halicarnassus, the original of which is not known to be extant; sundry Fragments of Porphyry; Commentaries on Virgil, by the antient interpreters, Asper, Cornutus, Haterianus, Longus, Probus, Nisus, Scaurus, Sulpicius, and an anonymous writer; the Chronicles of Eusebius, in two books, (the first of which was never before printed); the Itinerary of Alexander; three books on the transactions of Alexander the Great, translated by Julius Valerius, from the Greek of Æsop; the fourteenth book of the Sybilline Oracles; two tracts of Philo-Judæus; a specimen of Ulphilas's Gothic Version of the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, and the Fragments of the Iliad. It is much to be regretted that but few of these valuable remains of classical literature have hitherto found their way into England. Our knowledge of the pieces just enumerated is derived principally from the information communicated by Signor Maï himself, of which only the two last have come to our notice.

1. The first of these publications is a magnificently printed folio volume. The Fragments of the Iliad, with the illustrative engraving, fill fifty-eight pages, to which are subjoined six pages of critical remarks of the various lections furnished by the Ambrosian Manuscript. These are succeeded by scholia of various ancient Grammarians upon the Odyssey, in 163 pages, which have been collected from different MSS. in the Ambrosian Library; and to the whole is prefixed a tediously prolix Dissertation, from which we have abridged the following particulars. The manuscript in question originally contained the entire Iliad in Greek, and was illustrated with paintings, representing the principal subjects of the poem, though fifty-eight only have come down to our time. These paintings are executed in the same style as those found in the Vienna MSS. of the Book of Genesis and of Dioscorides, in the Cotton MS. of Genesis in the British Museum, and in the Vatican MSS. of Virgil and Terence. The figures were first drawn with very pale ink, and afterwards coloured. The Ambrosian Homer is written on vellum; the paintings are on one side of the leaf, and on the opposite side is the poem. This reverse had been covered on silk paper, on which a later hand had written some scholia and the arguments of some of the books of the Iliad. On detaching this paper, Signor Maï discovered the original writing. About eight hundred verses of the Iliad have been preserved, which correspond with the Aristarchian edition of Homer. They are written in the uncial, or capital letters, peculiar to MSS. of the fourth or fifth century, to which date Signor Maï, with great

probability, refers the Ambrosian Codex. The spirits and other orthographical and critical remarks are sometimes introduced by a contemporary hand, though frequently they are wanting, and appear to have been inserted according to the opinion of grammarians. The scholia above noticed, on being collated with the Roman edition of the scholia on Homer, and also with that published by Villoison, were found to correspond minutely with these—a very few unimportant instances excepted, which Signor Maï did not think it worth while to transcribe. In printing the verses discovered beneath the pictures, which he has caused to be engraved, Signor Maï has supplied the words deficient in the MS. and has underlined them, to shew that they are wanting there.

The latter part of the preliminary dissertation is occupied chiefly with a description of forty-six MSS. of different portions of the writings of Homer, executed between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and affording a copious harvest of various lections to future editors of the Grecian bard. Signor Maï has given an outline of the manner in which he conceives that Homer should be edited: but the labour and expence of such an undertaking, we apprehend, will be found so great, that none but royal munificence will ever be able to remunerate the editors and publishers of such a work.

Signor Maï has collated these fragments of the Ambrosian MS. with six different editions of Homer, viz. the editio princeps, printed at Florence; the first Aldine edition, and those published by Ernesti, Heyne, Wolf, (in 1804), and Villoison. This collation has enabled him to detect nearly two hundred various readings, which, together with the Scholia on the Odyssey, will doubtless be printed in the next critical edition of Homer that issues from the press. As the cost of Signor Maï's publication, and the difficulty of procuring copies from Italy, must place it out of the reach of the majority of classical readers, we think it will gratify them to learn that Professor Buttmann re-printed the scholia on the Odyssey, at Berlin, in a commodious octavo volume, in 1820.

2. The second publication of Signor Maï is singularly interesting to biblical students: it contains a specimen of the hitherto inedited portions of the Gothic translation of the Bible, executed by Ulphilas, a celebrated bishop of the Mæso-Goths, who assisted at the council of Constantinople, A.D. 359, and was sent on an embassy to the Emperor Valens about A.D. 378. Of this version, only the four Gos-

pels and a few fragments of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans were known to be extant, until the interesting discovery made by Maï in the year 1817. While this indefatigable explorer of ancient literature was examining two *codices rescripti* *, in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, from which he subsequently edited the works of Fronto and some fragments of Plautus, he was most agreeably surprised to discover some Gothic writing, which, on further investigation, proved to be fragments of the Ulphilan version of Ezra and Nehemiah, and of a Gothic homily or sermon. The discovery thus auspiciously made, stimulated him to further inquiries, which were rewarded with the further discovery of *five* Gothic MSS. He now associated in his researches Signor Carolo Ottavio Castillionei; and to their joint labours we owe the publication we are now considering.

The *first* of the five Gothic manuscripts just mentioned, (which is noted S. 30.) consists of 204 quarto pages on vellum, the later writing, contains the homilies of Gregory the Great, on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which from their characters must have been executed before the eighth century. Beneath this, in a more ancient Gothic hand, are contained the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, 1st and 2d Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st and 2nd of Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, together with a fragment of the Gothic Calendar. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, and to Timothy, are very nearly entire, and form the chief part of this MS.: of the other Epistles, considerable fragments only remain. The titles of the Epistles may be traced at the head of the pages where they commence. This MS. appears to have been written by two different copyists, one of whom wrote more beautifully and correctly than the other; and various readings may be traced in some of the margins, written in a smaller hand. Entire leaves have been turned upside down by the *re-scriber* of this MS.

The *second* MS. also, in quarto, and noted S. 45, contains 156 pages of thinner vellum, the Latin writing on which is

* Before the invention of paper, the great scarcity of parchment or vellum, in different places, induced many persons to obliterate the works of ancient writers, in order to transcribe their own, or those of some other favourite author in their place. These obliterations were made, sometimes with a *sponge*, and sometimes by erasure with a pen-knife. Manuscripts which have been thus treated, and subsequently written upon, are termed *Codices Palimpsesti* or *Rescripti*. They may in general be detected without much difficulty, as it rarely happens that the *former* writing is so completely erased as not to exhibit some traces; and in several instances, as in the Ambrosian Codices Rescripti, discovered by Signor Maï, both writings are legible.

of the eighth or ninth century, and comprises Jerome's exposition of Isaiah. Under this has been discovered, (though with some difficulty, on account of the thickness of the Latin characters and the blackness of the ink,) the Gothic version of Saint Paul's two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians and to Titus. What is deficient in the preceding MS. is found in this, which has some various readings peculiar to itself.

In the *third* manuscript, noted G. 82, a quarto Latin volume, containing the plays of Plautus, and part of Seneca's Tragedies of Medea and Œdipus, Signor Maï discovered fragments of the Books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah. This discovery is peculiarly valuable, as not the smallest portion of the Gothic version of the Old Testament, was known to be in existence; and, further, as it furnishes a complete refutation of the idle tale repeated by Gibbon after preceding writers, viz. that Ulphilas prudently suppressed the four Books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians*. The date of the Latin writing of this MS. which Maï deciphered with great difficulty, is not specified; but, on comparing his specimen of it with other engraved specimens, we are inclined to refer it to the eighth or ninth century.

The *fourth* specimen (noted I. 61.) consists of a single sheet in small quarto, containing four pages of part of Saint John's Gospel in Latin, under which are found the very fragments of the twenty-sixth chapter of Matthew's Gospel, which are wanting in the celebrated manuscript of the Gothic Gospels preserved at Upsal, and usually known by the appellation of the *Codex Argenteus*.

The *fifth* and last manuscript, (noted G. 147.) which has preserved some remains of Gothic literature, is a volume of the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon; under the later writing have been discovered some fragments of ancient authors, whose names Signor Maï has not specified; and also a fragment of a Gothic Homily, in which several passages of the Gospels are cited, and the style of which he thinks shews that it was translated from some one of the fathers of the Greek Church. The characters of this MS. bear a close resemblance to those of the Codex Argenteus, at Upsal, which was executed in the sixth century.

Of all these MSS. engraved specimens are given. They

* Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 269.

are written in broad and thick characters, without any divisions of words, or of chapters, but with contractions of proper names, similar to those found in ancient Greek MSS. Some sections however have been discovered, which are indicated, sometimes by numeral marks, or larger spaces, and sometimes by larger letters. The Gothic writing is referred to the sixth century.

The portions of the Gothic version of the Old and New Testament, printed by Signors Maï and Castillionei, are, I. Nehemiah, chap. v. verses 13—18. chap. vi. 14—19. and vii. 1—3. II. A Fragment of Saint Matthew's Gospel, containing chap. xxv. 38—46. xxvii. 1—3, 65—75. and xxvii. 1; this fragment contains the *whole of the passages* which are wanting in the Upsal MS. of the four Gospels. III. Part of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, chap. ii. 22—30. and iii. 1—16. IV. Saint Paul's Epistle to Titus, chap. i. 1—16. ii. 1.; and V. verses 11—23 of his Epistle to Philemon. The Gothic text is exhibited on the left hand page, and on the right hand page the editors have given a literal Latin translation of it, together with the Greek original. These are succeeded by fragments of a Gothic Homily, and Calendar, with Latin translations, Gothic alphabet, and a glossary of new Gothic words which they have discovered in the passages which they have printed. The work is illustrated by two plates, the first containing fac-similes of the Codices Rescripti already described, and the other a fac-simile specimen of a Greek mathematical treatise, in which the names of Archimedes and Apollonius are mentioned, and which Signor Maï discovered under some Lombard Latin writing of great antiquity.

The Goths, it is well known, embraced the Arian heresy in the fourth century; and Ulphilas is generally considered as an Arian Bishop. Signor Maï, however, strenuously vindicates the purity of this prelate's faith; and though he has not been able hitherto to discover, among the Gothic Codices Rescripti, either the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel, or the disputed reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16. he has satisfactorily ascertained that the appellation of GOD is given to Jesus Christ in Rom. ix. 5. in conformity with almost all the MSS. extant, and with the quotations of the Greek fathers.

Since the publication of the two works, of which the preceding is a concise account, Signor Maï has been appointed principal keeper of the MSS. in the Vatican Library, at Rome, where great success has attended his researches. A lost treatise of Cicero, *de Republicâ*, has been rescued from

oblivion, the printing of which has been retarded for want of a new fount of types. We also understand that Signor Mai has discovered some new classical manuscripts, which he conceives not to be inferior in value to the treatise of Cicero, and part of which he hopes to give to the public in the course of a few months.

ART. XI. *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First. By Lucy Aikin.* 2 Vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. 1822.

THE term "Memoirs" borrowed from the French, we seem to use in a sense which it does not exactly bear among our volatile neighbours. It must however be acknowledged that in its proper acceptation it is not strictly applicable to the compilations which Miss Aikin has under that denomination presented to the public. It should, we think, be confined in strict propriety to the recollection of events which have fallen under the personal cognisance of the author, and not be made to embrace, as in the instance before us, a selection from existing and accessible publications. It is however, perhaps too late now, to quarrel with the present application of the term Memoirs; and we must we fear let it pass among other innovations which the exercise of modern ingenuity has suggested.

The remarks which we made upon Miss Aikin's "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth," may be applied with propriety to the present compilation: which is attended, however, with this particular disadvantage—that it embraces a period of much shorter duration and of infinitely less interest to the reader than the splendid and classical reign of the "maiden Queen." The splendour and celebrity of the court over which this illustrious Princess presided, have made an early impression on our imaginations; and the names of the courtiers who distinguished themselves in it by political or amorous intrigues have become familiar to our mouths as "household words." The mixture of tenderness and haughtiness—of the woman and the Queen—which formed the character of this singular and great Princess, has given an edge to our curiosity respecting her and her gallant courtiers, which any detail, however minute and tedious, can scarcely blunt. It is a pleasant and refreshing tour which we make again and again with increased satisfaction. We are not even yet tired of hearing how Raleigh looked, how Lei-

cester and Essex wooed. But although we can suffer ourselves to be dragged for the hundredth time through the court of love and chivalry, we cannot exercise the same patience when doomed to pass with equal minuteness through the paltry and trifling intrigues which occupied the attention of the courtiers of the "pusillanimous and pedantic James," as our authoress calls him. Miss Aikin, we think, would have acted wisely if she had compressed her memoirs of the court of King James, within somewhat less space than they now occupy; if she had omitted entirely the details which are to be found in Robertson and Hume, and confined her industry to the arrangement of materials selected from Osborn, Winwood, Welden, and other sources with which the antiquarian reader must indeed be already well acquainted, but which, it is possible, are not much known to the class of readers who will derive most amusement from the perusal of these volumes; and by whom they will be principally bought.

It is pretty evident that James is no favourite of the fair author who has undertaken to furnish us with memoirs of his court: she seems to feel particular pleasure in calling the reader's attention to his weaknesses and failings, and dwells with no ordinary satisfaction on the detail of those events which place his character in an unfavourable view. Indeed we are inclined to believe that the character of James has not been fairly dealt with by historians generally; sufficient allowances have hardly been made for the circumstances under which he was educated. From his very infancy he became the unconscious tool of the contending factions by which Scotland was distracted, and which, no doubt, were more anxious to perpetuate their own power than to bestow upon the education of the young king the care and attention which it required; but which in the end could hardly fail to prove fatal to their political pretensions. It is however a fact which redounds highly to the credit of the parties, who in their turn governed Scotland during his minority, that according to the erroneous views which they had formed of their duty in this respect, James's education was not neglected. In Buchanan he found an able though austere and uncourtly instructor; and it is more than probable that the love of learning and the liberality towards learned men which he uniformly evinced in after life, must be ascribed to the passion for literary avocations, which he contracted under the direction of the rigid and stern superintendant of his early studies. Unfortunately, however, Buchanan was much better qualified to forward his progress in the literary attainments which distin-

guish the scholar, than he was to supply him with that knowledge of men and things which are indispensable for a Sovereign: and it is to this peculiarity in his early instruction that we should be disposed to ascribe the fondness for literary display, and the ignorance of human character and motives for which he was remarkable in after life. Had it been the object of the Scottish Regents to train a well disciplined schoolmaster—had James been destined to wield the ferula instead of the sceptre, the selection of Buchanan as his instructor would have been entitled to praise: but the habits, the temper, nay, the attainments of this learned person, were much better adapted to educate a pedant than they were to develope the faculties and form the character of a prince. The literary affectation, therefore, which James displayed on so many occasions, was the natural and unavoidable result of that exclusive devotion to grammatical subtilties to which his youth was condemned by his pedantic instructor. That James entertained a foolish and overweening conceit of his literary acquirements is a circumstance which even his eulogists will not undertake to deny. They may however maintain that it was a failing which did no injury to the public; and that, considering the turn of the age in which he lived, it does not merit the sarcastic severity with which it has been generally visited. It was at least the foundation of that attention to literary merit which formed a noble trait in the character of this Prince, and which prompted him to afford a generous and willing countenance to men who needed and deserved his protection. One of the most respectable and pleasing features of James's character was his attachment to learning, and his kind and munificent patronage of learned men: whatever diversity of opinion may exist as to the advantages which the world derived from his literary labours, it will not be denied, that to these he was indebted for the most creditable occupation and the solace of his leisure hours; and that to his taste for letters, the most eminent scholars both of Great Britain and the continent were indebted for the notice which cheered, and the bounty which sustained them.

In the train of Sir Charles Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, and one of the messengers dispatched by the privy council to announce to James his accession to the English Crown, appeared a gentleman of the name of Davies, concerning whom the king immediately inquired, whether he was the author of a poem on the immortality of the soul, entitled, "*Nosce teipsum*"; and being answered in the affirmative, he embraced him and promised him his favour and

protection. James performed his promise to Davies, who was a lawyer as well as a poet, by appointing him his solicitor-general for Ireland, where he afterwards sat as a judge of assize. In 1607, he was knighted. His standard work, entitled a " a discovery of the causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued and brought under obedience to the Crown of England until the beginning of his majesty's happy reign," appeared in 1612. In this excellent performance, no less remarkable for the elegance and purity of the style in which it was written, than useful for the accuracy of the statements which it contained, and the solidity of the reasonings which were founded upon them, Sir John Davies had the merit of prevailing upon his master to adopt with respect to Ireland a liberal and conciliating system of government, as the means most likely to succeed in civilizing that wild and turbulent country. Ireland indeed seems to have been in all ages the rock on which speculative politicians have been destined to split. James and his council appear to have done every thing that could have been effected by public laws; and that his measures of conciliation did not prove more efficient, is to be ascribed to the difficult and almost impracticable nature of the task which he had undertaken, rather than to any want of resolution or perseverance on the part of the agents whom he employed in carrying into execution the regulations which he had planned. Sir John Davies returning after some years to England was raised to the Bench: and in the year 1626, having just received the appointment of Lord Chief Justice, he was cut off by an apoplexy in the 57th year of his age.

Dr. Donne was another individual whom his literary acquirements recommended to the notice of James. Donne's early prospects were dark and gloomy: attached to the Catholic religion, in which he had been brought up by his family, he was compelled to quit the university without a degree; for some years he studied the law as a member of Lincoln's Inn, when the death of his father put him in possession of 3000*l.* a fund which he seems to have considered inexhaustible. The publication of love verses abounding in strange conceits and far-fetched allusions, which, through the unaccountable perversion of the public taste, had become popular, introduced him to the society of the dissipated and gay, where he exhausted his patrimony and stored up ample matter of penitence for his graver years.

In the years 1596 and 7, Donne attended the Earl of Essex in his expedition to Cadiz, through whose intercession, it is not improbable, that on his return he obtained the place

of secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, keeper, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Baron Ellesmere, by whom he was highly favoured and marked out for further promotion. But an attachment to a niece of Lady Egerton, whom he clandestinely married, blighted for ever these fair prospects. The father of the lady, Sir George Moore, lieutenant of the Tower, was so violently enraged at this proceeding, that he never ceased to importune the lord keeper till he had wrung from him the dismissal of Donne, at the end of a service of five years. It does not appear when or by whom Donne was first introduced to the king. James, however, was immediatiately struck with his parts and learning, and was supposed to have destined him for preferment: but when urged to bestow upon him a civil office, he constantly refused, having predetermined in his own mind to prevail upon him to take orders. Finding the royal will on this point invincible, he consented, after some struggles with himself, to take orders; was admitted by royal mandate to a doctor's degree at Cambridge, and became one of the king's chaplains.

The king who justly thought himself bound in honour to provide for *his* doctor as he was fond of styling him, sent for him to attend his dinner on an appointed day. When his majesty was set down, before he had eat any meat, he said, after his pleasant manner, "Dr. Donne I have invited you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you off a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of St. Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study, and much good may it do you." This preferment satisfied all his wishes: he lived beloved and respected, and died generally regretted in 1631. Elegies were composed in honour of his memory, by Corbet, Carew, Jonson, and Lord Falkland.

We have selected these two individuals from among those to whom the patronage of James was extended to shew that he manifested an anxiety to discover and reward literary merit, and to prove that in the protection and encouragement which he afforded to men of this character, he did not act under the influence of that unaccountable caprice by which he was guided in the choice of his other favourites.

The temper of this prince though somewhat irascible, was only on great and repeated provocations susceptible of rancour and revenge: towards his courtiers and favourites he was affable and kind: and unfortunately both for himself and his family, he could deny them nothing: and his genuine love of humour always pleaded effectually in behalf of literary

offenders. Of the effect of wit in appeasing his resentment, we have the following instance in Howel's Letters: "As I remember, some years since, there was a very abusive satire in verse brought to our king; and as the passages were being read to him, he often said, that if there were no other men in England, the rogue should hang for it. At last, being come to the conclusion, which was, after all his railing,

> "Now God preserve the king, the queen, the peers,
> And grant the author long may wear his ears!"

this pleased him so well, that he broke out into laughter, and said, By my soul, so thou shalt for me, thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave."

James's propensity to favoritism first displayed itself in the bounties which he was pleased to confer on Philip Herbert, brother of William, Earl of Pembroke. Osborn has given an account of this personage which, on the face of it, betrays all the malice and exaggeration of a servant discarded for disgraceful misconduct. Lord Clarendon who may be safely trusted, states "that the Earl of Montgomery being a young man scarce of age at the entrance of King James, had the good fortune, by the comeliness of his person, by his skill and indefatigable industry in hunting, to be the first which drew the king's eye towards him with affection. Before the end of the first or second year he was made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and Earl of Montgomery; which did the king no harm; for, besides that he received the king's bounty with more moderation than others who succeeded him, he was generally known, and as generally esteemed, being the son of one Earl of Pembroke, and younger brother to another who liberally supplied his expense, beyond what his annuity from his father would bear."

"He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well; which his master loved him the better for (being at his first coming into England, very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts) and to be believed honest and generous, which made him many friends, and left him *then* no enemy." The indulgence of a violent and irregular temper exposed him however in after life to the hatred of many and the contempt of all men. While in the zenith of his favour and power he paid his addresses to a daughter of the Earl of Oxford to whom "after long love," he was contracted without the knowledge of friends on either side; but the king, "taking the whole matter

upon himself, made peace on all sides." Crown lands to the amount of more than 1000*l.* a year were settled on the bridegroom; and masks and revels in which no cost was spared gave splendour to the celebration of the nuptials. Sir Dudley Carleton, after describing the ceremony of the morning in which the king gave her away; and "she in her tresses and trinkets brided and bridled it so handsomely," tells us, that she indeed became herself so well, that the king said, if he were unmarried, he would not give her but keep her himself; he adds, that "at night there was a mask in the hall which for conceit and fashion was suitable to the occasion. There was no small loss that night of chains and jewels, and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts." They were lodged in the council-chamber, when the king in his shirt and night-gown, gave them a *reveille matin* before they were up. No ceremony was omitted of bridecakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the court.

Of the entertainments in which the king delighted, and in which his courtiers lavished their treasures for the amusement of his good cousin Christian, the king of Denmark, who seems to have loved deep carousals no less than his illustrious predecessor the uncle of Prince Hamlet; we have the following animated description from the sarcastic pen of Sir John Harrington. He describes his reception at Theobald's, then the seat of the Earl of Salisbury.

"In compliance with your asking, now shall you receive my account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish king came, and from the day he did come until this hour, I have been well-nigh overwhelmed with carousals and sports of all kind. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort as had well-nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as would have astonished each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles; for those whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good troth, the parliament did kindly to provide his majesty so seasonably with money, for there hath been no lack of good living; shows, sights and banquetings from morn to eve."

"One day a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon, his temple, and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, and, I may better say, was meant to have been made before their majesties by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others—But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The lady who

did play the queen's part, did carry most precious gifts to both their majesties, but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen which had been bestowed upon his garments; such as wine, cream, beverage, cakes, spices and other good matters. The entertainment and show went *forward* and most of the presenters went *backward*, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in a rich dress, faith, hope, and charity: hope did essay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity: faith was then alone, for I am certain she was not joined with good works and left the court in a staggering condition; charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins which her sister had committed; she then returned to faith and hope who were both sick—in the lower hall. Next came victory in bright armour, and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But victory did not triumph long; for after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep on the outer steps of the antichamber. Now peace did make entry and strive to get foremost to the king; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover to those of her attendants; and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming."

In this reign lived and died Sir John Spencer, once Lord Mayor of London, respecting whom some circumstances have been mentioned which deserve to be recorded as illustrative of manners and private life. Being perhaps the richest citizen of his time, his opulence was so noted that one of the pirates of Dunkirk who during this and the succeeding reign committed their outrages with impunity on the English coast, laid a plan to carry him off into France to extort a ransom. This plan however was not successful. His only child, a splendid matrimonial prize, became the wife of William Lord Compton, afterwards created Earl of Northampton, to whom after his recovery from a temporary fit of derangement she addressed the following letter, which contains a striking exposition of the grants and wishes of a city heiress raised to the post and privilege of a lady of quality, in the commencement of the seventeenth century.

"My sweet life, now I have declared to you my mind for setting of your state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink ar

consider within myself what allowance were meetest for me:... I pray and beseech you to grant me your most kind and loving wife, the sum of 2600*l.* quarterly to be paid. Also I would, besides that allowance, have 600*l.* quarterly, to be paid for the performance of charitable works: and those things I would not, neither will be accountable for. Also I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow; none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also I would have two gentlewomen, lest one should be sick, or have some other let. Also, believe it, it is an undecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a great estate: also when I ride a-hunting, or a-hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so for either of those said women, I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four fair horses; and a coach for my women, lined with cloth and laced with gold(*she had not yet forgotten the mansion house and its glittering accompaniments*) otherwise with scarlet and laced with silver, with four good horses. Also at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only caroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as be fitting for all, orderly, not pestering my things with my women's, nor theirs with either chamber-maids, nor theirs with wash-maids. And my desire is, that you pay all charges for me. And for myself besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also I would have to put in my purse 2000*l.*, and 200*l.* and so, you to pay my debts. Also I would have 6000*l.* to buy me jewels and 4000*l.* to buy me a pearl chain. Now seeing I have been and am so *reasonable* unto you, I pray you do find my children apparel and their schooling, and all my servants, men and women, their wages. Also I will have all my houses furnished and my lodging chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit. So for my drawing chamber in all houses, I will have them delicately furnished, both with hangings, couch, canopy, glass, carpet, chairs, cushions and all things thereunto belonging. Also my desire is, that you would pay your debts, build up Ashby-house and purchase lands, and lend no more money, as you love God, to my Lord-chamberlain who would have all, perhaps your life, from you. So, now I have declared to you what I would have, and what it is that I would not have, I pray you, when you be an Earl, to allow me 2000*l.* more, than I now desire, and double attendance."

Of Carr's early favour and the jealousy and spite which his success excited in a courtier's bosom, we extract the following proofs from a letter written by Lord Thomas Howard to Sir John Harrington.

"My good and trusty Knight,

"If you have good will and good health to perform what I shall

command, you may set forward for court whenever it suiteth your conveniency; the king hath often enquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the 'merry blade,' as he hath oft called you since you were here. I will now premise certain things to be observed by you toward well gaining our prince's good affections;—He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in clothes, I pray you give good heed hereunto; I would wish you to be well trimmed; get a new gerkin well bordered and not too short, the king saith he liketh a flowing garment; be sure it be not all of one sort but diversely coloured, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffened and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who have failed in their suits for want of due observance of these matters.

I wish you to follow my directions as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely to win the prince's affections, and doth it wonderfully in a little time. The prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smooths his ruffled garment. This young man doth much study all art and device; he hath changed his tailors and tiremen many times, and all to please the prince, who laugheth at the long-grown fashion of our young courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, do not of yourself say, this is good or bad, but, if it were your majesty's good opinion, I myself should think it so and so. I will advise you one thing; the roan gennet whereon the king rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised, and the good furniture above all which lost a great man much notice the other day. A noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the king mounting the roan; delivered his petition which was handed and read, but no answer given. The noble departed, and came to court next day, and got no answer again. The lord-treasurer was then pressed to move the king's pleasure touching the petition. When the king was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, shall a king give heed to a dirty paper when a beggar noteth not his gilt stirrups? Now it fell out that the king had new furniture when the noble saw him in the court-yard, but he was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good knight, our noble failed in his suit."

We suspect that this noble peer had also failed in some suit when this letter was written; and that his disappointment has given an edge to his successors, which renders it unsafe to trust implicitly to his representation, he proceeds in the same strain and says,

"Carr hath all the favours as I told you before; the king teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too; for as he is a Scotch lad he hath much need of better language. The king doth much covet his presence; the ladies too are not behind-hand in their admiration, for I tell you, good knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong shoul-

dered and smooth faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty; though G—wot, he well knoweth when to show his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely; and yet will you come to court, and think to be well favoured? Why, I say again good knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian and your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked into for a time, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the things men live by now a-days. Will you say the moon shineth all the summer? that the stars are bright jewels fit for Carr's ears? that the roan gennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be strodden by Alexander? that his eyes are fire, his tail Berenice's locks, and a few more fancies worthy your noticing? your lady is virtuous and somewhat of a good house-wife; has lived in a court in her time, and I believe you may venture her forth again; but I know these would not so quietly rest, were Carr to leer on their wives as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too, that they should be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, 'tis breaking a leg in the king's presence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that court; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse than of the king's roan gennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavours to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honours are talked of speedily for him."

A monstrous mass of misrepresentation, contradiction and falsehood has been published by the memoir writers of that day respecting the king's views and conduct during the trial of this infamous minion, and his profligate accomplices for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Weldon describes in gross and disgusting terms (which would be hardly justifiable even if the circumstances were true) the dissimulation practised by the king in his final parting with Somerset. This writer states, that the Earl of Somerset never parted from James with more seeming affection than at this time when he knew Somerset would never see him more. When the earl kissed the king's hand, the king hung about his neck, saying, "For God's sake when shall I see thee again? On my soul I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again!" The earl told him, "On Monday," this being on the Friday. "For God's sake let me," said the king. The earl was not in his coach when the king used these very words, in the hearing of four servants, one of whom was Somerset's great creature, and of the bed chamber, who reported it to the author of this history; "I shall never see his face more."

We cannot believe the king to have been guilty of such atrocious and gratuitous dissimulation without much better authority than that which is here presented to us. Whatever

disposition James might have felt in this instance to practise the king-craft on which he prided himself, it is not probable that it would have been called into action on an occasion from which he could derive no advantage, and which must have exposed him to the merited contempt and abhorrence of all the world. The discovery of Somerset's atrocious guilt must have filled the king's mind with indignation and horror; and in the first burst of his surprise and fury, he imprecated a solemn curse upon Coke and his posterity, if he spared any, and upon himself and his, if he pardoned any of those who had made him the unwitting accomplice of their adultery and murder. From the first discovery of this dark transaction we do not perceive that the king took any steps which interfered improperly with the strict administration of justice; and considering the circumstances in which he was placed, it should not, we think, excite peculiar surprise that an individual so much under the influence of personal attachments should feel an insurmountable repugnance to suffer the blood of a man once so dear to him to flow on the scaffold. The contest between his sense of justice and his feelings of compassion may sufficiently account for the excessive agitation which the king is said to have betrayed during Somerset's trial, without ascribing it to the base fear of some important disclosure which it is insinuated the prisoner had it in his power to make. We cannot in any view of the subject compliment our fair memorialist on the taste which induced her to retain the following passage. We are persuaded that if she had listened to the advice of the "delightful teacher and indulgent friend" to whom her volumes are inscribed, it would have been expunged:

"In fact it cannot be doubted that Somerset was in possession of some important secret of the king's which he threatened to betray: that he hoped by this menace to escape a trial, but was at length by skilful management, prevailed upon to be satisfied with the promise of a pardon: all, indeed, that the king could with any appearance of decency grant. What this secret might be, it is in vain to enquire; that it was a 'mystery of iniquity' there can be little doubt; but its nature was never known. That it related to the poisoning of prince Henry has been much believed, but may surely be pronounced untrue."

What Miss Aikin wishes to insinuate by the above passage we cannot undertake to conjecture; but it would have redounded more, we think, to the credit of a writer of the present day, to have distrusted, at least, the coarse slan-

der, which rests only upon the malignant representations of a disappointed partizan.

The remainder of James's reign from the rise of Buckingham to the king's death is singularly barren of events which fall properly within the province of the memoir writer. Nothing occurred to interrupt the pacific tenor of this monarch's days with the exception of the prince's romantic and ill-advised journey to Spain, and the quarrels which he had with the few and short parliaments convened by him. The absence of his baby Charles, "under the indiscreet guidance of his humble slave and dog Stenny" as Buckingham always signed himself, seems to have filled the king with the alarm natural to a kind and indulgent father; and the joy which his return inspired made him forget, at least for a time, the disappointment excited by the final rupture of the negociation for marrying him to the Infanta. When Charles was on the point of quitting Spain in anger or despair at the securities for spiritual articles which were required of him, Cottington, by the advice of the Earl of Bristol, was dispatched with a report from the prince and duke which called forth from the kind old king the following affectionate reply; which if it does not impress us with the idea of a great prince will we are persuaded find its excuse in the kindred feelings of every affectionate parent:

"My sweet boys,

"Your letter by Cottington hath stricken me dead; I fear it will very much shorten my days, and I am the more perplexed that I do not know how to satisfy the people's expectation here, neither do I know what to say to our council, for the fleet that stayed upon a wind this fortnight. Rutland and all aboard might now be stayed, and I know not what reason I shall pretend for the doing of it; but as for my advice and directions that ye crave, in case they will not alter their decree, it is in a word, to come speedily away, if you can get leave, and give over all treaty. And this I speak without respect of any security they can offer you, except ye never look to see your old dad again, whom I fear ye shall never see, if ye see him not before winter. Alas! I now repent me sore that I ever suffered you to go away. I care for match nor nothing so I may once have you in my arms again: God grant it, God grant it, God grant it; Amen, Amen, Amen! I protest ye shall be as heartily welcome as if ye had done all things ye went for, so that I may once have you in my arms again, and God bless you both, my only sweet son, and my only best sweet servant, and let me hear from you quickly with all speed, as ye love my life; and so God send you a happy and joyful meeting in the arms of your dear dad."

"From Greenwich, the 24th of June 1623."

In his contests with his parliaments, James betrays, it is true, on many occasions, that lofty tone of prerogative in which, at least in speculation, he loved to indulge. But the harsh and parsimonious refusals with which these assemblies met his demands of reasonable supplies are not easily justified: they drove him to pursue measures to which his nature, when not vexatiously thwarted, was not inclined, and which under a prince of more energetic and persevering temper would in all probability have confirmed those abuses which they wished to redress. It would we think be difficult even for the renowned disciple of Cocker, who advocates economy in our days, to give any valid reasons for the hard-hearted parsimony which the parliaments of this reign evinced: the extraordinary grants during the whole of it did not exceed 630,000*l.* which, divided among twenty-one years, makes 30,000*l.* a year. In this estimate are not included the supplies, amounting to 300,000*l.* which were granted to the king by his last parliament. These were paid in to their own commissioners; and the expenses of the Spanish war were much more than sufficient to exhaust them. The distressed family of his daughter was a great burden on James during a part of his reign. The detractors of this prince say, that he did not possess a frugality proportioned to the extreme narrowness of his finances, and tax him in loud terms with extravagance and profuse liberality. Those however who bring this charge against his memory should, in fairness, advert to the very narrow limits of his revenues: they should also remember, that in his personal habits he was remarkably frugal, was fond of no magnificence and addicted to no expensive pleasures: for hunting, to which he was particularly devoted, cannot surely, in the case of a monarch, be described as an amusement unreasonably and injuriously expensive. His expenses indeed were the effects of his liberality rather than of luxury. On himself personally he expended nothing; his treasury never very full, was exhausted in the gifts which he bestowed upon others: gifts it is true, insignificant when compared with those of other arbitrary monarchs, but fatal to a prince so impoverished as James.

An amusing trait in the character of James is the earnestness which on all occasions, the king evinces to restrain the propensity of the nobility and gentry to flock to London which had increased with the increasing gaiety and luxury of the capital. In his proclamations and star-chamber speeches he inveighs warmly against the growth of new buildings in the suburbs, and advances a variety of reasons to persuade the landed proprietors to reside in those man-

sions where their ancestors had exercised hospitality from generation to generation. "One of the greatest causes," says this uncourtly monarch, "of all gentlemen's desire that have no calling or errand to dwell in London, is apparently the pride of the women; for if they be wives, then their husbands, and if they be maids, then their fathers must bring them up to London; because the new fashion is to be had no where but in London: and here, if they be unmarried, they mar their marriages, and if they be married, they lose their reputation, and rob their husband's purses. It is the fashion of Italy—that all the gentry dwell in the principal towns, and so the whole country is empty: even so now in England, all the country is gotten into London, in a short time England will be only London and the whole country left waste; for as we now do imitate the French in fashion of clothes, and lacquies to follow every man, so have we got the Italian fashion, in living miserably in our houses and dwelling all in the city: but let us in God's name leave these idle foreign toys, and keep the old fashion of England." "Therefore" he concludes, "as every fish lives in his own place, some in the fresh, some in the salt, some in the mud, so let every one live in his own place, some at court, some in the city, some in the country; specially at festival times, as Christmas and Easter, and the rest."

We do not think that James's literary publications deserve all the contempt with which it has been the fashion to treat them. There are some passages in his *Basilicon Doron* which appear to us both correct and forcible, when reference is made to the period in which they were written: addressing Prince Henry, he says, "Take heed, therefore, my son, to the puritans, very pests in the Church and commonweal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations, (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that he shall never find with any Highland or Border thieves, greater ingratitude and more lies and vile perjuries than with these fanatic spirits; and suffer not the principals of them to brook your land, if ye like to sit at rest; except ye would keep them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife." His speeches and writings are not free from the blemishes by which the literature of the age was tainted, although his opening addresses to his parliament will appear to advantage, if compared with the

speeches of the Speaker of the House of Commons, who was always some eminent and learned lawyer. No one was more skilful in starting objections and foreseeing dangers and difficulties; and the event frequently gave a character of prophetic truth to his warnings, which must have been the result of genuine sagacity. To his exposition of the views and objects of the Puritans just adverted to, we shall subjoin another instance of foresight which places his sagacity in the strongest light. Lord Clarendon speaking of the impeachment of the Lord Treasurer who was become obnoxious to Buckingham, says, that "when this prosecution was entered upon and that the king clearly discerned it was contrived by the duke and that he had likewise prevailed with the prince to be well-pleased with it: his majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing further in it; and conjured them to use all their interest and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to the crown as could not easily be healed. And when he found the duke deaf to all his arguments, entreaties and commands, he said in great choler, "By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in a fit of popularity, you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself;" and turning in some anger to the prince, he told him "that he would live to have his belly full of parliament impeachments; and when I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the crown by the two precedents, you are now so fond of: intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the Earl of Middlesex."

We take our leave of Miss A. and her present work in perfect good humour: she must perceive by the space which we have devoted to the consideration of its contents that we do not hold her book in low estimation: if it is less interesting than her memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, this must probably be ascribed rather to the character of the monarch whose court she has undertaken to describe than to any want of skill or industry on her part in the selection and arrangement of her materials. If she had curtailed or omitted altogether the details of public or domestic transactions which are to be found in every historian, and with which all our readers must be familiar; and supplied their place with a more copious selection of anecdotes respecting the manners and habits of domestic life, we are sure that she would have presented her readers with a not less agreeable, and certainly a more useful publication.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR APRIL, 1822.

ART. I. *An Inquiry into the Opinions, Ancient and Modern, concerning Life and Organization. By John Barclay, M.D. Lecturer on Anatomy, &c. &c. Edinburgh.* 8vo. pp. 542. Whittakers. 1822.

No man performs a greater service to philosophy than he who points out the boundaries of legitimate inquiry; and to no class of persons is this service more necessary than to youthful students, who are just entering upon those difficult and somewhat seducing investigations, which respect the bodily structure and mental endowments of the human being. It is a fact no longer disguised, that anatomical, and more particularly physiological pursuits, have a tendency to carry away the mind towards materialism. The more candid among medical men themselves frankly acknowledge the charge; and the more pious of them lament that there should be so much ground for it; whilst, as the danger assumes a magnitude in proportion to the ignorance of the inquirer, the evil in question is found to prevail most extensively in those dissecting-rooms which are frequented by very young men, and in those essays which are produced by mere novices in science. The most appropriate remedy in all such cases is to supply an increase of knowledge; and, as Dr. Barclay expresses it, by making them acquainted with what learned and ingenious men have already written on the subject, we may be able to moderate the rash excesses of vanity, and prevent them from betraying their ignorance to the world, by publishing, as new, opinions which have been repeatedly published before; have repeatedly been obsolete; have been repeatedly revived; and repeatedly become obsolete again.

On this subject we find, indeed, that few original opinions or arguments have been advanced on any one point since the days of Lucretius, and even of Aristotle. The novelties which have been since introduced, are found to be chiefly novelties of expression, not of ideas: accompanied, it is true, with certain characteristics of manner, and also with attempts at additional illustration from the views of the microscope, and the visions of some pretenders to chemistry. The impelling motives, however, the leading opinions, and the leading arguments, as our author justly observes, have undergone scarcely any change, and appear at this day to be generically and specifically the same that they were several centuries ago.

The object of the learned and most laborious work now before us is to give the history of opinion, on "Life and Organization," from the first dawn of philosophy down to our own times—from Democritus and Ocellus Lucanus to Lawrence and Abernethy. It is accordingly to be regarded as an outline or compendium of every thing which has been written on this interesting subject; and the reader, we assure him, will find it replete with information, and even with entertainment; distinguished too by a very acute logic in exposing the absurdities of even the most celebrated physiologists; supporting every where the cause of religion and morality against a host of insidious or infidel authors; and at length we must own ending, like all other books on the same topic, by an implied acknowledgment that life, or the vital principle, or whatever else the thinking, conscious part, in man shall be called, will for ever elude the researches of the most ingenious and accomplished inquirers.

Of the Greek philosophers, and their fantastic reveries, it would be absurd to speak at any length; for it somehow strikes us that we have got only the verbal expressions used by those clever persons, without possessing a key to the precise meaning of either their arguments or their terms. This opinion is forced upon us by the simple consideration that their language, taken in its ordinary acceptation, is either unintelligible or positively absurd. What, for example, could be meant by asserting, as the Stoics were pleased to assert, that the human soul was *air, warm and ignited,* or as Hippo maintained, that it was *water;* or, as Democritus taught, that it was *fire;* or finally, as Heraclitus dreamed, that, as the soul of the universe was a vapour, or exhalation from the moist elements, so the souls of animals were *vapours, or exhalations from their own bodies.* Thales was the first who held that the soul was always in motion, and *itself* the

origin of that motion. Pythagoras, again, was pleased to teach in the language of allegory that it was a self-moving morad or unit; Plato maintained that it was a substance conceivable only by the understanding, and moving according to *harmony and number:* Aristotle imagined it to be the first *entelecheia,* or (as George Wither expressed the idea) "the first continuall motion of a bodie-naturall, having in it those instrumental parts, wherein was possibility of life;" and Dinarchus (or Dicœarchus, as others will have it,) defined the soul to be a "harmony of heat, cold, moisture, and dryness."

The total want of meaning in these expressions really induces us to believe that we have lost the key to the proper import of the language employed by the ancient Greek philosophers. In opposition to this hypothesis, however, it may be alleged that the writings of modern physiologists, on the subject of Life and Organization, are not a whit more intelligible: and that the ravings of Democritus, in regard to cogitative atoms, and of Heraclitus, in reference to an intellectual vapour, may be fairly matched by the extravagancies of Robinet, the absurdities of Maupertuis, and even by the childish fictions of several of our own countrymen. In truth, between those who speculated two thousand years ago, and the authors whose works are still recent from the press; the main difference consists in the physical illustrations employed by them, whilst endeavouring to recommend doctrines which, in either case, have had no other foundation than the wildest hypothesis, or the most unwarrantable assumptions. The more ancient and the more modern physiologists have respectively availed themselves of the lights of science, according to the actual degree of advancement to which it had attained; and they have incorporated their speculations with the notions prevailing at the period when they wrote, relative to the properties of material substances, and thus we have, in the works of the former, a constant reference to atoms, to motion, or to number, whilst in the publications of the latter, we have substituted in their place the equally obscure expressions of chemical affinities, electrical energies, and magnetic attractions;—all obviously unsuitable to the nature of the inquiry in which they are employed.

All the opinions hitherto entertained respecting the vital phenomenon, says Dr. Barclay, "may be ascribed to one or other of two causes; namely, to a certain organism of the materials of which the visible structure is composed, or to a principle totally distinct from that structure, recognized by all mankind, as something different from body, and in-

vested with a distinct appellation in all known languages. Those who refer life to a particular mechanism, may be supposed to reason as follows.

"An egg, when recent, does not exhibit, and could never have exhibited any thing analogous to vital phenomena. The eye cannot trace in it any thing more than an organized structure; and yet in that state regulate the temperature so as to prevent the derangement of its parts, and it will continue not only for weeks, but for months and years, a collection of mere organized matter. Yet after these years apply the degree or quantity of heat that the parent communicates when she is hatching; imitate her instincts, turn it at times to continue the heat with occasional interruptions, and the embryo within will begin to grow, to move, and to live, and at last will exhibit all the instincts, appetites, and passions belonging to the species which first gave it birth. Suppose that this is a species of swallow, or one of that kind that may be reduced to the torpid state; suppose again, that upon the approach of the cold season, the temperature of this bird, artificially hatched, becomes low, its digestion languid, and that all its functions shall in succession be gradually suspended; it must again, as it was in the egg, be reduced to a mere organized structure; and yet this structure, as well as the egg, will upon the return of warmth and of plenty, begin not only to move and to live, but to seek for a mate, to propagate its kind, and display all the instincts and passions, and the restless vivacity peculiar to its tribe.

"In this case do not the several phenomena of life proceed entirely from organism and heat? If, besides these, there be any other cause, of which of the senses it may fairly be asked, is it the object? Who is the man that has seen it or heard it? Who has touched it, tasted it, or smelled it? We need only look around to be fully convinced that, besides these two, any other cause is merely imaginary. Do we not observe most of our insects and plants gradually sinking into motionless torpor as the sun is retiring in the season of autumn? And observe we not again, these insects and plants in full animation, as he returns with exhilarating rays in the season of spring? And while we see this with our own eyes, do we not hear from voyagers and travellers that, between the tropics, where he constantly dispenses so liberal a portion of his animating influence, the insects live, and the plants are adorned with blossoms, and fruits, and with verdant foliage all the year round? If this hypothesis can sufficiently account for the vital phenomena, what kind of unnatural perverseness can possibly induce us to grope in dark and hidden

corners in search of invisible imaginary beings, to perform what is naturally, obviously, and demonstrably performed without them? After seeing so clearly what we have seen, we remain content with the obvious causes, and shall leave enthusiasts to hunt after mysteries, or indulge in fanciful whims and hypotheses, as being perhaps more congenial to their taste than facts and observations."

In this way does our author personate the materialist, and bring forward the reasonings usually employed by that class of inquirers, in the department of physiology. The chief objection, as is well observed, to the hypothesis on which the whole argument turns, arises from the undeniable fact that organic structure (or *organism*, as the Doctor calls it,) is itself an effect—and an effect, too, produced by vital functions—and cannot therefore, in accordance with the rules of strict philosophy, be regarded as the cause whence itself has arisen. As the seeds of plants and the eggs of animals are evidently as much organized structures, and as much the effects of vital phenomena, as the plants and animals from which they spring, those writers sport a very silly and puerile sophism, who first represent them as extremely minute chemical particles, and then, by taking advantage of their organism, say that by means of their chemical affinities, they afterwards produce animals and plants. The fact is, they are the animals and plants themselves, in their early or incipient state of existence: and this sophism, continues our author, instead of accounting for their structure and organism, does when closely investigated, imply no more than that plants and animals, however young and however diminutive at their commencement, grow older by time, and larger by nutrition.

It is indeed extremely difficult to draw the line between the *causes* of vital phenomena and the *conditions* necessary to the existence of life; whilst it is obvious that from confounding and viewing as one these two classes of circumstances, the principal errors of physiology have arisen. For instance, corn may be preserved, when properly secured from the approach of air and moisture, several hundred years, during which long period the vital principle remains in a torpid state, retaining only what may be called the potentiality of life; and yet, at the end of it, if the grain be deposited in soil suitably prepared, the long-suspended functions of vitality will begin to manifest themselves, and the embryo plants to expand their several members in healthy vegetation. Now, as in this case the physical causes or conditions of life were heat and moisture, we may perhaps discover the grounds upon which the ancient philosophers pronounced life (ψυχη)

to be in some instances *fire*, in others *water*, and in most cases a combination of these two elements. It sounds excessively absurd to say that the soul is *heat*, or *air*, or *moisture*, or *motion*; but if we regard these in the light of conditions essential to the developement of the vital energies in an animal or a plant, the language of Grecian philosophy becomes at least somewhat intelligible.

The first chapter of Dr. Barclay's Inquiry, which gives a "summary view of different opinions entertained by the ancients concerning the cause of the vital phenomena," is extremely amusing, and contains within a comparatively small compass, the result of much reading and much more reflection. It may strike some readers perhaps, that there was no necessity for so many extracts from Lucretius, or so minute a commentary on the epicurean notions, which he has immortalized in his celebrated poem, or finally so full an exposition of the "origin of things," and the "order of things," according to the fancies of the several atheistical scribblers whose opinions are preserved by Diogenes Laertius. To us, however, this is the pleasantest part of the book. We have temper sufficient to trifle with the luxuriant imaginations of ancient sophists, who knew little of physics, and nothing of true religion; but we can exercise no forbearance towards the sceptical writers of a Christian country, who abuse the knowledge which the others ardently sought, and voluntarily run into the darkness from which their predecessors laboured to escape.

The third chapter of the work introduces us to the "opinions of those who since the revival of learning in Europe, have treated of the causes of organization, and ascribed the principal phenomena of life to organic structure." The writers of this order, among whom are ranked Leibnitz, Haller, Buffon, Blumenbach, Gassendi, Cuvier, and Cabanis, are divided chiefly in regard to the inquiry which respects the existence of the soul before it be united to a human body; and they take their place on either side of the question, according as they stand for *involution*, or for *dissemination*. It is imagined by both that the souls of men have had a sort of being since the first creation of things; that "all the generations of plants and animals which are yet to appear, have been existing somewhere or other for thousands of years; and that embryo animals, so long invisible, make their first appearance in the sperm of the male, as seminal *animalcula*; or under the appellation of *germs*, if they appear in the ovarius of a female." It seems to be with respect to the mode in which these infinitesmal organisms are preserved

till, in the course of ordinary causes, they are developed and brought to maturity, that the controversy between the involutionists and the disseminists has been maintained; and were it not that no opinion is too absurd for a lover of theory to hold and to teach, we could hardly have believed that men calling themselves philosophers would ever have indulged in such conjectures as the following. "In maintaining this invisible pre-existence, some have imagined that the numerous generations of each species were, as soon as created, packed up together, either side by side, or one within the other, like concentric strata in a bulbous root, in a parcel so small as not to be visible, and then so deposited in the frame of their first parents, as to be successively and gradually evolved by the future processes of generation. *This is the theory of involution.*"—"The less ingenious and the more inexpert who could not comprehend this intricate mode of packing and unpacking, which was puzzling even to Bonnet himself, have generally preferred the mode of disseminating them all at once, scattering them abroad as soon as created, through the regions of space, to people the air, the waters, and the earth, and there to wait for proper opportunities of insinuating themselves into those natural parts, that may be unoccupied, and neither too old nor too diseased for developing their contents. *This is the theory of dissemination.*"

Dr. Barclay, who seems to like a joke, makes himself very merry at the expence of both these classes of theorists. The involutionists are pressed with many puzzling queries, in regard to the nature of their packages and the mode of their transference from one subject to another. It is, no doubt, a scriptural expression that the whole human race *were in the loins* of their first parent Adam, but it is obviously a form of speech grounded on a figure, and not meant to be taken literally as a strict physiological statement. Leibnitz, however, and several of his followers, dismiss the metaphor and seize the apparent fact. "Ainsi je croirois," says that ingenious writer, "que les ames, qui seront un jour ames humaines, comme celles des autres especes, ont été dans les semences, et dans les ancêtres jusqu'a Adam, et ont existé, par consequent, depuis le commencement des choses, toujours dans une maniere de corps organisé, en quoi il semble que Monsieur Swammerdam, le R. P. Mallebranche, M. Bayle, M. Pitcairn, M. Hartsocker, et quantité d'autres personnes très-habiles soient de mon sentiment. Et cette doctrine est assez confirmée par les observations microscopiques de M. Leeuwenhook, et d'autres bons observateurs."

As to the disseminists, on the other hand, they are r-

treated with either more reserve or greater respect. They are asked, how their germs, wandering in empty space in search of habitations, are able to distinguish their own species; how they obtain information of the particular parts which are suited to their purpose, and ready to receive them; how, after this information is obtained, they discover the way by which they are to enter; whether by the breath, along with the food, or by the absorbents opening on the surface; —whether after the select few are developed, which the usual wants of the species require, or after the appropriate parts are incapable of developing more, myriads that remain in their primary state immediately retire in search of other receptacles, or remain till the spirit of the body in which they reside be summoned to a tenement beyond the grave: and these are questions which no author has yet been able to answer.

Bonnet, the celebrated naturalist, was, as we have already hinted, an involutionist, but with the characteristic modesty of his gentle nature, he seems unwilling to hazard the strife of controversy, even for the sake of a favourite hypothesis. "Je n'ai pas decidé entre l'hypothese de *l'emboitement* et celle de la *dessemination* des germes: J'ai seulement donné entendre que j'inclinois vers *l'emboitement*." Generation, of course, according to the theory of this latter school, was only a process of developement, or expansion of the germs transmitted from age to age in the persons of a thousand ancestors, and finding at length a combination of circumstances suited to their naturalization. This view of the subject, however, is surrounded with numerous difficulties, which Bonnet was ready to acknowledge, and even prepared himself to explain. In his work on organized bodies, he labours to unfold some of the mysteries connected with the developement of germs, particularly how, during their expansion, they are occasionally turned into monsters; and how by the intercourse of two individuals of different sexes and species, they are sometimes converted into mules or hybrids; and finally, how, after continuing to exist without any change in an infinite variety of circumstances for thousands of years, they may at last in this temporary passage through the bodies of two individuals, contract the diseases, habits, dispositions, structure, and form, by which these individuals are characterized.

Haller was originally a decided anti-involutionist, being of opinion that the structure of the offspring is formed by some generative processes in the bodies of the parents. At length, however, yielding to what he imagined the force of truth, he

took his place among those whom he had formerly opposed, and espoused the notion of pre-existing germs. The conversion of such a man was a great triumph to Bonnet and Spallanzani, who regarded the change of opinion effected in the mind of that distinguished physiologist, together with the supposed facts which gave occasion to it, as the strongest of all evidence in support of their hypotheses. But the progress of discovery which had secured for them this splendid victory, threatened by its further advancement to weaken the foundations of their power, and even to overthrow it altogether. "*Animalcula Infusoria*," observes our author, "were found to spring suddenly in both animal and vegetable infusions, or according to Fray, in mineral mixtures, not through a regular and continued series of generations, but without parents, as if by a new and original creation. Spallanzani and Bonnet, who not only remarked, but also contributed to establish the fact, had here to renounce their favourite hypothesis of involution, to adopt that of dissemination, and to admit that the process of developement by generation was not universal. Still, however, they adhered to the hypothesis that plants and animals had all been existing since the creation, and that these animalcules, though utterly invisible, had from time immemorial been existing in the air, the water, or the earth, waiting opportunities for their own peculiar modes of developement; but as none was supposed to have had its residence in the element of fire, that element was employed as a test to ascertain in which of the three remaining elements they principally resided. For this purpose the animal and vegetable matters of the infusions were boiled, roasted, subjected even to the heat of the blow-pipe, and immediately shut up, not only in vessels accurately corked, but hermetically sealed. Animalcules notwithstanding sprang up in numbers, when the vessels were capacious. It was then supposed that the germs might have been existing in the water which had been inclosed along with the animal and vegetable matters: upon this the water was previously distilled, and afterwards examined minutely through the microscope before it was enclosed; an examination evidently superfluous, as by the hypothesis germs are not visible until they are partly at least evolved. The suspicion next fell upon the air, and more particularly as a smaller number, and in less variety, appeared in vessels of narrower dimensions where the air was scanty, and they never made their appearance at all when the infusions were confined *in vacuo*. But the air was also exposed to boiling heat, after it was inclosed. From whence then came the animalcules?"

Amidst these experiments and hypotheses, each physiologist preferred that particular interpretation of facts which best accorded with his previous habits of thinking. Spallanzani embraced that view of them which gave countenance to his favourite notion of the pre-existence of germs; imagining that the temperatures to which, in the course of his experiments, he had exposed the animal and vegetable matters employed by him, must have destroyed the vegetative powers of any particles of which they were composed; not reflecting, as Dr. Barclay well observes, that the like temperature would have also destroyed the vegetative powers of any of his germs. Needham, on the contrary, who was engaged in similar experiments, and was personally acquainted with Spallanzani, was rather inclined to ascribe the origin of these animalcules to certain properties in the particles of matter, but without pretending that these properties were either essential or underived, as obviously appears to have been the opinion of his friend Buffon.

Since we have mentioned Needham in connexion with Buffon, we cannot refrain from reminding the reader how far, in the case of these authors, the paltry spirit of personal ambition tarnished the love of science and the purity of friendship. Engaged in the same pursuits, and guided by the same views, they prosecuted their experiments together, and appear for a time to have communicated freely to each other the new lights which they succeeded in throwing upon their favourite study. Buffon, however, in relating these experiments in the second volume of his Natural History, creates in the mind of his reader the impression that they were chiefly his own. He mentions Needham, indeed, but it is only incidentally and as a subordinate person—a species of treatment which provoked the indignation of the Jesuit, and induced him to publish in his own defence.

Buffon, as well as his coadjutor Needham, denied the pre-existence of germs, and yet with singular inconsistency maintained the existence of certain embryos, which in favourable circumstances were capable of combining so as to become entire plants and animals. Plants and animals are therefore to be viewed as consisting of a multitude of germs—a fact of which proofs may be drawn, says he, even from the more common and inferior species, such as worms, polypi, elms, willows, and many other plants and insects, every part of which contains a whole, and in order to become a plant or an insect, requires only to be unfolded or expanded. Considering organized bodies in this point of view, an individual is a whole uniformly constructed in all parts, a collection of an infinite

number of particles every way similar, an assemblage of germs, or minute individuals of the same species, which, in certain circumstances, are capable of being expanded, and of becoming new beings, like those from which they were originally separated.

Buffon, however, was neither steady nor consistent in his views. Reflecting upon the numerous experiments made by himself, by Daubenton, and Needham, he began to suspect that their conclusions had exceeded the warranty of their facts—that the moving particles which they had seen in the seminal fluids, and in a variety of both animal and vegetable infusions, were not decidedly embryos or germs. These particles, no doubt, were most abundant in the semina of animals and the seeds of plants, but they were also found in a variety of substances which had been exposed to a roasting heat; and what farther convinced him that they were not animals, was that they moved only for a time in a certain direction; moved without intervals; and when once stationary, moved not again, and never were observed to propagate their species. From these circumstances, as well as from the absence of certain other characters, esteemed necessary to the constitution of germs, Buffon concluded that he saw in the moving atoms or animalcules, a kind of living and organic particles, equally adapted to the formation of every species of organized structures, whether plants or animals; all of them too being, as he thought, precisely of the same species; not the result of any process of generation; not the effect of any animal or vegetable process; but substances constituting the universal semen—the causes, not the consequence of organization—not germs, but the primary incorruptible elements of all germs, and ultimately of all organized substances.

Dr. Barclay is very successful in exposing the absurdity of Buffon's system, particularly as it respects the moulds in which the organic particles are supposed to assume the several forms of the animals and vegetables whose species they are employed to perpetuate; and also in regard to the functions of these particles in the process of generation. We must not indulge in the details of this part of the physiological hypothesis. Suffice it to say, that Buffon revives the epicurean notion that the seminal fluid is an extract from all the different parts of the body: and imagines, of course, that the organic particles proceeding from the head will arrange themselves in the head of the fœtus, those from the feet will go to the feet, those from the right side of the parent to the right side of the child, and those from the left to the left. "But," says our author,

"what becomes of this seminal extract when the organs of any of the parents are defective; when their limbs are amputated; or when there are no eye-balls in their orbits? Are the organs of their offspring equally defective? Surely not, if we can trust to daily experience; but they certainly ought to be according to this old and vulgar hypothesis. Farther we may also be entitled to ask, what particles of the male parent, or what of the female, had ever been the particles of a placenta, a chorion, an amnios, or a liquor amnii? It is in vain for the author to reply that these are formed of *superfluous* particles. On his present hypothesis, they must form parts similar to those from which they are derived; or if he recur to a former hypothesis, they should meet together in fortuitous assemblage and form tape-worms, ascarides, and other different species of vermes; but on all the hypotheses which he has devised, they are incapable of forming a placenta, or any of the membranes peculiar to the fœtus."

Most of our readers have heard of the mad scheme of Paracelsus for making a human being, by shutting up in the belly of a horse a certain preparation, which we do not choose to describe. At the end of forty days, we are assured, it will have some resemblance to a man, but will still be pellucid, and without a body. If after this, however, it be daily, cautiously, and prudently nourished and fed with the arcanum of human blood, and kept for forty weeks in the constant and equable heat of the horse's belly, it will then become a true and living infant, having all its members similar to those of an infant that is born of a woman, but much smaller. "This production," says Paracelsus, "we term an *homunculus*; and it must afterwards be reared with the utmost care and attention, till it grow to full stature, and begin to have wisdom and understanding. This," adds the crazy physician, "is one of the greatest secrets which the Deity has revealed to a mortal and sinful man."

Amatus Lusitanus, as quoted by Blumenbach, gravely mentions, as an established and well known fact, that a human fœtus had been actually produced by the chemical art, although it died as soon as taken out of the bottle. "Certo scimus," says he, "chemico artificio puerum conflatum esse, et sua omnia membra perfecta construisse, ac motum habuisse; qui cum a vase ubi continebatur, extractus esset, moveri desiit. Novit hæc accuratius Julius Camillus, vir singularis doctrinæ, et rerum occultarum et variarum, magnus scrutator," &c. &c.

It was the opinion of Epicurus, and some other ancients, that nature herself required some experience before she suc-

ceeded in making a complete man; and every novice in physiology is aware that attempts are still made, from time to time, to trace the origin of the human race to some lucky hit in the combination of her organic particles, or in the co-operation of her chemical affinities. The title of Robinet's book, of which the object was to call in the aid of modern science to illustrate the Epicurean notion of fortuitous structure, bears openly this atheistical doctrine; for it runs "Considerations Philosophiques de la Gradation Naturelle des Formes de l'Etre, ou les Essais de la Nature qui apprend a faire l'Homme." From observing that several species of minerals and plants bear a distant resemblance to some parts of the human body, this most absurd author supposes that the main, or rather the sole object of nature, from the very commencement of her operations, was to make man; and that accordingly the various definite forms which meet our eyes in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, are nothing more than the casual results of her numerous experiments whilst aiming, by a great variety of means, at the accomplishment of what he calls her *chef d'œuvre*. Such minerals as have been likened to the human heart, the brain, the ear, the eye, the kidneys, or the foot, are to be regarded as the first approach to the great object of nature's ambition—the formation of an intellectual biped: whilst the ape and oran-outang may be viewed as marking the last stage in the progress of experiment, and as affording a decisive proof that the mighty desideratum was about to be realized. Robinet fancies that, during these empirical and tentative operations, he sees nature in labour, groping her way through all the prodigiously diversified series of forms and structures, making experiments, collecting observations, and serving a long and tedious apprenticeship in learning the difficult art of man-making. "Dans la suite prodigieusement variée des animaux inferieurs, je vois la nature en travail avancer en tâtonnant vers cet être excellent qui couronne son œuvre:—et je crois pouvoir appeller la collection de ces etudes, *l'apprentissage de la nature*, ou les essais de la nature qui apprend a faire l'homme."

But, as Dr. Barclay very justly asks, how does it happen that now, when she has actually learned the art, nature continues to work like an apprentice? We can easily conceive, says he, that a being of the character which is here ascribed to her, might in a number of her earlier attempts have produced monsters; and that these monsters, although they fell short of her expectations, might have been the means of correcting many previous mistakes, of acquiring dexterity

operation, of suggesting new and important ideas, and of thus facilitating the attainment of her object. But the object once attained, what farther use for any experiments? What pretence either for ignorance or want of dexterity? In short, since the main object of nature was to make man, why does she, now that she has found out the method, ever condescend to engage herself in a meaner employment? Notwithstanding her great discovery, she continues, we find, to produce, as of old, those abortions in minerals, plants, and animals which were understood merely to point out the end that she was desirous to attain; and, in consequence of this unaccountable adherence to former habits, we may still perceive among her works not only irrational animals, such as pigs and turkeys, but also the numerous species of insects and zoophytes, together with those mocking resemblances in stone and metals to which fanciful men have given the names of encephalites, lithocardites, ophthalmolites, olites, padolites, and chirites.

Often since we began this article have we thought upon that expression in the Psalms, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall hold them in derision:" and assuredly, if on any subject the presumption and folly of men could excite a feeling of contempt among beings of a higher order, it could not fail to be directed towards most of the speculations now current on life and organization.

The name of Cuvier stands high as an anatomist, a naturalist, and we believe as a proficient also in general physics. In the branch of physiology, however, now under our consideration, he writes not with more intelligence or precision than Democritus, or the author of the Essais de la Nature qui apprend a faire l'homme. He rejects indeed with scorn the indestructible monads, pre-existing germs, organic particles, and *semina rerum*, as altogether unworthy of notice, whilst he ascribes the organization of plants and animals to what he calls a *vital force*, a *vital impulse*, or, varying the phrase, to a certain *species of motion*, or finally to nothing but to *life itself*. Here we have words and nothing more. We have a description of the effect without any explanation of the cause; for the terms "vital force" and "vital impulse" denote merely the action of a principle already in operation, and afford no light whatever as to the history or the nature of that principle considered apart from its effects. The information supplied by the use of such technical language amounts simply to this—than an organized structure in plants and animals is the result of vital action; and vital action proceeds from life; and life itself can neither be defined nor

comprehended. The vital principle is manifested in all organic structures by certain phenomena, such as digestion, circulation, respiration, and excretion, and in animals by voluntary motion and the exhibition of various degrees of sentiment and susceptibility; but these, properly speaking, do not constitute the principle in question, any more than the revolution of a planet, or the descent of an aërolite constitutes the principle of gravity. The cessation of any one of the functions now named will destroy life, or rather, perhaps, indicate that life is impaired, or about to cease; and yet life is neither circulation nor respiration. In short, like other simple and general ideas, the idea attached to the word life becomes the more obscure the longer it is detained before the mind for examination: and Cuvier accordingly, with the aid of as much anatomical and physiological knowledge as any man ever brought to the inquiry, has by his varied labours in this important branch of the subject proved nothing but his own ignorance, and perhaps the utter hopelessness of success even in the most favourable circumstances.

Of Mr. Lawrence, and his opinions, Dr. Barclay does not say much, except that these are taken, with very little acknowledgment, from Bichât, Blumenbach, and Cuvier. The chief source of error and of self-contradiction in the writings of this author, may be traced to his practice of confounding *life* with the mere instruments or manifestations of life; but as this has been pointed out at great length by several accomplished authors, and particularly by Mr. Rennell, in his Remarks on Scepticism, we shall not detain our readers by repeating familiar statements and exploded heresies.

The last chapter of this "Inquiry" is devoted to a consideration of the "opinions of those who suppose a living internal principle distinct from the body, and likewise the cause of organization." The writers named under this head are Aristotle, Harvey, Willis, Hunter, Abernethy, Deleuze, and Grew; to which we may add the laborious and respected author of the work now before us.

In regard to Aristotle, we may be permitted to observe that his arguments for the existence of a ψυχη, or soul, distinct from matter and superior to it, are much too comprehensive to be applicable with any decisive effect to the particular case of the human subject. They apply generally to all organized substances, and even to such as are not organized. The soul or predominating principle for which he contends, is that which retains in combination the four elements, the earth, the air, the fire, and the water; and as its power is chiefly manifested in restraining the natural tendencies of the

most active of these elements, the fire and the air, and in preventing their separation from the more sedative and sluggish, it follows that wherever these constituent parts meet together, in one body, whether animal, mineral, or vegetable, there must be present a soul to regulate and confine their energies. On this ground he himself proceeds to inquire, whether or not are all souls of the same species; or if there be different species of souls, whether or not there are different genera. He asks whether every species would not require a separate and distinct definition, as the soul of the horse, of the dog, of the man, of the god, of the plant, and of the wild beast. As every soul, he adds, is characterized by one or more of the following faculties, the nutritive, sensitive, cogitative, and motive, whether or not, when two or more are found in conjunction, ought we to view them as so many souls, or only as so many parts of a soul? Can one, for instance, be restricted to the brain, another to the thorax, and a third to the cavity of the abdomen?

We deny not that Aristotle held the notion of a vital principle as subsisting in animals and vegetables; but maintain that, from a reference to the operation of that principle, as described by himself, it might also have been extended to inert, inorganic matter; for, as it was employed to prevent "fire from ascending and earth from going downwards," when they happened to be combined in one body, we can see no reason why a piece of flint or a diamond should not have a soul as well as a carrot or an oyster. In fact, the ψυχη of Aristotle's system seems to have been nothing more than a portion of the *anima mundi*, the principle which animated and pervaded all things.

Harvey, whose name is illustrated by the discovery of the circulation of the blood, ascribes organization to an animating principle, and in this differs from the materialists or hylozoists, who attempt to account for the phenomena of life upon the ground of impulse, motion, chemical action, or some other physical property. In following out his views, however, he falls into those gross absurdities from which no physiologist, it should appear, is permitted to escape. He first places his animating principle in the blood, and next supposes the blood itself to be that animating principle. This liquid, says he, while flowing in the veins, and perfused with a species of divine heat, which is totally different from ordinary heat, though somewhat analogous to the element of the stars, exhibits properties so extraordinary that, viewed as a spirit, it may justly be termed the hearth-fire, the vesta, the household deity, the sun of the microcosm, the calidum innatum, the

fire of Plato: and deservedly, he adds, may it claim the name of spirit, as abounding more than all the other parts in the radical moisture, that first, that last, that primary element, by which it is not only nourished itself, but which it prepares and imparts liberally to the system around it, pervading constantly for that very purpose every part of the body, that it may thereby unite to itself, nourish, cherish, and preserve alive, the organs which it fabricates, performing that office in a manner not unlike to that of the planets, and more especially of the sun and moon, which, wheeling perpetually round in their orbits, impart their heat and their vivifying influence to every thing below. In a word, with Harvey, the blood is literally the life—it is the animating principle, or the substance, of which the *anima* is only the act.

The blood being thus regarded as the source of all sensation, perception, and intelligence, it naturally occurred to medical men that, if the sanguineous system in any animal were changed, its whole nature would be thereby completely changed, and even that by giving to an old man the blood of a vigorous youth, the strength of the former might be renewed, and a new lease of life obtained again and again. Their experiments, says Dr. Barclay, were first confined to injections of small quantities of medicated waters into the veins of the lower animals. Dr. Lower claims the merit of being the first who thought of injecting a much more congenial fluid, of extracting the whole blood from an animal, and of substituting the blood of others in its stead. In his preparations for such an experiment, he procured a dog of an ordinary size and two mastiffs, and began his operation by opening the jugular vein of the small dog, and by permitting its blood to flow till it ceased to howl, became feeble, and fell into convulsions: he then transfused the arterial blood of one of the mastiffs till the vessels of the small dog were again filled: and thus repeatedly emptying and filling the vessels of the small dog, until he had exhausted the blood of the mastiffs, which consequently died, he closed the incision in the jugular vein of the small dog, which on being untied leaped from the table, fawned upon its master, and to get off the blood rolled upon the grass as if no particular accident had happened. An account of this experiment was inserted in the Transactions of the Royal Society for the year 1665; and excited, as was to be expected, no small curiosity and speculation in most parts of Europe. For a time, as Dr. Barclay informs us, all former distinctions between noble and ignoble blood were entirely forgotten, or at least disregarded.

A few ounces from the veins of a plebeian, or from the arteries of a calf or sheep, were found to improve the qualities of blood that had flowed through the veins of a long and illustrious race of ancestry. At last, however, the unfortunate result of some experiments incautiously performed, or performed upon persons who were not likely to derive any benefit from a change of their fluids, occasioned an order from the French king, and another from the Pope, prohibiting all such experiments in future.

We cannot follow the author through his analysis of the opinions entertained by Hunter, Abernethy, Deleuze, and Grew, on the vital principle. We recommend, however, this portion of the work to the attention of the juvenile reader, as being extremely well suited to guide his inquiries amidst the discordant conclusions of modern physiologists. As to the particular notions of Dr. Barclay himself, we are not supplied with the means of forming a decided judgment. It is clear, however, that he is disposed to coincide with those who maintain the existence of a separate vital principle, whose office it is to direct the processes of organization, and to superintend the structure of animal as well as vegetable bodies. But he does not attempt any illustration either of the precise nature of that principle considered as a constituent part of human nature, or of the mode in which it regulates those functions on which the growth and decay of the human body are known to depend. Respecting with the utmost sincerity the motives on which this hypothesis is founded, we must confess that except in the expression which denotes it, the doctrine of a vital principle is to us equally destitute of meaning with the animating principle, the indivisible atoms, spermatic powers, organic particles, formative appetencies, formative propensities, formative nisuses, pre-existing monads, semina rerum, plastic natures, occultqualities, or chemical affinities. The darkness which broods over this mystical investigation is not dispelled by the substitution of one phrase for another; and the words *vital principle* accordingly do not convey clearer ideas to our mind than *venus genetrix*, or *venus physique*, or *vis formatrix*, or *archeus*, or *calidum innatum*, or *natura creatrix*, or *vis essentialis*, *materia vitæ*, *secreta facultas*, or *anima mundi*. The subject, in short, is incomprehensible, and we shall never be able to understand what life is, or how it is perpetuated, in the countless species of animals and vegetables which the Great Creator has made.

We cannot allow ourselves to drop the pen without heartily recommending this very learned and laborious book to

all who have any desire to peruse an outline of the opinions of almost every writer of any note who, since the very dawn of philosophy in ancient Europe down to the present day, has published on the subject of Life and Organization.

ART. II. *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the Request of the London Missionary Society; being a Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of that Country. By the Rev. John Campbell. With a Map and coloured Prints.* 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 706. Westley. 1822.

ART. III. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa. By William J. Burchell, Esq. Vol. I. with an entirely new Map and numerous Engravings.* pp. 598. 4l. 14s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1822.

MESSRS. Campbell and Philip were dispatched by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, to visit their stations in South Africa, at the close of the year 1818. The first of these gentlemen alone proceeded into the interior; and his present work may be considered as the manifesto of his employers. Mr. Burchell's object in going over much of the same ground, eight years before, shall be stated in his own words; for we cannot substitute any others which would convey so just a notion of his general manner and matter:—

"To view the admirable perfection of *Nature* in a new light, and not less beautiful in the wilds of Africa, was the irresistible motive which led me on: while the charms which novelty of scenery, heightened by the interesting consideration of Human Nature under forms perfectly new to me, and a philosophical contemplation of the various objects which in these untrodden regions incessantly present themselves, to a mind constituted to feel them, inspire an enthusiasm which none can know but those who have been placed under these circumstances. How pitiable are those cold-hearted beings, whose amusements and views, whose whole life, and even thoughts, are artificial. Doomed to breathe the thick air of Insensibility; to feed on the gross food, and wallow in the mire, of Sensuality and Selfishness; greedy of every thing which, among men, passes by the name of enjoyment, they never dream of the genuine pleasure which Nature bestows only on those who view, with a broad admiring eye, the beauty and perfection of all her works, equally stupendous in the smallest insect, and the glorious picture of the starry heavens." *Burchell*, P. 504.

Having put our readers in possession of the motives whi

acquainted these travellers with the Bushmen and the Korannas, we shall endeavour to compare the several impressions which each of them received from his visit.

Mr. Campbell's first intention was not to proceed farther northward than Lattakoo. (Litá (a) kun, or Takoon, according to Mr. Burchell). A favourable opportunity, however, presented itself in this town of penetrating much higher into the interior: and before his return he advanced nearly 200 miles, in a North-easterly direction, beyond his original limit. The two largest cities which he observed were Mashow and Kurreechane. The population of the first is placed by him at 12,000 inhabitants: the last, which is more civilized than its southern neighbours, he believes may contain not less than 16,000. On his return he visited several towns on the banks of the river Krooman, and arrived at the Cape once more, after an absence of ten months.

The banks of the Gamka present some beautiful scenery; and they are profusely covered with luxuriant and fragrant mimosas. The circumference shaded by one of these was paced by Mr. Campbell in sixty-six steps. The plant itself consisted of seventeen long shoots, proceeding from one parent stump; it was clothed with a lively green foliage, and thickly studded with innumerable flowers, glittering in the sun "like so many newly-coined guineas." The cattle of the travellers were pastured round it; "*coveys* (Mr. C. is no sportsman) of pheasants were flying over it, butterflies of great beauty were extracting their food from its honeyed treasures, and lizards of various hues were enjoying its shade." This is a picture which might serve for a more northern African latitude, when Geographers shall have ascertained the precise site of the delicious garden of the Hesperides.

In crossing the country of the wild Bushmen the heat was excessive, and its effects most powerful. The thermometer in the shade rose to more than 100°. The sugar became "hard as brick;" the ink was dried up in the inkstand; the water in all the vessels was "as hot as tea is generally drank;" and no part of the waggon which had been exposed to the sun could be touched with impunity. The Koranas whom the travellers met were friendly, and all asked for spirits by a most appropriate name, fire-water. One of them had a long wide incision across his back to cure a pain in the loins; and such as were not painted with red ochre, had their foreheads ornamented with huge plaisters of cow-dung. Mr. Campbell remarks that taste is very capricious.

The civilized Americans themselves have scarcely a greater

aversion to water than the Bushmen. One, who was not distinguished above his fellows by dirtiness, when asked how long it was since he had washed himself? could not tell, but after considering a little, said it must be a *long* time. Some others being advised to take to bathing, were much diverted with the idea of washing, but seemed unable to apprehend what end could be answered by it. Grease, of all kinds, is the substitute for water; and as this is accumulated in fresh strata, at every opportunity, the odour is somewhat ungrateful: insomuch that the Bushmen never drink of the fountain nearest their kraal; well knowing that the scent left behind would frighten away the animals who came to water, and thus diminish their means of subsistence. But this is an old complaint,

Romæ cum Bocchore nemo lavatur.

Mr. Burchell once entertained some female visitors from a Bushman kraal. They first eagerly drank off a bowl of liquid hippopotamus fat; and then, carefully scraping out with their hands whatever adhered to the sides, smeared it over their bodies.

Lattakoo is thought to contain about 4000 inhabitants, all of whom are great snuff-takers. The king, whose name is Mateebe, seems well disposed to the Missionaries. "The infants cry or weep exactly as they do in England; but those who are above three or four years of age bawl out y͝o---y͝o---y͝o---y͝o---y͝o; y͝o---y͝o---y͝o---y͝o---y͝o---y͝o." Vol. I. P. 90. We have heard children of three or four years old do this also in England; and, if we recollect right, Foote, in like manner, in his Trip to Calais, makes his Philosophic Traveller remark, that pigs on both sides the Channel speak the same *tweekée weekée* language.

One of the districts into which Lattakoo is divided is occupied by five hundred Bootshuanas, under their captain Mahwoo. This terrific personage has a black beard, about an inch long, on his upper lip and the lower part of his chin. The skin of a long serpent is wrapped round his forehead, and the head of the animal hangs over his brow. In return for some snuff, of which part was taken by himself, part was divided among his wives and principal officers, and the remainder which adhered to his hand, "was drawn up very clean by an aged man," he presented Mr. Campbell with a calabash of thick milk. But the gift was like the supper with which the fox entertained his long-necked guest; the hole in the side being of such dimensions that the dainty could not be reached by any ordinary extension of the tongue.

King Mateebe is somewhat given to anger: he cares not how much he begs from the Missionaries himself, but he is wrathful if others trouble them. "On such an occasion he once laid hold of a stick, and knocked down captains, servants, women, and children, indeed all that came in his way, without making any distinction." Sometimes when he speaks at public meetings, the Hottentots run away with terror: and no wonder, for his majesty is said, though his deportment in general is mild, when at all out of humour to have infuriated eyes, a swollen countenance, and a foaming mouth. Yet in common conversation his subjects give him the lie direct, without the smallest offence.

Kossee, the king of the Mashows, was on a visit to king Mateebe on Mr. Campbell's arrival, and he gave the traveller an invitation to his dominions, which was readily accepted. The Matchappees who guided Mr. Campbell thither, though unskilled in Greek, every where practically adopted the principle of the crafty Ithacan:

> οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγῆ δῆτα τὸ ψευδῆ λέγειν;
> οὐκ, εἰ τὸ σωθῆναι γε τὸ ψεῦδος φέρει.

Lying was nothing in their estimation if they could gain any thing by it. If they wanted to advance, the securest station was sure to be haunted by lions; and if they wished for time to consume a quacha or a hippopotamus, no firewood was to be found farther onward.

At length, under this auspicious pilotage, he arrived at Mashow. The king Kossee gave him a friendly reception; and, in a public meeting, an old captain, to whose authority all the other chiefs seemed inclined to bow, expressed a strong opinion in favour of the Missionaries. Their popularity was increased by the division of two buffaloes which they had shot, among the grandees. The king claimed their paunches for his dogs; and with his own hand recovered them from some of his people, who thought to anticipate him.

Mr. Campbell's stay in Mashow was short. On his road to the Marotzee country, a rhinoceros was shot, skinned, and cut up in less than an hour; the party dispersed itself about fifteen fires, round which each company (more than 100 in all,) were roasting, boiling, and devouring the flesh with the most disgusting voracity. A quacha also had been shot, and brought in by one of the divisions without the privity of the rest. While the captors were preparing to gorge it as an *entremet* after the more solid banquet, they were discovered and interrupted.

"After all had eaten heartily of the rhinoceros's flesh at the fifteen fires, a man from a distant part called aloud, so as to be heard by all, owing to the stillness of the night, 'I smell quacha flesh, who has it?' Pelangye hearing the question, and probably knowing that the business was discovered, immediately answered 'We have got it.' 'Where did you get it?' asked the same man with a loud voice. 'In the field.' 'Did you give the Makooa-Shou * [the white men] the bullet that was in it?' Had Pelangye acknowledged a bullet to have been in it, this would have proved that it had been shot, and ought to be divided as public property. Perceiving the artfulness of the question, he evaded it by simply answering, 'We found it dead in the field.' 'Ay, ay, dead in the field! Did it die without a bullet?' 'There was no bullet.' 'So we shall now find quachas dead in the field without bullets! shall we?' Here the conversation ended without a direct accusation, as the accuser had no proof to adduce that the quacha was shot, it having been cut in pieces in the field, and perhaps that part of the skin, through which the bullet entered, thrown away. However all heard the conversation, and considered the transaction to be a nefarious one." P. 201.

The following day was Sunday, but the flesh-pots had more attraction than public worship. The legs and feet of the rhinoceros were baked in a natural oven. Several ants' nests, each nearly three feet in height, and composed of hard clay, were carefully excavated. The hollow was filled with lighted wood, till the bottom and sides became red hot, and the embers then being removed, the flesh was inserted, and the door closed up with heated clay. This food, after remaining in the oven several hours, was highly esteemed.

On entering Kurreechane, a vast population poured out to meet the white men. The old persons were convulsed with laughter, the young screamed with horror, and ran away to hide themselves. From an eminence Mr Campbell observed that the town was of considerable extent. Every house in it was surrounded, at a convenient distance, by a circular stone wall, and some of them were plaistered and painted yellow on the outside. The king was a minor, and the government was in the hands of the late king's eldest brother, as regent; the present king was not the eldest son of his father, but the son of the eldest queen. By a singular analogy with the Jewish custom, a brother of the late king took his eldest wife "to raise up seed to his brother:" and the son of this union will be acknowledged king, when he comes of

* "The Bootshuanas call all civilized persons, or persons dressing like them, or possessing articles like them, such as Griquas and Hottentots, Makoos; white men they call Makoos-Shou."

age, in preference to a son of the former king himself by a later queen.

Many of the houses in the town were ornamented with figures and pillars, moulded inhard clay, and painted with various colours. Articles of pottery were neatly made; and the art of smelting iron and copper was perfectly understood. Mr. Campbell entertained the regent with bread and cheese, and presented him, among other things, with a red worsted night-cap, a kaleidoscope, and a portrait of the Prince of Saxe Coburg. His highness was greatly pleased, and remarked that the white man had "made him quite light to day."

Inoculation for the small-pox is well known among them, and is practised between the eye-brows. The virus was said to come from the Mahalatsela, "a nation to the north-east, who wear clothes, ride upon elephants, and are gods." Mr. Campbell conjectures that these are the Portuguese. The phlebotomy of the Kurreechaneans is a severe operation, and consists in long deep incisions, to which they submit with unmoved patience. Most of the people have a round swelled part on both temples, about the size and shape of a musquet bullet, raised by incision, to cure the head-ache. May not this custom be traced to the temporal cauterization inflicted by the Libyan Nomades on their children to prevent unpleasant defluxions*? Beads are universally the article most coveted; they circulate like coin, and nothing approaches them in value; though white buttons and clasp knives are held in considerable estimation.

The white men's dinner was a ceremony of great attraction. The number which attended it was generally three times greater than that which could be gathered for worship. Nothing seemed to surprise the natives more than to see any thing which had once been placed upon table removed uneaten; for they never consider a meal finished till all be devoured. The dogs prowled about the fires, and it required frequent exertion of the lash to prevent them from clearing the spits and pots. Four times in the course of the tour some of these half-starved animals eat up as many pair of shoes, and in one instance they digested the leather traces which fastened the horses to the waggon.

A peetso, or general meeting of the captains, was called during Mr. Campbell's stay at Kurreechane; they prepared themselves for it by painting each others bodies with wet pipe-clay, of a French-grey colour. Between three and four hundred persons attended this common council, which com-

* Herodotus, IV. 187.

menced by a general chorus. A chief captain then arose; silence was obtained, and he gave three howls; then resting on his assagais, he asked if they would hear him speak. He then spoke briefly of the loss of some cattle. When he had ended, Moselway, the young king was called upon to dance. Certain other captains afterwards addressed the assembly, each preluding his oration by the customary three howls, or, in some instances, by "three barks like a young dog." The senate of Kurreechane has its factions like our own. There were members who praised the Missionaries; and others again who attacked the court; they did not like to see "young kings with thick legs and corpulent bodies, they ought to be kept thin by watching and defending the cattle." Nor was there wanting a Nestor among them, *laudator temporis acti*; they could come, he said, to the peetso well powdered, but in *his* young days the captains were men of far more courage and resolution than they were now. The regent himself spoke, and apologised for the want of beads among the Missionaries. His brother concluded the meeting by a long oration; during one part of which the regent and the young king, followed by many others, ran forward and danced. On the conclusion of this speech "the whole meeting rose as one man, with tumultuous noise, and departed with such speed that in one minute the square was cleared. The meeting lasted about four hours."

The popularity of the visitors daily increased; the regent's brother assured them, that if they were not so heavy he would throw them up into the air, and not let them touch the ground again: and an old chief begged Mr. Reed's permission to tweak him by the nose, which is an infallible proof of friendship. After these amicable arrangements, Mr. Campbell prepared to return to Mashow. On his road he observed an ingenious substitute which the Matchappees adopted for tobacco pipes.

"They dug a hole in the ground the shape of a basin, in which they formed, with their fingers, a round passage, down one side and up the other, in the shape of an inverted bow, this they arched over with clay, and filled up the whole with earth, leaving open the two ends of the passage; then placing their tobacco, (or rather wild hemp) with a lighted cinder at one end, and putting their mouths close to the other, they sucked out the smoke. Necessity is the mother of invention in all lands." P. 281.

The travellers relied, as before, upon their guns for food; and the rhinoceros was the great dainty of their table. This animal, as well as the elephant, is attended by a small brown bird,

about the size of a thrush, which picks the bush lice from its friends hides. Herodotus assigns a similar office to the wren (τροχίλος) which disembarrasses the jaws of the crocodile of the superfluous leeches which burrow in them while under water.

On their return to Mashow they made their celebrated discovery of the unicorn, the head of which is now in the Missionary Museum.

"During our absence from Mashow two rhinoceroses came into the town during the night, when the inhabitants assembled and killed them both. The rhinoceroses, shot by Jager, on the preceding day, having been cut up, were brought, the one in a waggon, the other on pack-oxen. We divided one among Kossie, Munameets, and Pelangye. They brought also the head of one of them, which was different from all the others that had been killed. The common African rhinoceros has a crooked horn resembling a cock's spur, which rises about nine or ten inches above the nose and inclines backward; immediately behind this is a short thick horn; but the head they brought had a straight horn projecting three feet from the forehead, about ten inches from the tip of the nose. The projection of this great horn very much resembles that of the fanciful unicorn in the British arms. It has a small thick horny substance, eight inches long, immediately behind it, which can hardly be observed on the animal at the distance of a hundred yards, and seems to be designed for keeping fast that which is penetrated by the long horn; so that this species of rhinoceros must appear really like a unicorn when running in the field. The head resembled in size a nine gallon cask, and measured three feet from the mouth to the ear, and being much larger than that of the one with the crooked horn, and which measured eleven feet in length, the animal itself must have been still larger and more formidable. From its weight, and the position of the horn, it appears capable of overcoming any creature hitherto known. Hardly any of the natives took the smallest notice of the head, but treated it as a thing familiar to them. As the entire horn is perfectly solid, the natives, I afterwards heard, make from one horn four handles for their battle-axes." P. 294.

A few curious particulars were learned from Hoonsey, a Mashow captain, who acted as guide between Mashow and Kurreechane. On the rite of circumcision, he preserved as grave a silence as the Egyptians themselves did. In his account of the origin of mankind, he was more communicative; and his history of the Genesis was confirmed by a distinguished rain-maker. There is a great hole in the Marootsee country, not far from Mr. Campbell's route, out of which men first came. All kinds of animals also came out thence, and the footsteps both of men and cattle are still to be seen therein. The rain-maker affirmed that "one man came out

long ago, but he went back and is there yet." Hoonsey, on this point went farther, "there are likewise the footmarks of one that went back to the hole, and these are God's footmarks." The rain-maker never saw the hole himself, but what was just as good authority, *his uncle*, who was dead, had seen it; and the footmarks were quite plain.

"Matoome was the first man, and had a younger brother of the same name, and a sister whose name was Matoomyan. She was the first who came out from the hole, and had orders respecting the cattle, and was appointed to superintend them; but her brother Matoome came out, and without leave went and led the cattle round the end of a mountain, which so enraged his sister, who possessed medicine for the preservation of life and health, that she returned to the hole, carrying with her the precious medicine; in consequence of which diseases and death came into the world, and prevail in it to this day." P. 306.

Makkabba, king of the Wankatzens, is in bad odour among his neighbours, as a magician and a tyrant. He poisoned his father in order to obtain one of his wives of whom he was enamoured. He never looks any body in the face to whom he is speaking. He wears on his breast the blade-bone of another king, whom he had killed in battle. In some respects he is a man, in others a god. He eats from morning till evening, and is generally surrounded by several of his wives, with only one servant present, while all his people keep a respectful distance. When a great king is killed, "he cuts open the breast, and extracts the fat from the entrails, and afterwards the marrow from the back bone, which he boils together, and when sick, by putting a little of it in his nose and ear, he is cured." There is a large deep hole in his dominions, down which he has only to call and the cattle come up to him. By his magic also he overcomes elephants; for when he whistles they come, and quietly permit him to cut off their legs. To tame the rhinoceros he adopts another expedient; he digs up a certain bulb, introduces a medicine into it, and buries it again: so that if a rhinoceros approaches it he cannot move from the spot. Lastly, he suppressed a rebellion headed by his own son, by kicking down an ant hill, and commissioning a swarm of bees which issued from it to chase the rebels from the country. Truly this is a prince, to say the least, of suspicious character; and we think it was highly prudent in Mr. Campbell to refuse his invitation.

At Hakkaroo on the Krooman river, to which Mr. Campbell diverged on his return, we find another remnant of

barbarous antiquity, which has not escaped the notice of Herodotus. Mr. Campbell arrived a few hours after the burial of a captain. His grave, as he heard, was a wide and deep hole, with a seat on the south side, on which the corpse was placed with his face to the sun at noon. The Nasamonians are stated by the Father of History, to have been very anxious that their sick should expire in none other than a sitting posture. If they died horizontally it was an ill omen; and they took especial pains to inter them also in the same attitude *.

Continuing his course along the dry bed of the Krooman, Mr. Campbell observed a singular mode of obtaining water, practised by the Koranas. The well which he found was nineteen feet deep, and

"was dug through a chalk rock. One man was standing in the water at the bottom of the well, another stood on the almost perpendicular sides, about six feet above him, his feet resting in holes cut out of the rock, and about six feet above him stood a third man. Looking down into the well, the three men almost appeared as if standing on each other's shoulders. The lowest man filled a large wooden dish with water which he handed to the man above him, and he to the other, who emptied it into a little pool made near the mouth of the well, to which the oxen had access, after which the dish was returned to the man at the bottom. The quickness with which it went down and returned was surprising, perhaps three times in a minute. Notwithstanding they thus employed great part of the day, they cannot afford a full draught to each ox, once in twenty-four hours. They admit four oxen at a time to drink from the little pool; the first time the ox lifts his head from the water he is considered as having got a sufficient quantity, and is not permitted to put it down again, but is instantly driven away with sticks. About twenty oxen are brought near the well at a time, where they impatiently wait to take their turn; when these have drank, they walk off to make room for the rest." Vol. II. P. 89.

Some birds' nests also, of a peculiar construction, attracted his notice.

"We cut down the limb of a tree on which one of those nests was built. It was not suspended from the branch, but firmly attached to it. The nest was about the size of a hogshead, composed of strong, coarse straw, regularly thatched, the ends of the straw pointing downwards, so that no rain could possibly enter. It had eight holes in the bottom for admitting the birds; these did not lead to one general chamber in the middle, but each led to a

* Herodotus, IV. 190.

distinct apartment which had no communication with the others. They were all lined with the soft downy heads of a particular species of grass well suited for the purpose. On dividing the nest across, the large mass above was found to be a solid body of straw, designed probably to prevent the admission of serpents or other noxious animals." Vol. II. P. 96.

Mr. Campbell saw many lions: and he tells us that they often jump upon the backs of the cameleopard, without being able to kill it from the thickness of the skin. Some lions, indeed, he believes, have been thus carried *a distance of twenty miles;* for the cameleopard, like Sinbad with the old gentleman, cannot shake off his troublesome rider, till he chooses voluntarily to dismount.

The biographical memoirs which Mr. Campbell was able to collect from his travelling friends, consist chiefly of narratives of hair-breadth escapes from wild-beasts. Makoon, a chief of the Bushmen on the Malalareen river, boasted of having killed in his life-time four lions, one tiger, two leopards, three cameleopards, seven buffaloes, two rhinoceroses, two elks, one sea-cow, and numberless quachas. This, as an English Nimrod would say, is a pretty fair bag. Pelangye, an old Lattakoo captain, once beat off a party of Barrolongs, who attempted to rob his cattle-kraal. He killed ten, (seven of the eleven, in Lincoln-green) with his own hand. One of his companions in this engagement was desperately wounded, and left for dead. The crows began to tear the wounded parts of his body; but his friends returning, and discovering some signs of animation, carried him home, where he recovered. On another occasion, Pelangye escaped from a buffalo, by plunging into the midst of a thorn bush. The enraged animal butted at the bush, but the wily native bent the branches back and let them spring in the beast's face, who ran off in terror. Once also he frightened a lion away, by looking steadily in his face. Of the veracity of this *soi disant Cœur de lion,* we may form some estimate by the flattery to which he condescended. In order to obtain a present from Mr. Reed, he once told him that "he loved him so much, that if he were a cow with a large tongue he would lick him all over with it." Cornelius Kok while one day walking with his dog, came suddenly upon a tiger. Seeing the animal ready to spring, he hastily wrapped his great coat round his head. The tiger caught him by the head with his month, while his claws entered both his legs: but the great-coat "encumbered" him, the dog barked, the beast quitted his hold, and Cornelius shot him.

Of bleeding and inoculation we have already spoken; the

remaining medical science of the Bootchuanas may be comprehended in a few words.

"The most common application used by doctors is an ointment composed of fat and soot, with which the patient is anointed on that part of the body which is affected. All the family and attendants, to sympathize with him, anoint the same part of their bodies. In some cases they blow into the ears of the sick, expecting thereby to drive out the evil spirit, which is the cause of the disease. Sometimes this operation of blowing is continued, and with great violence, till the patient be nearly expiring At the same time they call out 'Bow wow' with so loud a voice as to be heard at a considerable distance from the house. When all means have failed to produce a cure, the doctors sometimes repair to the fields, and beseech God not to kill men." Vol. II. P. 209.

Proper names in South Africa are full of meaning. Moornonzee, Rich in flies; Moelatzee, make him ready; Moloyamang, who (whom) had he bewitched; Mahalalewney, scrapings of skin; Assiolary, filth of a tree; Towai, Matibuily, keep the lion near the door, or prevent his escape; Kossie, elephant's father; Liqueling, what have you heard; Moellway, cannot bear him; Impatoo qua, belly of a camel; Marobey, peculiar sack; Howkay, little lamb; Howkaying, very little lamb. All this is a very pregnant nomenclature, but we do not think the geography of these districts will be much indebted to the pious reminiscences of sectarian gratitude. The "late worthy Mr. Neale, of St. Paul's Churchyard, a sincere friend of the heathen world," has annexed his name to a fountain: and not only a fountain but a plain also, as a double tribute of amphibious honour, is assigned to Mr. William Alers Hankey, who is at once Chairman and Treasurer of the Missionary Society—Alers Plain, and Hankey Fountain!

But we come now to the most important fact ascertained by these volumes; the extent to which Christianity has been propagated by this Society, which in true "catholic spirit" professes to teach "no form of church order and government;" and whose patched and piebald members feel towards each other only "a rivalry like that of angels, who strive which shall best promote the cause of God *." For this purpose we shall content ourselves with the internal evidence of the Missionary's own words; with the addition of a few comments by Mr. Burchell, who is *not* a missionary.

At Lattakoo, Mr. Campbell says:

* Twenty-seventh Report of the Missionary Society, p. 105.

"On my expressing my sorrow at finding so few children frequented the school, he (the king) said, '*they had to attend the cattle.*'

"The Missionaries say they could get plenty of young people to attend, were they either to feed them, or daily make them presents of beads. The children coming to school, and the old people to worship, is considered by the natives as a favour done to the Missionaries. So generally is this the case, that when the Missionaries observe a captain attending regularly for a short time, who has not been accustomed to attend before, *they expect an application from him soon, for the use of their waggon, or their plough, or something else.*" P. 73.

At the same place Mateebe observed to him, "All are pleased with the word, but we cannot comprehend it." Vol. I. P. 77. He added also, that "*it was still uncertain whether the people understood that they had souls.*" Vol. I. P. 79. Of the Matchappees, generally, Mr. Campbell admits that "were any of their captains to renounce their ancient customs, and profess the Christian faith, he would thereby expose himself to the keenest persecution." Vol. I. P. 101.

At Kurreechane

"A greater number of natives attended worship in the evening than on any former occasion. The singing of the Hottentots attracted much notice from them. They behaved well during the address, and the prayer which was put up by Sedras, the interpreter in their own language; but the instant worship was over, they laughed and talked like men who had only been diverted for a time, or as if extremely glad it was over." Vol. I. P. 239.

Again,

"They listened patiently for a quarter of an hour to an address on the connection between the knowledge of the true God and everlasting happiness. After which Moeelway, who sat on my right hand, rose and walked off, not from any disgust or displeasure, but merely because he did not feel interested or amused any longer; his example was followed by several others, like one sheep leading a flock astray. I made a point of never going beyond half an hour in the address, knowing the frivolity of their minds." Vol. I. P. 247.

Of the cause of the favourable reception of the Missionaries in this city, we think we can perceive traces in the following admission,

"I mentioned to the Regent in the evening that, if he and his people received the word of God, their children and their children's children would hereafter consider our visit one of the most im-

portant events which had happened to their nation. He requested that the Hottentots who had muskets should accompany some of his people to the plain that lay to the eastward of the town, to assist them in hunting elephants; to which we started no objection, though we were not pleased with the proposal." Vol. I. P. 254.

The king of Maribowhey also was glad to hear the word, but said its dispensers "must shoot flesh for him." A doctrine to which Pelangye their guide cordially assented, to the no small scandal of the interpreter.

"Sedras, the Bootshuana interpreter at this time, told the king and twenty others who were sitting in the tent, that though Pelangye had travelled with us all the journey up the country, and heard the word of God every day; yet here he had interrupted the conversation by talking about flesh: adding that he was a man who was never happy but when he saw a potful of flesh boiling before him." Vol. II. P. 4.

At Lattakoo again we hear that "every thing connected with the improvement of the mind they lightly esteem, or view with indifference, if not with disgust. This frivolity renders it extremely difficult to interest or affect their minds with religious truth." Vol. II. P. 65. The XXVIIth Report assures us, that the Matchappees, in consequence of the Missionary preaching, have abandoned their commandoes or plundering expeditions. With how good a grace this has been done we may learn from a speech made by a distinguished captain, at the peetso in which this resolution was passed.

"Seemeeno, who opposed the motion, said, if they relinquished going upon commandoes, the young men would have no way left of distinguishing themselves by killing people, and rather than that they should not be renowned in this way, as formerly, he recommended that they should kill their mothers." Vol. II. P. 157.

After preaching to a kraal of Koranas, and inquiring whether they would receive a missionary, Mr. Campbell was asked by their spokesman to give him a handkerchief; "and the whole party appeared as indifferent about the information I brought them as if it had not excited one thought."

"No nation," he continues, "in Africa has been found by the Missionaries more indifferent to all kinds of information than the Corannas. If a Missionary visits a kraal they will attend to his address;—if he chooses he may remain; if he goes away they manifest no wish to detain him. They are equally indifferent to his coming, remaining, or departing; they feel indisposed to any effort of mind or body." Vol. II. P. 274.

A Koranacaptain, on another occasion, remarked of the word of God, that it was good, "but this," observes the preacher, "was uttered in such a manner as indicated very little concern about the matter." "I spoke to him (Keewel, a Bushman captain,) of God, and his soul, and eternity; but he seemed quite indifferent about these subjects, *making no reply, and asking for a tinder box.*" Such are some of the results of Mr. Campbell's "observations and inquiries" which authorize the Reporters of the Missionary Society to congratulate themselves that "in all the places visited during this tour he ascertained that the inhabitants were willing to receive missionaries."

Mr. Burchell's impressions are somewhat different. Of the civilization produced at Klaarwater, he speaks in the following terms:

"From the moment when I decided on making Klaarwater in my way to the Interior, I naturally endeavoured to form, in my own mind, some picture of it; and I know not by what mistake it arose, that I should conceive the idea of its being a picturesque spot surrounded by trees and gardens, with a river running through a neat village, where a tall church stood, a distant beacon to mark that Christianity had advanced thus far into the wilds of Africa. But the first glance now convinced me how false may oftentimes be the notions which men form of what they have not seen. The trees of my imagination vanished, leaving nothing in reality but a few which the missionaries themselves had planted; the church sunk to a barn-like building of reeds and mud; the village was merely a row of half a dozen reed cottages; the river was but a rill; and the situation an open, bare, and exposed place, without any appearance of a garden, excepting that of the missionaries." P. 351.

"I cannot say that the scope and bearing of the doctrine of these teachers, were altogether such as I myself should have chosen, had I been in their situation, and desirous of making my hearers lead a more virtuous and religious life. But every man *sincere* in his religious enthusiasm, and *pure* in his intentions, is entitled to respect, whatever sect or religion he may belong to. Two of the missionaries were of the Dutch *Calvinistic* church, and one of the *Wesleyan* persuasion." P. 356.

After describing the routine of missionary business, he observes:

"With respect to its effects in forwarding the object of it, I cannot say that they appeared to me very evident: certainly, I saw nothing that would sanction me in making such favorable reports as have been laid before the public.

"The enthusiasm which, perhaps, is inseparable from missionary affairs, may create some optical delusion in the mind's eye, that may cause it to see those things which are not visible to a more temperate and unbiassed observer; but still, it is much to be lamented that the community at home are misled by accounts (I speak generally) catching at the most trifling occurrence for their support, and showing none but the favorable circumstances; and even those, unfairly exaggerated." P. 358.

But the lessons of the Missionaries have not altogether been lost upon the inhabitants, as the history of Stephanus will evince. Stephanus was a native of Courland, and had been clerk to a merchant in Cape Town. He was detected in forging colonial paper money, and took refuge among the missionaries established at Zack River. Here he served an apprenticeship, and having mastered the trade, he determined to set up for himself. Accordingly without arms, and with but a small stock of provisions, he succeeded in penetrating to the Gariep; where he joined the present inhabitants of Klaarwater, at a place called Kok's Kraal.

"He had with him a bible, given him at the Zak River; and, with this in his hand, he set up as missionary, and gained an ascendancy over the minds of the kraal, such as, the missionaries have confessed, they have never been able to gain. He persuaded them to attend to agriculture, and also to erect a church. This he built in a superior style; and conducting the religious service with much imposing formality and ceremony, made his hearers at length believe he was expressly sent to them from heaven. He preached such doctrines as suited his purpose, and was not suspected of imposition, even when, on desiring to take another wife in addition, he declared he had the divine command for selecting such or such a female. At last, on some occasion he made a journey into the country of the *Great Namaquas*, and was murdered by the natives.

"When the missionaries afterwards attached themselves to the *Kok*'s and the *Berend*'s party, they had great difficulty in persuading them that *Stephanus* was nothing but an impostor; so successfully had he managed to secure an authority over their minds, as well as over their conduct." P. 362.

It cannot be supposed that we are unfriendly or indifferent to the conversion of these barbarians to Christianity: nor are we so uncharitable as to impute any but motives of piety and benevolence to those who have undertaken the task. But we may be permitted to doubt whether the method which they have chosen is likely to be efficacious; and whether the introduction of our Religion will be assisted or retarded, by the efforts of a Society which acknowledges no Church, no two members of which can be assured that they believe the

same doctrine; and whose teachers, if we may judge from the specimens before us, in not a few things themselves require to be taught.

Of Mr. Burchell we shall have but little to remark. He is given occasionally to fine writing. His book is ornamented with some very pretty vignettes and tinted outlines; and he loses no opportunity of saying sharp things against Mr. Barrow. He talks of the "*irruption*" which followed vaccination, (p. 276); of missing the "right *tract*" in the dark (p. 303); and of catching five and twenty moths "*promiscuously*," (p. 376). But he is evidently a good naturalist; and he has taken great pains to lay down an interesting map of his course, from his own actual observation.

The most curious event recorded in his pages is a vision which he saw while at Klaarwater. As the concluding paragraph proves that he is speaking not of a figure but of a fact, we shall relate it in his own words.

"Rapt in this musing, delightful mood, methought a beneficent deity of refulgent lustre, and countenance of inexpressible benignity, advanced towards me, and whispered softly in my ear, that sweet word LIBERTY! which repeating, till it thrilled in every nerve, the celestial being seemed to say; *Follow me.* And where, indeed, could I have obeyed the enticing summons, so easily and uncontrolled as in the wild regions before me? For some time I allowed myself full indulgence in these pleasing reflections. By subsequent experience, I have learnt that the delightful sensation of unshackled existence could never be recalled, after I had re-entered the colonial boundary. Here the idea of restraint began to usurp its place; and at Cape Town they became completely annihilated. But if society smothered and extinguished them, I became, on the other hand, like one of society, adopting its mode of thinking, and enjoying its refinements, and its reasonable pleasures, as a compensation for those which I had lost.

"The picture here given of the remarkable effects of the freshness of the atmosphere on my feelings, is neither overdrawn nor overcoloured; and though not easily accounted for, is not, therefore, the less exact and faithful." P. 515.

The present volume brings Mr. Burchell no farther than Klaarwater. But we are promised a second, and we hope it will have a good many engravings.

ART. IV. *Hamlet, and As You Like It; a Specimen of a New Edition of Shakespeare. By T. Caldecott, Esq.* Murray. 1821.

IN spite of the national veneration universally felt for our great bard, he has been subjected amongst us to a series of more cruel mutilations and operations than any other author who has hitherto served to instruct or amuse his posterity. Emendations, curtailments and corrections (*all for his own good*), have been multiplied to infinity, by the zeal and care of those who have been suffered to take him in hand. They have purged and castrated him, and tattooed and beplaistered him, and cauterised and phlebotomised him with all the studied refinement, that the utmost skill of critical barbarity could suggest. Here ran Johnson's dagger through, "see what a rent envious Pope has made," and "here the well-beloved Bowdler stabbed:" while, after every blow, they pause for a time, and with tiresome diligence unfold the cause why they that did love him while they struck him, have thus proceeded.

But let us ask,—is there any just reason why the public should allow their favourite to be thus maltreated? Is there any rational ground to be urged for palming so much conjectural alteration upon an author who was living barely two centuries ago? Nor is this all: for, in addition to these acts of outrage on common sense, we have to complain of the very serious obstructions thrown in the reader's way, by numerous collateral and irrelevant squabbles and arguments, to which he neither is, or would wish to become a party. What has he, for instance, to do with the mode in which they have conducted the contest, with respect either to the favourite theories of the commentators, or the genuineness of the portraits of their author? Why is he to be pestered with the eternal bowings and scrapings of one brother book-worm to another? What has this or that person's natural acumen, learned acquirements, or critical sagacity to do with him, or even with our author? Why must Warburton on Theobald, Malone on Steevens, or Steevens and Reed on Malone, "et hoc genus omne" all the herd of these and *Meibomiuses* of the British school be suffered to encumber the pages of our immortal poet, and with whom neither the reader nor author have any more concern than with the conflicting interests of Raleigh and Essex, or the less reputable jealousies between the favourites of James. Let us have him placed before our eyes such as he really was—let us have

him unadulterated with other men's thoughts, unmixed with their ideas of composition—let us, in short, have given to us, for it will be a novelty—Shakespeare himself.

Instead of being a proper subject for the sort of process he has undergone, Shakespeare is, of all poets with whom we are acquainted, precisely that one, of whom we can least afford to lose one original *iota*: he is more singularly distinct from other writers than any of his tribe, and we cannot help feeling, even where a single word, a very syllable, of his inditing is varied or withheld, as if we missed something that no other being, past or present, could have given or supplied. We are not aware that any expressions can be found which would accurately delineate the peculiar nature of that charm which Shakespeare's poetry diffuses over the mind: language cannot reach it—it is one of those pleasures which can only be felt—a noble feeling not to be defined, or made matter of description. There is no other writer that can properly be said even to resemble him in style or power: there is none with whom we can trace any just analogy. Every nation has its own tribe of poets, and indeed every succeeding age; and though infinite variety has characterised their several productions, both as to flights of imagination and dominion over the passions, yet still there is a general resemblance throughout the whole; their modes of combination, their method of exciting imagery in the mind, the nature and harmony of their periods, every instrument they employ, have all a something in common throughout the whole class. Not so Shakespeare: his thoughts, the spontaneous and natural produce of the occasion, seem ever to flow after a fashion wholly peculiar to himself, they seem to have grown, as it were, in a soil infinitely different from that of any other professor of the art; and in their birth to have acquired a degree of strength and harmony that acknowledges no prototype, and admits of no imitation.

The quantum of power which the true poet possesses is most visibly seen in the degree of enthusiasm and ecstacy that he is able to excite in the reader's mind. Music, painting, oratory, in short, all the arts effect this to a certain extent; but the stimulus of poetry is calculated to act upon our feelings with an influence more universal and more sensible than that of any of the others: and here, in all these efforts of mind, lies the touchstone of real talent. Now it is in the possession of this very power that Shakespeare proudly rises above all his compeers. Others have possessed the means to soothe and lull the mind, to elevate its thoughts, to expand its imagination, to excite its passions, and interest its sensibilitie-

but Shakespeare is able to transport us beyond ourselves; he does not play "*circum præcordia*," he makes himself master of the heart itself: passages occur occasionally in his writings which appear to absorb for a moment all our feelings and ideas: our imagination is hurried away magically, as it were, by the rapidity of his flight, and we are so rapt and taken from ourselves, as to be for a while unconscious of every thing around us, and appear to exist only for the idea he has created. It is through this intensity of power that we feel the real superiority of Shakespeare, and acknowledge in him that sovereign gift of nature, that seems in no other instance to have been conceded to man.

With such ideas of the value and superiority of Shakespeare's talent, it is not extraordinary that we should wish to possess him free from adulterations of every nature; and in expressing this opinion, we feel assured that we speak in conformity with the feelings of the world in general; and that such have ever been the real sentiments of the majority of the country, in spite of the elaborate discussions and specious emendations which the perverse industry of his commentators have forced upon our notice. It is somewhat singular, however, that (if we except the late Poet Laureate) no one has hitherto ventured to recommend the real remedy for the evil, or dared to break a lance against the learned host whose authority has so long upheld the present unfortunate system. It was with no small pleasure, therefore, that we opened the volume now before us, professing to be a specimen of a new edition of Shakespeare, with the original readings restored. We must, however, take this opportunity of hinting to Mr. Caldecott, that his book is somewhat larger than was necessary for the purpose of giving merely a sample of his labours, a single play would have been sufficient, and would have been more readily and easily dispersed throughout the reading world: as it is, we must regard it as a present to the public, and a highly valuable one it is, of a volume containing two of the most interesting of Shakespeare's plays in the most intelligible and unsophisticated form in which they have in latter days appeared.

The text in this specimen is that of the collection of Shakespeare's Plays, published in folio, by Hemings and Condell, in 1623, with additions and corrections from the quartos, published in Shakespeare's life-time. To quote Mr. Caldecott's words, a faithful editor can follow no other text: and so closely does Mr. Horne Tooke adhere to this or even a stricter principle, as to insist that this folio is the only

edition worth regarding, and though he admits it has "some palpable misprints," he would have it re-printed literatim, "not to risque the loss of Shakespeare's genuine text, which it assuredly contains."

The present specimen, "wherever the reading of the folio is departed from, professes to give the folio text in its place on the margin; but unless any thing turns upon the old spelling, in which case it is retained in the text, the modern spelling is throughout adopted: and the punctuation is altogether taken into the editor's hands." In order to assist the reader, at the bottom of each page explanations are given of those passages where the sense of the author is less easy to be discovered; while the notes illustrative of the manners of the age, of historical points, of grammatical or philological distinctions, are placed in order at the end of each play; and among these will be found whatsoever valuable information has been afforded in the works of previous commentators.

Feeling that we have not room for all the extracts from this volume which we might otherwise be inclined to make, we shall limit ourselves to the first of the two plays here given, viz. Hamlet: and commence by the production of a passage in which the editor has, we think, very sucessfully, and by arguments we have not met with elsewhere, defended Shakespeare from the attacks and corrections of his commentators.

—— "*The scope*
"*Of these dilated articles allow.*

"The use of the plural verb with a nominative singular, so far from being offensive even to modern ears, seems under the present circumstances, viz. those of a plural genitive intervening, to improve the harmony of the versification, and to constitute an exception to the general rule.

"At any rate our author would be fully justified by the loose practice of his age, which, even in prose, and where no member of a sentence was interposed between the nominative case and the verb, allowed plural verbs and nouns singular, and *vice versa*, to be united.

"A similar example occurs * in III. 2, *Player King*, where, indeed, it may be said, that this license was used for the convenience of the rhyme: but nothing is more fully understood, than that it was the practise of the learned of these times, of our translators both in prose and verse, and of our highest personages, as well as our greatest scholars and most polished writers, to join noun and verb without any regard to the singular or plural of

* "'The *violence* of either grief or joy
'Their own enactures will themselves *destroy*.'

either. In her translation of a classic it was done by the sovereign of that day: 'The cleare *daies followes* the darck clowdes: the roughest *seas insues* the greatest caimes:' *Queen Elizabeth's Seneca*, given to Sir J. Harrington, 1597. *Nugæ Antiq.* 12mo. 1779, II. 308: and, when laying down rules for composition, we find in the works of her learned successor,

> " 'And *birds* with all their heavenlie voces cleare
> 'Dois mak a sweit and heavinly harmony,
> 'And fragrant *flours dois* spring up lustely!'
> *King James's reylis and cautelis of Scottis Poesie*, 1584.

And, whether it was understood or not, that, from the rude state of our language, the ear was then untuned and inattentive to niceties and the modulation of its periods, certainly this was not an age, in which it is possible to refer such a practice to the want of a knowledge of the common rules of grammar." P. 14.

Again, " we shall add, that this usage of a plural for the purpose of giving effect, is carried much further in Macbeth, where it is taken up from the general impression of the dialogue. The Doctor, speaking of Lady Macbeth, says, 'You see her eyes are open?' *Gent.* 'Ay, but *their sense are* shut. V. 1. *Their* sense, i. e. the sense of her *eyes*, here carried along with that word (which is no more than a pronoun possessive, and wanting that termination of plural nouns that usually affects the ear) a plural image; and the loose grammar of the age allowed the annexation of a plural verb." P. 14.

And in another passage, in the same act, commenting upon the ungrammatical usage of *we* for *us*, the editor says—

" But, after all, we are writing upon the pages of Shakespeare: and in speeches of any length, Shakespeare, careless of rule and rapid in conception, pours along in his flow of thought with perfect indifference to the grammatical connexion of his sentences, so that his ideas cohere; often changes the person; and possessed altogether with his subject, and with the image he has conceived kept as full before the reader's mind as his own, while placed by his feelings in the middle of one sentence, he is found by his reader in the beginning of another." P. 33.

This it is to explain Shakespeare by himself, and by apparently his own feelings, instead of suffering him to be thrown on the bed of every Procrustes that offers himself on the way. It is to explain him with true poetical feeling; to enter into his thoughts, not his words, and to endeavour to understand the language, which was from many causes natural to him, instead of accommodating it to our modern and more refined habit of speaking. His words should be considered merely as the *media* by which his ideas are conveyed

to us; not, as the commentators would have them, the chains and fetters that restrain his powers.

The general accusations of Steevens, Johnson, and Malone, against Shakspeare, for his want of poetical justice in this play, and, as the last named says, "injudicious management in the conduct of his characters," are admirably answered in a note at the conclusion of the play. This is a wide field for discussion, and we must content ourselves with giving our readers another specimen of the editor's discrimination, as to dramatic character, not only because it suits us better, as being shorter, but because it has reference to a part of the play which is most familiar to people in general, and that has nevertheless always appeared to occasion some little difficulty to the actor on the stage. It is where Hamlet, after the interview with the ghost of his father, requires Horatio and Marcellus solemnly to swear, upon his sword, that they will not reveal to any one what they have witnessed.

"*Ghost* [*beneath.*]—Swear!

"*Hamlet.*—Ha, ha, boy! say'st thou so? Art thou there *Truepenny?*

"This conduct of Hamlet at such a moment has been thought by some to have been unwarrantable, far too trifling and ludicrous, and ill corresponding with nature or the decorum of dramatic character. To us, on the contrary, it seems to be a very natural process, that a mind, labouring under the impression of the importance of an awful secret in so awful a manner disclosed, of the 'bloody instructions' accompanying it, and the necessity of preventing any part of the transaction from transpiring, should, upon the first opportunity given him to reflect, use a forced gaiety, and assume an air of levity and carriage most opposite and foreign to his real feeling, for the purpose of inducing a belief in others, that nothing of deep interest or much more than ordinary concern had occurred." P. 38.

As to verbal criticism, we are aware that minutia of that sort, when abstracted from their proper place in the book itself, are little calculated to engage the attention of the general reader: it requires the full interest excited at the moment, by reading the passage of the author to which it has reference, or at least that its impression should be fresh in the mind, in order to induce any one to dwell on niceties of that nature. We shall, therefore, make sparing extracts on this head, though we think there are many notes deserving of the highest approbation, and some instances where the old text has been successfully defended from bold and short-sighted innovation, or false improvement.

Hamlet says to Polonius, Aye, Sir, to be honest as this world goes is to be a man picked out of two thousand.

"*Pol.* That is very true, my Lord.

"*Hamlet.* For if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a *good-kissing carrion*——Have you a daughter?

"*Pol.* I have, my Lord.

"*Hamlet.* Let her not walk in the sun, &c."

Now the meaning of "good-kissing carrion" is certainly not very obvious, and the words are therefore altered by the commentators according to their usual process. Warburton is the first to display his dexterity upon this passage, and, after complaining heavily of the uncertainty of the meaning of the words as they now stand, proposes to read *God* for *good*, signifying, forsooth, a God-kissing carrion. Then follows Johnson, who appears rapt in admiration at Warburton's skill and ingenuity, and bursts into exclamation: "This," says he, "is a noble 'emendation,' which almost sets the critic on a level with the author." Next steps in Malone, with a spirit fired with emulation, and eagerly ambitious of being placed on the same level: to which he really entitles himself, if not to a still higher place, by making an emendation upon an emendation, and ingeniously slipping in an hyphen between the words *God* and *kissing*: the words of the noble emendation then are retained, but the sense changed to god-kissing; which is proved to be right, because Shakespeare uses an hyphen before the word kissing elsewhere, as, "heaven-kissing hill,"—"common-kissing Titan," and the like. Why indeed, then, should he not adopt the same form here? Steevens appears last, and feeling, perhaps, as any sensible man would do, the evident absurdity of these annotations, and the ridicule to which they subjected the work, he seeks to excuse himself for their insertion by saying, "that he has not ventured to expunge a note (it occupies two pages in small pica), written by a great critic, and applauded by a greater." We think he might more wisely have adopted a different course: but we must now conclude by subjoining Mr. Caldecot's explanation of the original passage.

"As it would be too forced a sense to say that our author calls *the sun* 'a good kissing carrion,' we have nothing better to offer than that 'the carcass of *a dead dog, being a good-kissing carrion*,' may mean, good for the sun, the breeder of maggots, to kiss for the purpose of causing putrefaction, and so conceiving or generating any thing carrion like, any thing apt quickly to contract taint in the sunshine; good at catching or drawing the rays or kisses of

'common kissing Titan:' and in the phraseology of the day, as shewn by Mr. Malone in the historical play of Edw. III. 1596, the above ideas appear to have been connected." P. 46.

Again, "it is dangerous for your daughter to be in the sun, because the sun will breed maggots in a dead dog, he being so good (lusty) a kisser even of carrion. Here is unquestionably much doubt and difficulty; and whether we have chanced to have made a fortunate conjecture must be left to others; be this as it *may*, we cannot resist the temptation of subjoining a specimen of the note-making, alluded to at the close of the observations upon the character of Polonius; and one that was certainly not made for the sake of the author or his reader." *Ibid.*

This is, in our opinion, the true mode of commenting upon an author like Shakespeare; nor have we any doubt but that most of our readers will agree with us on this point. Mr. Caldecott's plan is, indeed, the only one which can be allowed to be just and reasonable.

A person, to be duly fitted to be a commentator, should in truth not only be a faithful treasurer of all his sayings, and jealous of his honour, and even of his name, (as is abundantly proved in the Preface to this book,) but should be in some sort in love with his author: Mr. Caldecott clearly is so. He has both feeling and sagacity to qualify him for the task; and if, as he says, the materials for the whole edition have been collected, and for the greatest part already worked up, we must add our wishes, both in behalf of ourselves and of the public at large, that the reception of this specimen may be such as to induce him to complete the undertaking which he has so ably commenced. Having said this, our duty calls upon us to observe, that the various readings of the folio and quarto are not always quoted with that accuracy and diligence which a strict adherence to the plan of the work should seem to require; and we trust and hope, that this admonition being made, we shall have no occasion to repeat our complaint in future.

We will close these remarks with one other quotation; it is not in this instance the rescue of a passage from the clutches of those cruel operators, that pleases, but the explanation of an unexplained passage, and which Johnson pronounces obscure and affected.

> "Nature is fine in love: and, where 'tis fine,
> It sends some precious instance of itself
> After the thing it loves."

"They are, in our conception, of a very different charac- and so far from being such, and fit, as he says, to be expunge

think, that these abstractions and this high mood, beyond their intrinsic value, teach us, that what Milton derived from Plato and the Greek philosophy, our author could draw from nature and his own resources alone." P. 107.

And these doctrines are happily illustrated by him in Sonnet LXI.

> " *Is it thy spirit, that thou send'st from thee*
> *So farre from home into my deeds to prye.*"

ART. V. *A Brief Display of the Origin and History of Ordeals; Trials by Battle; Courts of Chivalry or Honour; and the Decision of private Quarrels by single Combat; also a Chronological Register of the principal Duels fought from the Accession of His late Majesty to the present Time. By James P. Gilchrist.* 8vo. pp. 390. 12s. Sams. 1821.

WE do not think that much good will be done by this volume, though the intentions of its author are evidently directed to a benevolent purpose. As far as the History of Ordeals is concerned (and it was this part of the title which at first attracted our notice) nothing can be more unsatisfactory. A meagre extract from a paper in the Asiatic Researches acquaints us with the nine modes in use among the Hindoos; and Mosheim and Dr. Henry supply the little which is offered relative to those in Christian countries. The Trial by Battle is illustrated from Blackstone; and to the chapter on Duelling are appended a few very proper but somewhat obvious remarks on the folly and wickedness of the practice. In his original pages, Mr. Gilchrist exhibits a talent for fine writing, which it is wrong in him to confine to a mere dry compilation. A gentleman who opens his preliminary observations with an announcement that " man, in his individual, or aggregate character, alike presents an exhaustless subject of political and moral disquisition" might vie in metaphysics with Sir Richard Philips or Sir Charles Morgan: and one who in plain prose can speak of illustrious names " ingulfed within a putrid vortex" is not far from belonging to some of our most popular schools of modern poetry.

It seems, upon Mr. Gilchrist's calculation (which in our own knowledge is extremely incorrect) that since the year 1762, one hundred and seventy-two duels have been fought.

In three of these neither of the combatants have survived; in sixty-six, one of the parties has fallen, and in ninety-six, wounds have been received. During the same period only *eighteen* trials have taken place. In which (but not according to Cocker) *six* of the arraigned persons have been acquitted, *seven* found guilty of manslaughter, and *three* of murder; *two* have been executed, and *eight* imprisoned. If we adopt this system of numeration, either one of the acquitted must have suffered imprisonment by mistake, or 6+7+3+2+8=18.

Our readers will care little about Captain T. and Major A.; or about Counsellor R. and ———; though the unhappy Counsellor was condemned to death in Dublin, for killing this apparently unsubstantial antagonist. Neither will they be much amused by hearing that Mr. ——— and Mr. ——— exchanged shots without effect, for which the sheriff of Edinburgh very wisely fined both principals and seconds five and twenty guineas each. On another occasion we find that Lieutenant L.'s ball hit Captain N.'s *head*, "but fortunately did not seriously injure him;" next to this that Captain F. after shooting Mr. R. through the body, parted from him in good friendship and married his sister. Again, that Mr. B. took the trouble of going from England to Calais, to obtain the satisfaction of losing three of his fingers: that two other initials fought about "a dashing beauty:" and two more about a horse-whipping. That a student in anatomy lodged his pistol ball in Mr. C.'s hip, because he (the student) was in love with Mr. C.'s sister; and lastly that Captain T. carried off an ounce of lead in his knee, because he chose to pay "unsolicited attention" to a lady in the company of Mr. R.

All this is sufficiently silly; and the coxcombs who hazarded their lives in order to furnish the newspaper paragraphs from which their brief histories are taken, must be not a little mortified to find that their glory depends upon the short lived and uncertain interpretation of equivocal initials. A few cases of another class occur which we read with unmixed horror and disgust. We need not cite the well known murder of Mr. Chaworth by Lord Byron; but the following narratives, however laconically given, will account for our feelings.

"*Duel between Mr.* Mc.Lean, *Jun. and Mr.* Cameron, *May* 24, 1772.

"Mr. Mc.Lean, Jun. of Gartmoor, in Scotland, being at supper with a select party, at a friend's house, words arose between him and Mr. Cameron, on an old grudge, when the latter gave him the lie, on which a duel ensued, and Mr. Mc.Lean was killed on the

spot. His mother on hearing of this melancholy event, was instantly deprived of her senses; and Miss McLeod, a young lady to whom Mr. McLean was soon to have been married, was seized with fits, and died three days after." P. 102.

"*Duel between Mr.* RIDDELL *and Mr.* CUNNINGHAM, *April* 21, 1783.

"A duel was fought between Mr. Riddell, of the Horse Grenadiers, and Mr. Cunningham, of the Scots Greys. Both these gentlemen belonged formerly to the Scots Greys, and had differed at play. Mr. Riddell had challenged Mr. Cunningham, which challenge Mr. Cunningham had declined; but many of the gentlemen of the Scots Greys, reviving at intervals, that circumstance, Mr. Cunningham found it necessary, for the full restoration of his honour, that he should call upon Mr. Riddell. This appeal, Mr. Riddell considering as out of season, declined attending to, till he had consulted his brother officers, who agreed, there was no obligation on him to answer Mr. Cunningham.

"This being their determination, Mr. Cunningham resolved upon forcing him to the point, and meeting him accidentally at Mr. Christie's, their Agent, spate in his face. Mr. Riddell observed that this being a fresh affront, he should take notice of it, and took his departure. He then proceeded to make a few arrangements in his affairs. But before he had completed them, he received a billet from Mr. Cunningham, reminding him of the affront which he had passed upon him, and declaring his readiness to give him satisfaction. This note coming while the wafer was yet wet, to the hands of Sir James Riddell, who was under some apprehension of his son's situation, opened it, and having read it, closed it, without taking any other notice of its contents, than providing, in consequence of it, the assistance of several surgeons of the first abilities. The meeting was fixed. They were both punctual, Mr. Riddell attended by Captain Topham, of the Horse Grenadiers, and Mr. Cunningham by Captain Cunningham of the 69th regiment of foot.

"Eight paces were first measured by the seconds, and afterwards the contending parties took their ground. They tossed up for the first fire, which Mr. Riddell won. Mr. Riddell fired, and shot Mr. Cunningham under the right breast, the ball passing, as is supposed, through the ribs, and lodging on the left side near the back. The moment Mr. Cunningham received the shot, he reeled, but did not fall. He opened his waistcoat, and declared he was mortally wounded. Mr. Riddell still remained on his ground, when Mr. Cunningham, after a pause of two minutes, declared he would not be taken off the field till he had fired at his adversary. Mr. Cunningham then presented his pistol, and shot Mr. Riddell in the groin; he immediately fell, and was carried in a hackney coach to Mr. Topham's. The unhappy man lingered until seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, and then expired.

Wednesday, 23.

"The Coroner's Inquest sate on the body of George Riddell, Esq. who was killed in the rencontre, as above related.

"The jury sate four hours; and after a very strict examination of the seconds, and a servant of the deceased, brought in their verdict, 'manslaughter.'" P. 129.

"*Duel between Mr.* MONRO, *of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons, and Mr.* GREEN, *October* 17, 1783.

"This morning, about seven o'clock, Mr. Monro, of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons, and Mr. Green, with their seconds, met in a field near Battersea bridge, for the purpose of settling a dispute which took place a few evenings ago. They took their ground at the distance of about six yards. They then fired three pistols each, the last of which wounded Mr. Green in the side. The seconds interfered, and asked Mr. Green if he was satisfied. He said, 'Not except Mr. Monro made him a public apology.' 'That,' Mr. Monro said, 'he *now* would not do. Mr. Green replied, 'Then one of us must fall.' They again took their ground, and fired each two pistols more. One ball entered Mr. Monro's knee, and Mr. Green received a shot which has since proved fatal, the ball entering a little above the groin." P. 134.

But the next is yet more savage; and we may be permitted to rejoice that it is one of the cases in which no impediment was thrown in the course of the just sentence of the law.

"This day Robert Keon, Esq. was brought up to the Court of King's Bench, to receive sentence for the murder of George Nugent Reynolds, Esq.

"The circumstances of this murder were the following: these two gentlemen went out to fight a duel, and when Mr. Reynolds, previous to coming to action, was in the act of saluting Mr. Keon with his hat in his hand, wishing him a good morning, the latter fired his pistol, and shot him through the head. Upon this, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Reynolds's second, called out, 'a horrid murder!' On which Mr. Keon's brother replied, 'if you don't like it, take that,' and snapped his pispol at Mr. Plunket, which luckily did not go off. The jury found Mr. Keon, 'guilty,' in November last; but his counsel moved an arrest of judgment, and pleaded several errors in the different proceedings, to stop the sentence. The court, after the most solemn arguments, over-ruled all the objections, and passed sentence of death upon him, according to the verdict, and he was executed on the sixteenth of the following month." P. 47.

In the year 1790, Captain Macrae horsewhipped Sir George Ramsay's servant at the door of the Edinburgh theatre; and on the following morning insisted that the Baronet should dismiss the offending domestic from his service. On a refusal the parties met. Sir George Ramsay was shot through the heart, and the poor fellow who had occasioned the quarrel

on hearing of his master's fate, expired in convulsions in a few hours.

Perhaps, however, there is no duel on record in which a deeper thirst of vengeance is exhibited than that to which we shall next refer. It is fresh in our recollection from the terrific circumstances which attended it: but on many accounts we are glad to have forgotten how the initials should be supplied.

"*Duel between Lieutenant* W., *of the Navy, and Captain* I., *of the Army. March*, 1803.

"This morning a most extraordinary duel took place in Hyde-Park, between Lieutenant W., of the navy, and Captain I., of the army.

"The antagonists arrived at the appointed place within a few minutes of each other. Some dispute arose respecting the distance, which the friends of Lieutenant W. insisted should not exceed six paces; while the seconds of Captain I. urged strongly the rashness of so decisive a distance, and insisted on its being extended. At length the proposal of Lieutenant W.'s friends was agreed to, and the parties fired per signal; when Lieutenant W. received the shot of his adversary on the guard of his pistol, which tore away the third and fourth fingers of his right hand. The seconds then interfered, to no purpose. The son of Neptune, apparently callous to pain, wrapped his handkerchief round his hand, and swore he had another, which never failed him. Captain I. called his friend aside, and told him it was in vain to urge a reconciliation. They again took their ground. On Lieutenant W. receiving the pistol in his left hand, he looked stedfastly at Captain I. for some time, then cast his eyes to heaven, and said, 'forgive me.' The parties fired as before, and both fell. Captain I. received the shot through his head, and instantly expired. Lieutenant W. received the ball in his left breast, and immediately enquired of his friend if Captain I.'s wound was mortal? Being answered in the affirmative, he thanked heaven he had lived thus long. He requested that a mourning ring, which was on his finger, might be given to his sister; and that she might be assured, it was the happiest moment he ever knew. He had scarcely finished the word, when a quantity of blood burst from his wound, and he expired almost without a struggle.

"The unfortunate young man was on the eve of being married to a lady in Hampshire, to whom, for some time, he had paid his addresses. P. 193.

A little onward we read of a Mr. Dillon, whose taste for duelling was hereditary, and who naturally enough died in his vocation. His father had been shot nearly on the same spot on which the son afterwards fell by the hand of a gentleman who had attended him as second on several former occasions.

There are many atrocities recorded in this volume which it would have been better to forget. Our readers will probably recollect the seduction of a young lady of quality by her own married cousin, for which the seducer, after firing six shots at the brother of his victim, met the fate which he deserved at the hand of her injured father. We think that these histories and others of a similar kind need not have been hunted up. The crimes and angry passions which occasioned them, have long since slept with the actors themselves; the revival must give pain to their families; and to others they afford no moral lesson. A better end may be produced by printing the reasons assigned by General Hamilton for his reluctance to meet Colonel Burr.

"1.—My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling: and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat, forbidden by the laws.

"2.—My wife and children are extremely dear to me; and my life is of the utmost importance to them, in various views.

"3.—I feel a sense of obligation towards my creditors, who, in case of accident to me, by the forced sale of my property, may be in some degree, sufferers. I did not think myself at liberty, as a man of probity, lightly to expose them to hazard.

"4.—I am conscious of no ill-will to Colonel Burr, distinct from political opposition, which, as I trust, has proceeded from pure and upright motives.

"Lastly.—I shall hazard much, and can possibly gain nothing by the issue of the interview." P. 205.

This paper was found after General Hamilton's decease, inclosed in his will. Strange to say the man who could so think and write, did not resist the infatuation of false honour; and, as is well known, paid the forfeit of his life by yielding to it.

ART. VI. *The Martyr of Antioch, a Dramatic Poem. By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.* 8vo. pp. 176. 8s. 6d. Murray. 1822.

WE have heard one only objection to this Poem: an objection somewhat odd in itself, and to which not many of Mr. Milman's contemporaries are likely to be exposed: It is said to be too Poetical. If we rightly comprehend the

meaning of such a criticism, it is this: that the Poet by dignity of subject, sustentation of thought, and magnificence of diction, rises higher than he readily can be followed. But surely the fault here is less in the writer than in the reader; and it is rather unfair to clog the wings of the Muse, because from the weakness of our vision we are dazzled when she soars too near the sun. Our Bards of late years have indulged too much in undress; and a shambling slipshod gait is now mistaken for ease and fire. It is time that this grievous error should be corrected: and the cause of good taste is as much indebted to Mr. Milman for bringing us back to a loftier standard, as a still more important cause is for his proving to those who have been inclined to a contrary position, that it is by no means necessary to be a Libertine and a Blasphemer in order to be a High Priest of Song.

In the walk which Mr. Milman has chosen, he has few predecessors in English Poetry.

> Petit inde coronam
> Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musæ.

Milton has left among his Manuscripts, a Catalogue of sixty-two subjects for Sacred Dramas, of which he has sketched, with more or less brevity, the plots of nine. But they are all on entirely *Scriptural* histories: and the narrow limits within which, for many reasons, the Poet must confine himself in these, the rigid abstinence, and severe self-restraint by which he must permit himself to be disciplined, offer no slight difficulty to a rich and excursive imagination. Mr. Milman has freed himself from these shackles, by placing his characters without the pale of Sacred History; and yet sufficiently approximating them to the record of inspiration, to leave his drama all the solemnity of that "high and stately tragedy," the scenes and acts of which may be intermingled with "a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies."

The legend of Saint Margaret represents her as the daughter of a heathen priest, and beloved by Olybius, the Prefect of the East, who sought to marry her: and thus far Mr. Milman has followed the martyrology. The rest of the plot is his own.

"The surrender of life, when it appeared most highly gifted with the blessings of Providence; the literal abandonment of this world, when all its pleasures, its riches, and its glories were in their power; the violent severing of those ties, which the gentle spirit of Christianity had the more endeared; the self-denial not of the ungodly lusts, but of the most innocent affections; that last

and most awful conflict, when 'brother delivered brother unto death, and the father the child,' when 'a man's foes were those of his own household,'—it was from such trials, not those of the fire and the stake alone, that the meek religion of Christ came forth triumphant. In such a situation it has been my object to represent the mind of a young and tender female; and I have opposed to Christianity the most beautiful and the most natural of Heathen superstitions—the worship of the Sun. The reader, it is to be hoped, will recollect that although the following poem is in most part a work of imagination, there were multitudes who really laid down their lives for the faith of Christ, under circumstances equally appalling and afflictive; for that faith, to the truth or falsehood of which they had demonstrative evidence in their power and in their possession." P. vi.

The Scene of the Drama is laid at Antioch, near the grove which the Kings of Syria had consecrated under the name of Daphne, to the worship of Apollo; of the delights of this sensual Paradise of luxury and love, we meet with glowing descriptions in the writings of Strabo, Libanius, and Sozomen; yet, notwithstanding the voluptuous allurements which it presented, Christianity early established itself in that Metropolis in which the meek followers of Jesus first assumed their distinguishing appellation; and in the reign of Theodosius, at least 100,000 souls, more than a fifth of the population of the Queen of the East, had annexed themselves to the suffering but spiritually triumphant Church. It is to an earlier period, the short reign of Probus, that Mr. Milman assigns his story.

The Poem opens with a Chorus of Youths and Maidens in front of the Temple of Apollo in the Daphne. His attributes as the God of Light and Song, as the Lord of the unerring bow, and Prophet of the Syrian Castaly; and lastly, as the Lover of that Nymph, who named the grove in which his worship is now celebrated, are the theme of the hymn. But Margarita, the daughter of the Chief Priest Callias, is absent from the sacrifice. Before her appearance, a mandate from the Emperor is brought to the Prefect Olybius, to renew the persecution of the Christians: and its execution is tauntingly pressed upon him by his rival Vopiscus, already an aspirant to the government of the East. We must not be thought invidious, if our first short extract is here made, to notice a blemish, which doubtless *incuria fudit*, in Olybius's reply.

> " *It moves no wonder* that Vopiscus comes
> To taunt with negligence Olybius' rule,
> *Not ignorant* that Vopiscus were well pleased

If that this Eastern Prefecture should pass
To abler hands, perchance his own." P. 80.

We suspect this passage was originally written, "I do not wonder;" and that the inversion afterwards adopted, being thought more consonant with tragic dignity, has led to the anacoluthon which now disturbs the sense.

In the "dim licentious Daphne," the maiden resists the importunity of her Lover; and hastens to join a funeral assembly, at the tomb of St. Babylas. Here she announces to Fabius the Bishop of Antioch, and his hearers Diodotus, Charinus and Calanthias, the approaching persecution. In a subsequent scene of exquisite pathos, she discovers her conversion to her Father: and on the morrow she is condemned to suffer with the remaining Galilæans. The anguish of her Father's spirit, and the brilliant offers of the enamoured Olybius, to whom she acknowledges her love, alike fail to move her fixed resolve.

"OLYBIUS.

Sweet Margarita,
Give me thine hand—for once—Oh! snowy treasure,
That shall be mine thus fondly clasp'd for ever.
Now, Margarita, cast thine eyes below—
What seest thou?

"MARGARITA.

Here Apollo's temple rests
Its weight upon its snow-white columns. There
The massy shades of Daphne, with its streams,
That with their babbling sounds allure the sight,
Where their long dim-seen tracts of silvery whiteness
Now gleam, and now are lost again. Beyond,
The star-lit city in its wide repose;
Each tall and silent tower in stately darkness
Distinct against the cloudless sky.

"OLYBIUS.

Beneath thee,
Now, to the left?

"MARGARITA.

A dim and narrow court
I see, where shadows as of hurrying men
Pass and repass; and now and then their lights
Wander on shapeless heaps, like funeral piles.
And there are things of strange distorted shape,
On which the torches cast a colder hue,
As though on iron instruments of torture

A little farther, there are moving lamps
In the black amphitheatre, that glance,
And as they glance, each narrow aperture
Is feebly gilded with their slanted light.
It is the quick and busy preparation
For the dark sacrifice of to-morrow.

" OLYBIUS.

There,
If thou canst add the scorn, and shame, and pain,
The infuriate joy of the fierce multitude,
The flowing blood, and limbs that writhe in flame,
Thou seest what thou preparest for thyself.
Now what Olybius' love prepares for thee,
Fairest, behold!—This high irradiate roof
Fretted with lamps; these gorgeous chambers, each
As it recedes of costlier splendour, strew'd
With all the barbarous Indian's loom hath wrought,
Or all the enslaved ocean wafts to Tyre.
Arabia's weeping groves are odourless,
Her balmy wealth exhausted o'er our couches
Of banquet, where the revelling Syria spreads
Her fruits and wines in vases cool with snow
From Libanus. Around her summer gardens
Of sunny lawn and sweet secluded shade,
Which waft into the gilded casement airs
Loaded with dewy fragrance, and send up
The coolness of their silver-dashing fountains,
As Nature's self strove in fond rivalry
With Art to pamper every sense. Behold
Yon throne, whereon the Asiarch holds his state,
Circled with kings and more than kingly Romans;
There by his side shall Margarita sit,
Olybius' bride; with all the adoring city,
And every province of the sumptuous East,
Casting its lavish homage at her feet;
Her life one luxury of love, her state
One scene of peerless pomp and pride; her will
The law of spacious kingdoms, and her lord
More glorious for the beauty of his bride
Than for three triumphs. Now, my soul's beloved!
Make thou thy choice.

" MARGARITA.

'Tis made—the funeral pyre."—P. 95.

The martyrs are led to execution—Diodatus and Calanthias meet death with constancy. The first torn by a lion, the second under the scourge. Charinus, who had been ... tinguished by louder vehemence and less sobriety of

gives way under the fiery conflict, and is induced to offer sacrifice to Apollo, amid the shouts of the exulting multitude. In despair at his apostacy, he grasps the knife and stabs himself. Olybius had intrusted the safety of Margarita to one of his officers. To preserve her openly would have occasioned his fall, and the elevation of his rival. He calculated on her weakness when she beheld the sight of death, and gave orders that she was to suffer last; meaning, if she still resisted, then to exercise his prerogative of mercy. The catastrophe is finely worked up—a shriek of horror and compassion is the prelude to the narrative of an officer hurrying from the scene of blood.

"OFFICER.

Hear me but a while.
She had beheld each sad and cruel death,
And if she shudder'd, 'twas as one that strives
With nature's soft infirmity of pity,
One look to heaven restoring all her calmness;
Save when that dastard did renounce his faith,
And she shed tears for him. Then led they forth
Old Fabius. When a quick and sudden cry
Of Callias, and a parting in the throng,
Proclaim'd her father's coming. Forth she sprang,
And clasp'd the frowning headsman's knees, and said—
'Thou know'st me, when thou laid'st on thy sick bed
Christ sent me there to wipe thy burning brow.
There was an infant play'd about thy chamber,
And thy pale cheek would smile and weep at once,
Gazing upon that almost orphan'd child—
Oh! by its dear and precious memory,
I do beseech thee, slay me first and quickly:
'Tis that my father may not see my death.'

"CALLIAS.

Oh cruel kindness! and I would have closed
Thine eyes with such a fond and gentle pressure;
I would have smooth'd thy beauteous limbs, and laid
My head upon thy breast, and died with thee.

"OLYBIUS.

Good father! once I thought to call thee so,
How do I envy thee this her last fondness;
She had no dying thought of me.—Go on.

"OFFICER.

With that the headsman wiped from his swarth cheeks
A moisture like to tears. But she, meanwhile,
On the cold block composed her head, and cross'd

Her hands upon her bosom, that scarce heaved,
She was so tranquil; cautious, lest her garments
Should play the traitors to her modest care.
And as the cold wind touch'd her naked neck,
And fann'd away the few unbraided hairs,
Blushes o'erspread her face, and she look'd up
As softly to reproach his tardiness:
And some fell down upon their knees, some clasp'd
Their hands, enamour'd even to adoration
Of that half-smiling face and bending form.

"CALLIAS,

But he,—but he—the savage executioner———

"OFFICER.

He trembled.

"CALLIAS.

Ha! God's blessing on his head!
And the axe slid from out his palsied hand?

"OFFICER.

He gave it to another.

"CALLIAS.

And———

"OFFICER.

It fell.

"CALLIAS.

I see it,
I see it like the lightning flash—I see it,
And the blood bursts—my blood!—my daughter's blood!
Off—let me loose.

"OFFICER.

Where goest thou?

"CALLIAS.

To the Christian,
To learn the faith in which my daughter died,
And follow her as quickly as I may." P. 159.

Olybius divests himself of his robes—the death of Margarita rouses the fickle populace of Antioch to sedition; and the drama closes with a funeral hymn chanted over her remains.

We cannot speak too highly of the conception of this Poem. It is somewhat out of fashion now a days to refer

to Aristotle; for the irregular Cossacks of Parnassus have superseded the more disciplined Battalions of Song, who used to be marshalled round the fountain of the Muses; but we think the Stagyrite himself would be satisfied with the manners and sentiments which Mr. Milman has assigned to his characters. The pious self devotion of the persecuted Christians, is such as might be supposed to animate those hearts and affections which were weaned from earth, and set wholly on things above; and the Pagan worshippers, without any subtraction from the energy and spirit of their opposition to the new faith, are not made instruments by which the sophisms of infidelity may be disseminated among the half-witted or the unwary. In passing from the sentiments to the diction, we may remark, that it is one continued blaze of splendour; and the profusion of ornament which is so richly lavished on every part, we doubt not has occasioned the objection which we have before noticed. The drama perhaps would gain in pathos, if the Poet himself was oftener behind the curtain; if he allowed his fictitious personages to speak more from themselves, and less in the established phraseology of the scene. In pomp of epithet, and variety of figures, Mr. Milman has rarely been excelled; and with the facility and command of language which he possesses, not to exercise his power would be a self conquest little to be expected.

Of the choral songs we have not to repeat the judgment which we expressed of their brethren in "The Fall of Jerusalem." They spring more naturally from the incidents of the drama; and, with one exception, are by no means inferior in poetical beauty, to their predecessors. Of the one to which we refer, we should say, that Trochaics are as little adapted to English versification, as Hexameters: and as used for a funeral hymn, which requires a slow and solemn measure, rather than the quirks, starts, and catches of a jig, are particularly inappropriate. Mr. Milman is too good a scholar to be reminded of the observation of the scholiast on the Orestes; ἁρμοδίως ἐνταῦθα τῷ τροχαϊκῷ ἐχρήσατο μέτρῳ, πρὸς σπουδὴν τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ. and we do not think he will defend his choice by saying, that the Christians were anxious, from a feeling of insecurity, to hurry over their sepulchral rites.

After stating this one objection, we are bound in conscience to let Mr. Milman speak for himself, in words which must silence all others. Our difficulty is only in selecting *inter optima optimum*. Perhaps the Pagan hymns are more in accord with our own peculiar taste: but the happy adaptation to the Poet's purpose of one of the sublimest passages in

Scripture, in the following valediction of Margarita, almost demands precedence: and we cannot manifest our high admiration of Mr. Milman's powers more strongly, than by closing our remarks with an extract which can only be found fault with by those who are determined not to allow Poetry to be too poetical.

" MARGARITA.

What means yon blaze on high?
The empyrean sky
Like the rich veil of some proud fane is rending.
I see the star-paved land,
Where all the angels stand,
Even to the highest height in burning rows ascending.
Some with their wings dispread,
And bow'd the stately head,
As on some mission of God's love departing,
Like flames from midnight conflagration starting;
Behold! the appointed messengers are they,
And nearest earth they wait to waft our souls away.

Higher and higher still
More lofty statures fill
The jasper courts of the everlasting dwelling.
Cherub and Seraph pace
The illimitable space,
While sleep the folded plumes from their white shoulders swelling.
From all the harping throng
Bursts the tumultuous song,
Like the unceasing sounds of cataracts pouring,
Hosanna o'er Hosanna louder soaring;
That faintly echoing down to earthly ears,
Hath seem'd the consort sweet of the harmonious spheres.

Still my rapt spirit mounts,
And lo! beside the founts
Of flowing light Christ's chosen Saints reclining;
Distinct amid the blaze
Their palm-crown'd heads they raise,
Their white robes even through that o'erpowering lustre shining.
Each in his place of state,
Long the bright Twelve have sate,
O'er the celestial Sion high uplifted;
While those with deep prophetic raptures gifted,
Where Life's glad river rolls its tideless streams,
Enjoy the full completion of their heavenly dreams.

Again—I see again
The great victorious train,

The Martyr Army from their toils reposing:
The blood-red robes they wear
Empurpling all the air,
Even their immortal limbs, the signs of wounds disclosing.
Oh, holy Stephen! thou
Art there, and on thy brow
Hast still the placid smile it wore in dying.
When under the heap'd stones in anguish lying
Thy clasping hands were fondly spread to heaven,
And thy last accents pray'd thy foes might be forgiven.

Beyond! ah, who is there
With the white snowy hair?
'Tis he—'tis he, the Son of Man appearing!
At the right hand of One,
The darkness of whose throne
That sun-eyed seraph Host behold with awe and fearing.
O'er him the rainbow springs,
And spreads its emerald wings,
Down to the glassy sea his loftiest seat o'erarching.
Hark—thunders from his throne, like steel-clad armies marching—
The Christ! the Christ commands us to his home!
Jesus, Redeemer, Lord, we come, we come, we come!" P. 146.

ART. VII. *The manifold Wisdom of God made known by the Church: a Sermon, preached at the Cathedral Church of Calcutta, on the 3d Day of December*, 1820, *being the first Sunday in Advent. By Thomas Fanshaw, Bishop of Calcutta. With Notes and an Appendix.* 8vo. 56 pp. Calcutta. 1821.

WE have lately had occasion to notice a Sermon, preached before the Bishop of Calcutta, at Bombay, in which some peculiarities in the state of the Church in India, and some difficulties to which the Clergy of that Church are exposed, were placed in a clear and interesting point of view. We have since been favoured with a copy of the Discourse now before us, which was delivered by the Bishop himself in his Cathedral Church at Calcutta, and published in that city: and as its contents are very interesting, and few in this country will have opportunities of perusing it, we shall make such extracts from it, as may shew the spirit by which our

Church is actuated in imparting the knowledge of Christianity to the inhabitants of these vast regions.

The Sermon was preached on the first Sunday in Advent, and the object proposed by the Right Rev. Preacher is to shew, what is that manifold wisdom of God of which the Apostle speaks in his text, (*Eph.* iii. 10;) why it should be proclaimed to the Gentiles; and what are the means by which the work may and must be carried on, till all "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ," (*Rev.* ii. 15.) After an eloquent description of the Wisdom of God, as illustrated by the works of his Creation, and in the exercise of his Providence, the Bishop passes on, to consider it more particularly, as exemplified in the dispensation of Grace and the scheme of Redemption; that instance of Divine Wisdom which the text chiefly contemplates.

In the following passage, the Bishop has ably answered one of the most common objections taken to the doctrines of our holy faith, by men of business and of the world. Accustomed to live in constant activity, to regard conduct in temporal affairs as the great test of character, and to see it determining, in great measure, the rank and estimation of men in society; they are induced to undervalue the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, as if they were mere matters of opinion; they think that a man's life may be right, let his faith be what it may; and that, in such a case, it does not much signify what his faith is. That many such reasoners may be found within the sphere of the Bishop of Calcutta's ministrations is not improbable; for a great proportion of his hearers must have been involved, from a very early age, in the duties of an active, laborious, and hazardous life; and removed from all opportunities of laying the foundations of their faith on the solid ground of Scripture, under the direction of master-builders, at that period when religious principle is most easily imbibed, and makes the deepest and most lasting impression upon the human mind:

"There lurks in some men a degree of prejudice against what they denominate *speculative truths*, and a proportionate disposition to treat them as of little importance: such will not very readily discern in the scheme of our Redemption any proofs of the wisdom of God. There cannot, however, be a more unjust or more dangerous distinction, than that which is thus attempted. All the speculative truths of Religion, which are revealed in Scripture, (and no others deserve any serious regard) are in their inferences and consequences and relations highly practical: they are in truth the very basis of all practice; and none is more extensive

than the doctrine of our Redemption through Christ. What motives to Holiness can our reason supply, which are not weak and unavailing compared with the awful consideration of the sacrifice, which infinite Justice has required for sin, or with that adoration and love of God, which arise from the contemplation of his Mercy? Or if discoveries were to be made, intended to affect mankind in their habits and views and sentiments, so as to operate upon the whole course of life and action, through what channel could they have been conveyed with the same effect, as when they are promulged by Him, to whom all heavenly subjects were familiar, and who had glory with the Father, before the foundation of the world. (John xvii. 5.) If holiness was to be taught by example, what character has the mind of man conceived, approaching to the purity and simplicity of Christ? If pride was to be abased, what condescension could the world exhibit, resembling that of the Son of God? If despondency was to be raised and comforted, to what asylum could it flee, comparable with an all-powerful Saviour? Or if authority were requisite, as assuredly it was, to give effect to the lessons of the Teacher, where could it be found in the same degree, as in him, whose Mission was confirmed by miracles, and whose future Advent had been announced from the moment of man's first disobedience? Nor are these considerations to be treated, as merely authorizing an expectation of practical consequences, which are no where actually exemplified: the case is remarkably otherwise: we do find, through all the walks of human life, and in every region of the earth, that Faith in a Divine Redeemer is the groundwork of the severest morality: and that no virtue, judged even as the world judges of virtue, from its benign effects on social happiness, can in point of efficacy or extent be compared with the Graces of the Christian. It may truly be affirmed, that the Advent of Christ has in its consequences ennobled our nature; and where happily men are living under the influence of the Holy Spirit, has visibly restored it to the semblance of something divine: the ideal standard of human excellence, formed before our Saviour's appearance, falls very far short of what is attainable, and is really attained, in the school of Christ.

"These reflexions, capable however of being pursued through a thousand channels, may prepare us to form some imperfect estimate of the wisdom of God in the work of our Redemption. Mysteries, it is true, envelope the doctrine theoretically considered: but in a practical view nothing can be more intelligible. Our nature, in its inconsistencies and contradictions, in its weaknesses and in its strength, in its elevation and depression, conspires with Scripture to bear witness to our primeval fall: and the wisdom of God has been exerted in a scheme for our restoration through Jesus Christ; a scheme, in which mercy is the moving principle,—in which Holiness is vindicated,—in which Justice is satisfied,—in which our weakness is upholden by divine support,—in which holy

desires are instilled into the heart,—in which sorrow is comforted,—in which repentance is efficacious,—in which sin is pardoned,—in which God is reconciled,—in which the world is overcome, and in our last hour Death is deprived of his triumph. It is to such a scheme more especially, that the Apostle refers, when he speaks of the 'manifold wisdom of God:' and its complicated characters of power and wisdom we are able to a certain extent to appreciate, even with our faint perception of things divine. In no speculation merely human have such difficulties ever been *proposed* for solution; still less can it be said that they have been solved upon principles at once so coherent, and at the same time so sublime in their objects, so simple in their operation, and so effectual in their result. The greatness of the Deity and the misery of man had been the theme of sages from the earliest times; but who had ever suggested, as among things possible, a theory, by which, while God should be vindicated, man should be saved? Consider these points, as they deserve to be considered, and you will probably conclude, that the method of Redemption, as revealed in the Bible, is one among the various and independent proofs, that that Book was inspired of God." P. 12.

But, though we have been tempted by the gratification which we received from the perusal of this passage, to lay it before our readers, as a specimen of the manner in which the Bishop has treated this part of his subject, and applied the arguments it suggests to the peculiar circumstances and probable exigencies of his hearers; it is in the discussion of the two remaining heads of his Discourse, that he will be followed with the greatest interest. Those who have been alarmed by vague apprehensions of danger to the national interests, arising from any attempt to enlighten the ignorance, remove the prejudices, or combat the superstition of our heathen subjects in Asia, will anxiously inquire what are the principles by which the Bishop of Calcutta is guided in the employment of that great moral and religious engine placed under his direction and controul. And those who are influenced by no such fears, but rest with perfect confidence on the conviction, that a blessing will attend every discreet and temperate effort to make known the manifold wisdom of God to the Gentiles by the Church, will consider the Bishop as the minister of God, especially appointed by lawful and competent authority in the Church, to the superintendance of that great work committed to her by Christ himself, her head. And they will trace his recorded opinions on this subject, and his exertions to reduce those opinions to practice, with a solicitude commensurate with their deeply-rooted sense of the awful responsibility which attaches to him, and to the Church on whose behalf he is labouring.

The Apostle in the text, declares it to be the intent, or, as he immediately adds, "the eternal purpose" of God the Father, that his manifold wisdom should be made known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places; in other words, to those superior intelligences, the different orders of angels and spirits, which surround the throne of God. These all, we are told by St. Peter, desire to look into the depths of the Christian dispensation; and the inference from the text is certain, that, in the progress of divine truth, and the triumphs of the Gospel, even the Holy Angels themselves gain a clearer insight into the will and purposes of the Almighty. But, some may ask, how does this furnish us with a motive for preaching the Gospel to the heathen, or where is the command which it conveys for missionary exertions?

"It may be thought," says the Bishop, "that this consideration is not such as to operate generally, as an inducement to the diffusion of Christianity. They who feel this objection, it may be suspected, are not really impressed with that most efficient of all motives, a zeal for the glory of God. The edification of the Heavenly Spirits may not, indeed, immediately present itself to our minds: the idea is not sufficiently familiar to us: *our* intercourse is with God or with men: but the motive assigned, being taken thus high, comprises all lower degrees of it: that *men* may glorify God when they see our good works, is a consideration perfectly level to our views of duty: and this consideration is not weakened, but rather strengthened, when we recollect, that even the Angels themselves give glory unto God, when they behold the advancement of His purposes through the piety of their humbler fellow-servants." P. 16.

That zeal for the glory of God which is founded in a deep feeling and practical recognition of the divine perfections, and in a desire that all men should know them as we ourselves do, will naturally lead us to impart to the world the knowledge we ourselves possess. And to no parts of the world will our attention be more forcibly directed, than to those inhabited by nations, who, not only undervalue the Gospel, but are wholly ignorant of it:

"Where then," to adopt the words of the Right Rev. Preacher, that his argument may be placed before our readers in all its force, "where shall the energies of such a zeal as this be excited, if they are dormant in the land, which we now inhabit? In what other region of the known world is the glory of God more effectually obscured, and His truth, to allude to the Apostle's saying, more palpably 'turned into a lie?' (Rom. i. 25.) The case of ruder

nations furnishes no answer to this question: refinement, when corrupted, may be worse than barbarism; and system has a power of evil beyond simplicity. Where else too, we may ask, do we find more evident vestiges of that fall from primeval uprightness, which the Gospel was designed to repair? From the dislocated strata and confused position of heterogeneous substances in the bowels of the earth, the Geologist attests the breaking up of the vast deep in times remote, if he yield not implicit faith to the Scriptures: and here, in like manner, does the Christian trace indubitable evidence of that wreck and ruin of the moral world, which the same Scriptures record: the best qualities or tendencies of our nature and their opposite defects are found in immediate contact: the fear without the knowledge of God;—courtesy without brotherly love;—profuseness without public spirit;—lowliness without humility;—a consciousness of sin without the want of a Saviour;—fortitude without feeling or resignation;—and a contempt of death without a thought of immortality;—these are among the inconsistencies and perversions of original goodness, which every day's observation may exhibit to our notice: and who can contemplate these appearances, and not lament them? or who, that laments them, can be backward to employ the remedy? I mean not, of course, in any way but that of affectionate and Christian solicitude, and by teaching and 'persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.' (Acts xix. 8.)" P. 18.

The prejudices which have existed against all endeavours to disseminate Christianity throughout the vast peninsula of India, are, we trust, rapidly fading away before the growing influence of truth, and the never-failing testimony of experience. But they have been powerful enough to divert this religious nation from the plain road of duty for half a century. They are not now wholly extinct; and those who foster them, wait perhaps only for a favourable moment to raise their voices again in opposition to the system so ably planned, and hitherto so successfully acted upon. To these objectors, if their prejudices are merely founded on views of political expediency, the Bishop observes, that

"All policy is, to say the least of it, very questionable, when it is manifestly opposed to the purposes of Him, 'who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.' (Dan. iv. 17.)" And, as no policy can, in the present case, be "openly avowed, which does not profess to keep in view the real interests and permanent happiness of the governed;" the question will thus be reduced to this simple form: "Would not the temporal and eternal good, one or both of them, of the nations around us, be promoted, by a gradual developement to their minds and hearts of the truths of the Gospel?" "I say, *gradual*;" adds the Bishop, "for he who should attempt or expect more than this, would

the attempt, do mischief, and in the expectation evince little knowledge of the actual state of things." P. 20.

It is no difficult task to shew, that the temporal good of any people may be advanced, but cannot be impaired by the knowledge of true religion: though some have darkly hinted an opinion, which, perhaps, they would not venture openly to avow, that the heathen inhabitants of our Indian territories are already in a condition, which, perhaps, may be deteriorated by such an attempt, but could not easily be improved.

"But," says the zealous Prelate, "we cannot, as Christians, consent to rest the whole argument upon the prospect of *temporal* advantages. The advent of Christ is no advent to the people around us: we presume not, indeed, to say, that in their present unconverted state they derive no benefit whatever from the incarnation and death of a Saviour: it should rather appear from the Scriptures that the contrary is the truth, in a question of much difficulty and perplexity. We read that the Almighty 'is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe.' (1 Tim. iv. 10.) The discussion of such a subject might alone occupy a volume: but it requires no discussion to establish, even admitting the salvability of the Heathen, that great spiritual advantages do attend, and are confined to, an actual belief in Christ: the passage last cited recognizes the fact; why else too do we read, that he who would have all men to be saved, would have them also 'come to a knowledge of the truth.' (1 Tim. ii. 4.) Why else is Christ called the Way, as well as the Truth and the Life? (John xiv. 6.) Why else, in short, to pass over a multitude of passages bearing upon this subject, should our Saviour have commanded his disciples to 'preach the Gospel to every creature?' (Mark xvi. 15.) He says of himself, that He 'came into the world that he might bear witness to the truth:' (John xviii. 37.) but He is no witness of it to them who know him not, nor can they believe in his name. It is, in short, the general tenor of the New Testament, illustrated and confirmed in the lives and sufferings of the saints and martyrs, who went forth under the influence of the Holy Spirit, that great, if not fatal, disadvantage attends on those, who know not the 'way of salvation:' and it may be, though our limits will not permit us to go into the proofs of this opinion, that they are rarely seen to live in that 'spirit of faith,' (2 Cor. iv. 13.) which God possibly, for the sake of Christ, may be pleased to accept; and that the highest happiness, to which they can attain hereafter, is inconsiderable, compared with that which is reserved for the enlightened and humble believers in Christ. Any apparent inequality in such a course of proceeding may be vindicated by obvious analogies, and by a becoming attention to the principle, that all which we receive in things temporal or spiritual is freely of the grace of God." P. 21.

To admit, however, that God may, in his mercy, have provided in some way secret to us, for the salvability of those, through Christ, who have never heard of his name, or of his Gospel; is far different from the convenient liberalism of those, who will contend, that men may be saved by sincere adherence to any mode of faith, or system of religion. It was professedly intended, and distinctly promised by the Divine Author and Finisher of our Faith, that his religion should be universal. He "would have all men come to the knowledge of the truth:" and he has declared, by his Apostle, that "there is none other name under Heaven given to man whereby we must be saved," but that name which, while on earth, he condescended to bear. If then, as the Bishop argues, there is in any mode of religion,

"An inherent impossibility that it should become universal, this is a certain proof, where that religion is not a mere 'shadow of things to come, while the body is of Christ,' (Col. ii. 17.) that it cannot be from Heaven. If God is one, so also must be his final purpose respecting man: if the Saviour be but one, so also must be the method of salvation; if the Holy Spirit be but one, he can never have inspired or suggested all the jarring systems, which divide mankind. And though this argument does not of itself enable us to decide, which of them is the true one, it effectually invalidates the claims of those, which confessedly are partial and incapable of extension. In other words, the system of faith, which prevails in this country, even if it had any shadow of evidence in its behalf, would be completely disproved by its wanting the principle of dissemination and diffusion: and its defence is virtually abandoned, when its adherents are driven to profess, that the Almighty is delighted with variety in the systems of human belief, and that all, therefore, may be acceptable; as if truth and salvation and the will of God were but modes and fashions to be adapted to the convenience or caprice of the believer. Nor is the subterfuge more availing, when to avoid this difficulty the plea is urged, that the sacred books of all nations do really and in spirit teach the same thing: if it be urged in ignorance, it may excite our pity; but certainly it is not true, that any book, except the Bible, teaches that which is the object and the essence of the Bible, and to which all else is collateral, salvation through the Son of God. It is a triumphant consideration, therefore, in all such questions, that Christianity not only professes to be designed for universal acceptance, but moreover is fitted, without any accommodation or sacrifice of its purity, to be the religion of the civilized world; that it humanizes, where it does not find humanity; and that allowing for and retaining a difference of usages in things

indifferent, it is adapted to combine in one scheme of faith and hope the whole family of man. As St. Paul expresses it, 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all.' (Col. iii. 11.)" P. 23.

Having thus established the duty of propagating Christianity among Heathen nations upon its true foundation, the Bishop proceeds to point out the means by which it may, and ought by Divine appointment to be undertaken.

St. Paul says expressly, that the manifold wisdom of God should be made known by the Church. And regarding this appointment, as conferring upon her one of the highest and most honourable privileges with which she can be invested, no sense of the difficult and hazardous duties which that privilege involves, will induce her to shrink from claiming it as her peculiar right, and exerting it whenever opportunity may serve. Of that Church, founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, there are many branches abiding in Christ, the true Vine, as we trust, and bearing fruit. And it cannot be questioned by any who hold to the Apostolical model, that the Church of England is one of these branches.

"It cannot, then, be imagined, that in the work prescribed to the Church of Christ, that branch of it, to which we belong, has no part, not even a subordinate part to fill. It should seem, indeed, if her duties are to be measured by her means and opportunies, that no Church since the days of the Apostles has been called to such high destinies. To what fortuitous coincidence shall we impute it, that at this moment her Clergy are exercising their ministry in every quarter of the globe? In America, flourishing Churches have grown up entirely under her patronage. In Africa, a colony has been planted, by which her doctrines and discipline are brought into contact with the superstitions of ignorant and barbarous tribes. In New South Wales, she has a field before her nearly equal in extent to the whole of Europe. And what shall we say of Asia? A vast empire has been given us, or rather imposed upon us; and wherefore? He who can reconcile such a consummation even to philosophical views of the ways of God, without reference to the purposes of his manifold wisdom as revealed in Scripture, and can believe it to have been brought about merely for the gratification of our avarice or vanity, cannot have advanced very far in the knowledge, which sound philosophy might teach him: it is not merely unchristian; it is unphilosophical, it is unreasonable to believe that God ever works in vain, or even brings about mighty revolutions with a view to results comparatively mean and trivial." P. 27.

Such then are the views of this most important and interesting subject developed in the course of this able and eloquent discourse. The propagation of Christian knowledge, is a task confided to the Church by its great Founder and Head; it is a duty bound upon her members, in the present case, by every sound motive of political expediency, by every feeling of brotherly kindness and charity, with scarcely less force than by this Divine command. But, in its performance, times and seasons, means and opportunities, the character and prejudices of the objects whom we hope to enlighten and convert, and that patience, which is an ingredient not less indispensable to the character of a Christian teacher, than zeal and perseverance, must all be taken into account. The progress then must be *gradual:* and those who, with a degree of impatience, for which, as the Bishop charitably observes, "the motive is an ample excuse," have wished that the Established Church would shew herself more prominently in the great work of diffusing the light of revelation over the Eastern world, will, perhaps, be better satisfied, when they recollect what she did when every direct channel of influence or exertion was closed against her, and how much she has already accomplished since those channels have been opened. They may, indeed, be well justified in applauding her labours, when they consider what a foundation she has laid for future, and, as we humbly hope, successful exertion, within the short space of time which has elapsed since she was first permitted to rear her mitred front in India, and with the limited means which have hitherto been placed at her disposal.

In that Collegiate Establishment to which the Bishop alludes at the conclusion of his discourse, wherein future Missionaries will be educated, and from whence the light of the Gospel will shine forth with peculiar advantages, under the direction of the superintending mind of its founder, whom experience has shewn to be fully competent to the herculean task he has undertaken; in that establishment alone, the Church of England has evinced her readiness to avail herself of every opportunity within her reach, and her wisdom in the choice of means and instruments for carrying such designs into effect, as these opportunities may suggest.

Nothing perhaps equally comprehensive with the plan of "Bishop's College near Calcutta," has yet been attempted by any Protestant Church.

"Its objects will be the education of Christian youth in sacred knowledge, in sound learning, in the principal languages used in this country, and in habits of piety and devotion to their calling,

that they may be qualified to preach among the heathen; the attention of the learned persons connected with it will be directed to making accurate versions of the Scriptures, of the Liturgy, and of other holy books; it will endeavour to disseminate useful knowledge by means of schools, under teachers well educated for the purpose; and it will aim at combining and consolidating, so far as may be, into one system, and directing into the same course of sentiment and action, the endeavours which are here made to advance the Christian Cause." P. 29.

When these objects are considered, it will be evident that abundant means will be requisite to give such a plan all the effect of which it is in itself capable. Much has already been contributed through the favour and patronage of the public in England; the King's Letter, granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, produced a sum far beyond any former example; and other religious societies and public bodies have munificently aided the work. The British inhabitants of India have, no doubt, borne their part of the burden with their accustomed liberality; and we trust that they will continue, in common with their brethren at home, from time to time to offer fresh supplies.

It appears from the notes subjoined to the discourse before us, that of the three several sums of 8000*l.* each, voted for the purpose by the sister societies for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and by the Church Missionary Society, the greater part will be necessarily expended

"In completing the College, including the offices and Printing House; and probably but little will remain, when the Printing House shall have been supplied with presses and types, and furniture shall have been purchased for the Hall, the Library, the Dormitories, and the Lecture rooms, and the books most wanted shall have been bought for the College Library. Of the sum collected under the Royal Letter, if the whole shall be funded as a permanent endowment, the interest will not be more than sufficient to defray the salaries of the eminent and learned men, who may be appointed to the College Professorships. Provision is still to be made by the Society for the maintenance of students in the College, and for their support after they shall have left it." P. 40.

The Bishop, whose comprehensive mind seems to have suffered no part of the multifarious arrangements necessary for the complete establishment of such an institution to pass without its due share of attention, has intimated, in another note, the several useful objects to which those benevolent persons, who may be disposed to promote this design, may appro-

priate their benefactions. And, at the same time, he has suggested in what department of the College expenditure, their aid will for the present be most urgently required. The whole may be classed under the heads of, 1. Missionary Stations. 2. Scholarships in College. 3. The College Library. 4. The College Press. 5. Christian Schools. 6. Native Schools. 7. The Fabrick Fund. 8. General Purposes. Of these perhaps the four first are of the most immediate and pressing necessity.

"The Society," he says, "in founding the College, contemplates the establishment of Missionary Stations, wherever an opening shall seem to present itself, for accomplishing their benevolent purposes. To supply such stations with Missionaries and their proper assistants, and to keep up a never-failing succession of them, is their primary object, to which every thing else is collateral and subsidiary."—"It is therefore of the greatest importance, that the public benevolence, as applicable to this head, should shew itself early; and in truth it is the point, to which above all others, the Society may be presumed to wish that attention should be directed." P. 42.

Next to this he ranks the foundation of Scholarships. It is evident, that unless the education of students is thus provided for, the former object never can be obtained. Nor can this education, though funds are acquired for the purpose, be well carried on, unless a library be also formed for the use of the students, well stored

"With the most approved works in theology, especially of the great divines of the Church of England; in biblical criticism; in ecclesiastical and general history; in oriental literature, including dictionaries and grammars; with classical authors, and with a few books of science; the purchase of all which will obviously be attended with considerable expence." P. 42.

When thus educated, the Missionaries must of necessity look to the College press for those versions of the Scriptures, as well as religious tracts and elementary treatises, which will be their most ready aids in the pursuance of their pious labours. After these several objects are secured, the establishment both of Christian and Native Schools will claim attention.

"One of the former kind will be indispensable to every missionary station, and such might be established to great advantage in some instances where no missionary station could conveniently be formed. In native schools the elements of useful knowledge and the English language will be taught, wherever it may seem

desirable, without any immediate reference to Christianity. In either case, it will be among the objects of the college to supply masters well qualified for the undertaking." P. 43.

The propriety of forming a fund for the support of the fabrick, is too obvious to need remark; and though such a provision may seem to fall more particularly upon the inhabitants of India, its necessity will not be overlooked by any who are well wishers to the permanence of the institution. By them no apology will be required for the length to which we have allowed ourselves to extend this article. And we trust, that when those also whose attention has not hitherto perhaps been directed to this great undertaking, consider it in all its bearings, as one great instrument, under Providence, for the gradual conversion of the inhabitants of these extensive countries to the faith of Christ crucified, they will not be disposed to censure us for having thus laid before them some particulars of such a plan, recommended as it is, scarcely more by its intrinsic excellence, than by the eloquent pleading of the learned and indefatigable Prelate, in whose intelligent mind the idea was first conceived, and under whose auspices the institution itself is rapidly advancing to maturity.

ART. VIII. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature, for the year* 1820. 8vo. 18s. Rivingtons. 1822.

AN Annual Register, unquestionably, is a most useful publication; and if conducted as it ought to be, will probably be the grand nursery of facts, for the historian of after times. To be conducted as it ought to be, it should present all the events of importance occurring within the limits to which it professes to extend, detailed with accuracy from authentic sources, and agreeably couched in simple and unambitious language. Without unnecessarily vituperating the immediate ancestors in lineal descent, or the false brethren of the same generation who have risen in bastard brood about it, we may with sincerity affirm, that we have never opened any similar volume so thoroughly according with the notions which we have framed to ourselves of what an Annual Register ought to be, as that which is now before us.

Of the facts which it contains, the ποσὸν can only be ascertained by entire perusal. Upon the ποῖον, our readers may

decide by a few extracts. We shall first offer these, and then point out one or two material improvements, which have been effected in the miscellaneous department of the work; a department, which, under its present sound regulation, will be found to be of eminent utility.

We will commence with the following nicely discriminated character of his late Majesty, with which the volume opens.

"No English sovereign ever better deserved, or more fully enjoyed, the attachment and veneration of his subjects. It would be useless to enter upon any detail of his many virtues; they have become too familiar to the people, to whose happiness they so essentially contributed, to render any such record other than superfluous. His consistency, his sincerity, his perfect simplicity, his gentleness to those about him; his firmness of principle and purpose, approaching as it might sometimes seem to pertinacity; his conscientious regard for the rights of his subjects; his sedulous cultivation in the highest station of the humblest domestic virtues; the exemplary regularity of his habits; the spotless purity of his life; above all, his deep, fervent, unaffected piety, which, without harshness or fanaticism, pervaded and directed every act of his life; the praise of these the most inveterate partisans of faction have hardly ventured to deny him; and they compose a character which, found in any rank, we might pronounce rare and beautiful, but which, when we meet with it on the throne, preserving its purity and proportions amid all the temptations incident to that arduous elevation, we do not hesitate to affirm becomes great, and we might even say original.

"There is no station so humble, no circle so restricted, in which the virtues of the good man will not prove eminently useful; in proportion, however, as the post we occupy is conspicuous and influential, the sphere of their operations is of course enlarged. The personal character of the monarch can never, therefore, be a matter of indifference: the example afforded by the late king would at any period have been extensively beneficial; but its coincidence with the crisis during which he reigned, may be said to have been absolutely providential. In too many instances the fascination of the throne has been sufficient to throw a veil of factitious splendour over the vices of those who occupied it. It might almost seem that formerly princes were considered as exempted, in some measure, from the obligation of those duties of decency and morality by which the vulgar were bound. But, it was the fate of George the Third to reign at a time when men's minds were carried to a contrary extreme; when station and rank were viewed with a jealous scrutiny by the multitude, and were so far from affording a protection to the frailties of their possessors, that men sought rather in those failings a pretext for the demolition of the invidious distinctions themselves. Under these circumstances of popular distemper, it is not too much to say that the monarchy

demanded all the aid derivable from the personal respectability of the prince to bear up against the hostility of the political fanaticism of the age; and the genius of a Philip or Octavius might have proved less efficacious for the salvation of the constitution, than the simple light of that perfect exemplar of private virtue, with which our late king illumined, and, as it were, consecrated the crown he wore.

"Respecting this portion of his character, there will be, we believe, little difference of opinion. In estimating the features of his mind we have hardly the same materials or opportunities for forming an accurate judgment; and, to say the truth, this consideration is of very secondary importance. We do not know whether the occurrence of extraordinary talents and energy in the sovereign would not in our state be rather inconvenient than useful. The powers of the late king's mind were not perhaps of what is considered the highest order, but he was confessedly endowed with a sound, vigorous, practical understanding, which commonly led him right in his judgment of men and things; and often, perhaps, as far as ordinary affairs were concerned, to conclusions more accurate and safe than might have been arrived at by intellects of a finer temper. In his application to business he was regular and steady; and the reports of all those at all qualified to judge, agree in affirming that he always betrayed an intelligence perfectly competent to the proper comprehension of the subjects which were submitted to his consideration. His education had been rather neglected; and his reading was supposed to be neither extensive nor systematic; but he was far from deficient in information. He had cultivated a habit of continual inquiry in his intercourse with others; an intercourse, we may observe, which from his general frankness of disposition, included a much greater variety of classes than might have been expected; and in the course of this, his mind, aided by his natural acuteness of observation, and an uncommon retention of memory, had acquired a mass of various and useful knowledge, such as perhaps has been possessed by few persons in his station, and which from its practical nature, and connexion with men as they actually exist, was, perhaps, of all others, the kind of information that he was most likely to turn to good account in the exercise of the duties of his station.

"In the ordinary habits of his life he was eminently simple and uniform; he had not a taste but was characteristically manly and appropriate to the character of an English gentleman. It has been truly observed, that even his amusements were patriotic, and the interest which he shewed himself to take in agricultural process and experiment, was not less honourable to his taste than it was useful by its example; which, it is probable, co-operated materially in maintaining that love of a country life which still happily continues to distinguish our landed proprietors." P. 2.

Of the fidelity of the outline in this picture, there can be

no question: and we think, the touches with which it has been filled up, are at once delicate and spirited. The political reflections which immediately succeed, may not universally find such unqualified approbation. But what political reflections can hope to be universally or unqualifiedly approved? Even those, however, who do not as cordially assent to the principles upon which they are founded, as we do ourselves, can feel no difference of opinion as to the temper with which they are expressed.

On the withdrawing of the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, we find the remarks below.

"Thus ended this important and eventful session. We have foreborne to give in this part of our volume any details of the expression of popular triumph and exultation with which the abandonment of the bill was received in almost every part of the island; our readers will find in our chronicle of domestic occurrences, sufficiently copious accounts as well of the particulars of this general jubilee, as of the proceedings of her majesty and her partizans during the remainder of the year. The result of the investigation was universally hailed by her majesty's friends as a most signal *triumph*, and extraordinary as this application of the word must appear, we believe it was used with perfect sincerity by the class of persons in question. No decision of the house of lords would have at all affected their conviction of her majesty's innocence; that conviction had been formed and avowed before the inquiry began; it was apparently strengthened by the evidence given against her majesty; and consequently provided she evaded the operation of the threatened bill, it must in their opinion have been immaterial to her honour, under what circumstances the escape was effected.

"These observations of course apply to a part of the people only, though that part includes a larger and more respectable body than we should have expected to have found affected by such singular hallucination of intellect. With all parties however, and all classes, the abandonment of the bill was a subject of sincere congratulation; particularly must it have been so with those attached to the government; and perhaps it would be difficult to point out any pretext under which ministers could have extricated themselves from the embarrassing position in which they found themselves, more ingeniously convenient than the evolution by which, after obtaining from the house of lords a decision in some degree justificatory of their proceedings against the queen, they got rid of the proceeding itself, upon the plea of a consideration unconnected either with the justice or the general expediency of the measure. We cannot forbear the suspicion that there was more of political tactics than of conscientious doubt in the difficulties which were raised respecting the point of divorce. For ourselves we confess we do not understand them. It is not preter

that in the case of adultery committed by a queen with a British subject, the plea of provocation on the part of the husband would legally shelter her from the penalty of high treason, denounced by our law upon such delinquency. And it is not easy to comprehend how the same considerations which in this instance are held to sanction such extremity of punishment, would not equally justify the simple measure of divorce under circumstances essentially identical. We readily admit that if the divorce were called for merely as a means of personal relief to the husband, the objection drawn from his majesty's supposed conduct, and the ordinary practice of our law in similar cases might hold good. But any such object has been all along studiously disclaimed by ministers. The question has been throughout put upon public grounds; and these, as it appears to us, would go as far to justify the release of the sovereign from the bond of connection with a woman accused of degrading or criminal conduct, as to sanction the depriving of the accused individual of her rank, title, and privileges as queen.

"With respect to the great question of her majesty's guilt or innocence, we shall say but little; in fact, it would be altogether superfluous to dwell at any length on the subject, after the very full and copious extracts which we have given from the discussions in the house of lords; it would not be easy to suggest any thing on either side of the question that had not been anticipated in the preceding debates. There were undoubtedly difficulties in the case; difficulties which, as it seems to us, lay not so much in any particular deficiency or contrariety of the evidence, as in certain parts of the queen's own conduct, which without question do seem inconsistent with the supposition of her majesty's consciousness of guilt. Setting aside the consideration of these, we must say, that the direct evidence against her appears to us to afford an accumulation of presumptive proof, which, of itself, we should think irresistible. Much has been said of the contradictions to which the witnesses for the bill had exposed themselves; of the equivocations of Demont, and the forgetfulness of Majocchi. We are not qualified to decide how far the objections which have been raised of this nature are in a legal point of view adequate to damage the credibility of the persons in question; but for the most part, they have not tended materially to diminish our moral belief in the general accuracy of the story. We do not know that they are greater than were necessarily to be anticipated under such circumstances, from such persons. Every one must have observed the singular inaccuracy of observation respecting the simplest facts, indulged in by uneducated people. Their tendency to exaggeration in statement is not less remarkable, particularly in cases where they have wholly to depend upon their recollection. Our surprise is rather that more contradictions and inconsistencies were not elicited in the course of such long and perplexing examinations." P. 259.

In the second division of the volume, an entirely new head has been inserted, bearing the title of "Philosophical and Literary Miscellany." It comprises extracts from the foreign and domestic journals of Science; papers read before learned Societies, &c. &c.: and appears to us to form a valuable assemblage of discoveries, which can only otherwise be attained by consulting a variety of different authorities. A list of books and pamphlets published during the current year, is annexed at the close, and supplies another deficiency, the existence of which has often surprised us. We heartily rejoice to find a work of so much importance, conducted with so much judgment and diligence; and we doubt not, that the succeeding volumes will fully realize the high promise held out by the present.

ART. IX. *Remarks on the Universal Education of the Lower Classes, and on the Principles of Mr. Brougham's Plan, as Affecting the Established Church: in a Sermon, preached at the Monthly Lecture at St. Lawrence's Church, Reading, Berkshire, Jan.* 8, 1822. *By the Rev. Arthur Edward Howman, M.A. Prebendary of Salisbury.* 8vo. pp. 36. Rivingtons. 1822.

THIS is a plain, sensible discourse, on a very important subject. None of our readers can be unacquainted with the insidious attempt which is making to abolish the National System of Education, and to erect upon its ruins a platform of infidelity: for in no other light can we consider a Bill which openly professes the necessity of not teaching *any* Religion at all. It is sickening to be compelled so often to return to a thrice told tale: and there is a difficulty, perhaps, in preserving due temper and moderation when we are called upon, at every turn, to restate those arguments which carry almost intuitive conviction to ourselves; and which, from their truth and necessity, have become parts, as it were, of our own minds. But as the enemy is incessant and unwearied in his attacks, so should we be also in our vigilance of defence. We must be prepared to combat reasoning, prejudice and artifice: to meet hostility in the fair field of controversy, and to guard against the more dangerous inroad of the seeming familiar friend, who ranges himself awhile by our side, that he may find more ready occasion to do wrong.

The abstract of Mr. Brougham's Bill contains the following provisions under the Head of Tuition.

"I. The Officiating Minister, on each vacancy of the Master's place, is to fix the hours of teaching,—not more than eight nor less than six hours a day: and the times of vacation not more than twice a year, and a fortnight each time, or a month if in one vacation;—to affix the same in the School-Room.

"II. The Holy Scriptures to be taught: the officiating Minister, if he pleases, directing, from time to time, any passages he may think fit to be taught among others.

"III. No other religious Book whatever to be used or taught in lessons; no Book without officiating Minister's approbation; and no religious Worship, except the Lord's Prayer, or other passages of Scripture.

"IV. Church Catechism to be taught half of one day in the week; and, if the officiating Minister thinks proper, at a School Meeting on Sunday Evening, not exceeding three hours.

"V. No Child to be punished, rebuked, admonished, or otherwise molested, for being absent with leave of its parents, guardians, or persons having care of it, at the times when the Church Catechism is taught.

"VI. Scholars to attend the Parish Church once every Sunday, with their Master, unless they attend with their parents or others having care of them; but no child to be punished, rebuked, admonished, or otherwise molested, for not so attending, if the parents or guardians signify a wish to that effect, and that the child attends some other place of Christian worship.

"VII. Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, to be the things taught in all Parish Schools." Appendix, p. 31.

From these premises we may make the following deductions. 1st. That as reading, writing, and arithmetic are the only things to be taught, Religion of any kind is certainly *not* to be taught. 2ndly. That as Religion is not to be taught, the Holy Scriptures are only to be admitted for the purpose of teaching reading. 3dly. That, by the peremptory exclusion of all Church of England formularies, one other thing besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, will be taught, namely, that the Church of England is unnecessary.

We leave these deductions without a comment. Whether the objects to which they point are in the contemplation of the framers and supporters of the Bill it is not for us to decide; but that such is the immediate and necessary tendency of its provisions, no man who has eyes to see can deny.

We rejoice, therefore, to find that public attention is awakened to the momentous change which is projected; and that there is little chance that the death-warrant of our Es-

tablishment will be smuggled through the Legislative, from want of alertness on the part of its friends. Mr. Howman has very forcibly stated the dangers which surround us: in some parts of his Sermon his language, perhaps, requires a little qualification, in order that it may not be misunderstood or misrepresented: but if we interpret his meaning, as we think we do, correctly, there can be no discrepance of opinion about his main position among any of his brethren.

From Corinthians ix. 25. the Preacher inculcates the necessity of temperance and moderation in *all* things: and directs his observations with considerable dexterity to the superabundant effervescence of zeal by which our times are distinguished.

"At no period of the world, nor in any other country, has there ever been found a greater exertion in the cause of benevolence than we now witness in this kingdom. Individuals and societies are alike anxious in contributing to the welfare of others; and indeed it seems to be almost a point of contention who shall be foremost, not only in relieving immediate distress, and promoting the comfort and happiness of all around them, but also in the permanent improvement of the condition of mankind. It is melancholy to reflect, that motives so excellent and objects so beneficial, should ever fail of perfect success. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the painful fact, that this is too often the result. We cannot hide from our observation, the too frequent want of that temperate discretion with which the best intended exertions ought always to be accompanied. We cannot but often perceive a too zealous and mistaken exercise of benevolence itself, which however amiable in its principle, may, if carried to an extreme, or misapplied, have a tendency to produce effects very different from those which were its original object. With the most laudable motives we often take our stand on the plausibility of an abstract question, without considering how its nature and character may be altered when qualified by particular circumstances, or reduced to practical operation. And with equally amiable, but intemperate zeal, we press forward an object, praiseworthy in itself, till it reaches a pernicious extreme, and converts a blessing into a calamity. Novelty will ever have its charms. New schemes, however wild and fanciful, instantly attract our attention, whilst those of long establishment, though of acknowledged utility, retire from observation, and almost escape our notice. Whilst our thoughts are withdrawn from objects of indisputable merit, our means are misapplied on doubtful or precarious pursuits. And when we turn our eyes on the infinite variety of wild and extravagant projects which are now constantly brought forward, pressed upon the public attention, and prosecuted to an enthusiastic extreme, with any idea rather than that of being "temperate in all things," can we hesitate to think that mo-

dern benevolence is wasting her strength, and misapplying her resources on doubtful or unworthy objects, and by intemperate and imprudent means." P. 9.

Hence Mr. Howman passes to the projected system of Universal Education: and it is to this part of his discourse that we referred when we hinted a wish that his expressions had been somewhat more distinct. Without citing the passage we shall state in brief what we believe to be the opinions of the Preacher, and what most assuredly are our own; namely, that a certain extent of education is desirable for *all*; but that religious instruction should be the basis of that education: and that, if a National Religion be established, in schools created, protected and supported by National authority, *that* National Religion should be taught. In no other way can we imagine how a National Religion is to continue in existence: for in these cases there is no such thing as neutrality. Those who are not with us, are against us: and the lukewarm and the indifferent, those who abstain from gathering, diminish our harvest just as largely as those who scatter.

Such, we feel little doubt, are Mr. Howman's sentiments: though from a slight ambiguity of language he might be supposed, at first sight, to be unfavourable to the education of the poor on general principles. (P. 11, &c.) That many very well-meaning persons have thought in a similar manner, we are unfortunately compelled to admit: but there is a clearness and precision in the other points to which Mr. Howman addresses himself, which leaves us most reluctant to believe that his judgment is clouded in this single instance; and indeed he himself has relieved us from the difficulty in a subsequent passage.

"I hope I am not misunderstood. Nothing can be farther from my intention, than to advocate the cause of ignorance, or to maintain the opinion that we ought not to improve to the utmost of our power those faculties with which a kind Providence has blessed us. Most ardently do I wish that *all* would educate their youth;—educate them in the sound principles of religion and virtue, and the solid convictions of reason and reflection, according to their own conscientious persuasion of the truth, and conformably to the duties of their respective stations in life;—principles, capable of guiding and supporting them under the trials and temptations of the world, and of exciting them to their duty to God and man:—but not in that superficial, incomplete, and dangerous way, to which every system intended for universal application must be liable." P. 27.

The sound reasoning in the following remarks amply justifies us for extracting them at length.

"It has been exultingly asserted, that we are already materially altered;—that we are become 'a thinking and a reasoning people*.' So far as we think and reason for the comprehension and performance of the respective duties of our peculiar stations in society, we shall doubtless do well. But if we step beyond it, if vainly conscious of our improved abilities, we forget our own particular province, and officiously intrude ourselves into the duties and situations of others, for which, whatever we may suppose, we may not be so well qualified, such an exertion of increased intellect will be no subject of satisfaction, but rather a misfortune which we may have cause to deplore. When every one is urged to think and reason for himself, though his capacity be narrow, his information partial, and his passions ill regulated, it will not be easy to say where the limit of imagination will be found. And if all are to fancy themselves qualified to become polemical divines;—if all are enabled to enter into the disgusting bickerings of party politics;—if all are to give opinions on legislation, and sit in judgment on the interpretation of those laws by which they are to be governed;—it will be difficult to foresee where the advantages of such a system will commence, or where its evils will terminate." P. 13.

"We are often reminded † of an expression of our late amiable Sovereign, who is said to have declared, that 'he hoped the time would come when every poor child in his dominions would be able to read his Bible.' A benevolent and pious wish, in which all may sincerely participate, as it clearly pointed out the *end* for which these means were considered desirable, viz. the attainment of religious instruction. It was not the hope expressed in general terms, merely that every one should be able to read, but that he should read one particular book, and of course for one obvious purpose. But when, according to the system in contemplation, the child's education is finished, that is to say, when he is taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and nothing else (for nothing else is allowed to be taught), is it certain that he *will* read his Bible, or read it to any good purpose? With no instruction to supply him with principle and form his judgment, will he not rather select those books which most accord with the worldly maxims and motives which he has never been taught to correct,

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* "Vide a Report of a Speech in Parliament in the beginning of the last Session (1821), wherein the Minister is told that 'he must be more explicit,—that the people of this country will no longer take things upon trust, as they formerly did;—that we were becoming a thinking and a reasoning people;—that groups of men were to be seen at the corner of every street, discussing the tendency, and reasoning upon the propriety of every public measure,' &c. &c."

† "At Bible Society Meetings."

and those bad passions which he has neither the power nor the inclination to regulate." P. 21.

"It may safely be asserted, that all plans for the improvement of mankind, however specious and plausible in other respects, may be looked upon with caution and suspicion, in proportion as they are detached from religion; and that those especially which are *systematically* unconnected with religion, both in principle and practice, have no claims to our support, in comparison with those establishments of tried and acknowledged utility, which proclaim 'Glory to God,' while they are practising 'Good will to man *.'" P. 24.

Mr. Howman in a short Appendix points out the titular metamorphoses which the projected system has undergone. First, we had "Lancasterian Schools," in which the Bible was used, but no instruction was given in Religion. As the feeling of *liberality* extended itself, the Quaker was deposed, and we were invited to "Schools for all;" next to "British and Foreign Schools," though it is not easy, as Mr. Howman observes, to see how *Foreign* schools can be established in this country; and the name was only assumed as a link of connexion with the other great dissenting engine which bears the same magnanimous prefix. Lastly, we have "Schools on the Royal British System," in order that a false impression may be conveyed that these institutions exclusively possess Royal patronage. We are far from undervaluing this when legitimately obtained; but every body knows how easily Royal good nature is prevailed upon to fill anniversary chairs: and with what overweening presumption this high sounding epithet is assumed, even if it be for no loftier purpose than to dignify antibilious pills, desiccated compost, or infallible corn plaister.

Art. X. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for* 1821, *Parts* 1 *and* 2.

Papers on Mathematical and Physical Subjects.

In the Mathematical and Physical department of science there are several highly interesting papers in the present volume of the Philosophical Transactions. We propose to give a brief review of one or two of the most important of these communications; being obliged by our ne-

* "Luke ii. 14."

cessary limits to confine ourselves to little more than a bare enumeration of the rest.

The first paper we shall present to the notice of our readers, is an account of experiments to determine the times of vibration of the pendulum in different latitudes, by Captain Edward Sabine, of the royal regiment of Artillery, F.R.S. and F.L.S.

The importance of multiplying the number of observations of the length of the pendulum vibrating seconds in different latitudes, with a view to affording data for the more exact determination of the figure of the earth, has been universally admitted among philosophers, and is indeed evident to any one who is alive to the interest excited by such questions. In addition to the various observations of the length of the seconds' pendulum hitherto made by observers in different parts of the earth, it was therefore highly desirable that the opportunity afforded by the late northern expeditions, for making similar observations in those high latitudes, should not be lost; and at the instance of the Royal Society, Captain Sabine, of whose qualifications for the employment in every point of view, it would be superfluous to say any thing, was entrusted with the province of making the necessary observations at convenient stations during the expedition; and was from the same source supplied with the requisite instruments and apparatus, carefully prepared under the ablest superintendance. The paper before us contains a description of the instruments with which he was furnished, and gives the details of the numerous observations by which his conclusions were obtained and verified; and which, considering the unfavourable state of circumstances for such operations, were carried on with extraordinary precision; and display an admirable union of skill in observing, with unshaken perseverance in encountering all the various difficulties with which his undertaking was necessarily attended. These we might naturally presume must have been considerable from the nature of the case, and we find such suppositions abundantly confirmed in the different parts of Captain Sabine's narrative.

His paper commences with a description of the instruments employed. These consisted of two brass pendulums of invariable form, furnished with knife edges for suspension: two clocks (the same which accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage) and several excellent chronometers, a transit instrument, &c.

The method of proceeding adopted by Captain Sabine in

these operations was somewhat different in detail, though the same in principle, as that employed by Captain Kater, in his researches of a similar nature; of which we have formerly given an account. The plan of this last, our readers may recollect, consisted in comparing the number of vibrations of a detached invariable pendulum with that of a clock regulated by astronomical observations; whereas, in the present experiments, the invariable pendulum instead of being detached, was substituted as the pendulum of the clock. For each clock, a pendulum of this kind furnished with knife edges, was made, and suspended on plates of agate furnished with levels: no account is given of the principles on which the construction of the pendulums was regulated: it appears however, from the observations recorded, that they must have been of such a length as not to cause any very great difference in the clock's rate of going, from correct time. The method of proceeding in the observations, consisted in comparing the rate of the clocks with the time indicated by transits of the heavenly bodies over the meridian when the weather permitted; and when it was unfavourable several excellent chronometers were the standard of comparison. At the bottom of the pendulum a graduated arc was fixed, and the number of vibrations was corrected according to Captain Kater's method for the difference of the arcs described. Other corrections were also applied for the temperature, elevation, and buoyancy of the air; and thus was obtained the correct number of vibrations of the pendulum employed in a mean solar day: this determination was made with the greatest care at each station; and hence the length of the seconds' pendulum at that station was calculated, assuming the length in the latitude of London from Captain Kater's determination.

The experiments described were made during two voyages to the north, one in the summer of 1818, and the other in 1819 and 1820. In the first voyage only one of the clocks and pendulums was taken out, the other being at the same time sent with Mr. Fisher to Spitzbergen. In the second expedition both were employed.

In the first voyage the ships anchored for a short time in Brassa Sound, Shetland. Here the instruments were landed, and the number of vibrations of the pendulum in a mean solar day, was determined with every attention to accuracy. The results of these and all the other observations are given in a tabular form.

The expedition having ascended Davis's Straits, till stopped by a temporary accumulation of ice, which promised some days detention, the clocks were landed on a small island

called Waygat, or Hare Island, in lat. 70° 26′. and the number of vibrations was ascertained as before.

No other opportunity of pursuing these experiments presented itself during the remainder of the voyage; and on the return of the ships to England, the observations were repeated in London, and the number of vibrations there determined.

Both clocks were taken on the second expedition, which afforded only one opportunity of continuing the observations, but this was at a station of great importance with reference to the object of the experiments, at Melville Island, during the winter between 1819 and 1820. The narrative of Captain Sabine at this point becomes peculiarly interesting: and the more so from the variety of obstacles which the nature of his singular situation placed in his way, but which with the most skilful and determined perseverance he succeeded in overcoming.

As soon as the ships were secured in winter harbour, Captain S. proceeded to search for a proper situation for an observatory. The soil gave great indications of being swampy, though at that time hard frozen, and consequently would afford little prospect of a solid foundation for the clock-stands on the return of summer. A spot however was selected, and it was hoped that the difficulty might be obviated by driving the supports to a sufficient depth in the earth. It was thought desirable to be prepared before the severity of the winter should set in, and therefore an observatory-house was speedily erected with planks filled in with moss, and divided into two rooms, the inner intended for the instruments was to be heated by pipes from a stove in the outer. During the extreme cold of the winter any attempt to raise the temperature of the house sufficiently to carry on the experiments, and to keep it up during their course with the requisite steadiness and uniformity, must have altogether failed. The clocks, therefore, remained unpacked during the winter. On the 24th of February the building was much injured by an accidental fire; but the instruments fortunately escaped. Towards the end of April, the clocks were unpacked, and the stands placed on sleepers sunk into the ground. Several curious effects of the cold were here observed which our limits will not allow us to notice.

A few observations were commenced on the 30th of April, but these were soon given up, the temperature not being yet steadily raised to a sufficient degree. Soon afterwards heavy snow drifts prevailed, preventing the reference to a meridian mark for the transit observations. The temperature could

not be sufficiently raised without introducing the stove into the inner room; and such a temperature was necessarily liable to continual fluctuations and uncertainty. By this means too, the ground became thawed, so as to derange the levels of the clocks. And towards the end of May this inequality prevailed to such an extent as to oblige the abandonment of the house, before any satisfactory conclusions had been obtained. Towards the middle of June the land became in parts tolerably clear of snow, and the thermometer higher and less variable. An elevated and dry spot was chosen, and a foundation of large stones made for the clocks, after clearing away the wet soil. A marquee was pitched over them within a large laboratory tent; and the stove and pipes arranged as before. The clocks were set in motion June 18th. A new disaster was now occasioned by a heavy gale of wind, which overturned the tent, and deranged the apparatus, but happily did no serious injury; and the tent was now secured with ice-anchors. The foundation subsided a little at first, but soon became firm: and the temperature became regular and satisfactory. The experiments were now continued with great minuteness and regularity; the time being constantly regulated by transit observations, and the vibrations determined from a long series of comparisons. The results of all these operations are somewhat voluminous, and occupy several large tables.

In the concluding part of the paper, the author recapitulates the general results, and deduces from them by a calculation, the principles of which are easily perceived by any one who has a competent knowledge of the subject, though Captain S. gives no account of them, the length of the seconds' pendulum at the different stations; which we will extract as follows.

Places.	Latitude.			Length of Seconds' Pendulum, in Inches.
	°	′	″	
London	51.	31.	08.4.	39.13929
Brassa	60.	9.	42.	39.16929
Hare Island	70.	26.	17.	39.1984
Melville Island	74.	47.	12.4.	39.207

The author then in conclusion deduces from these numbers the diminution of gravity from the pole to the equator, and the resulting ellipticity of the earth, which he says are computed by the same method as that used by Captain Kater: these results we will also give.

	Diminution of Gravity.	Ellipticity.
London and Brassa	.0055066	$\frac{1}{314.3}$
London and Hare Island	.0055082	$\frac{1}{314.2}$
Brassa and Hare Island	.0055139	$\frac{1}{313.6}$
London and Melville Island	.0055258	$\frac{1}{312.6}$

The Royal Society, in consideration of the important services rendered to the cause of science by Captain Sabine, and to express their sense of his merits in the office of Astronomical Observer, to which they have appointed him in these expeditions, thought fit to present him with one of the Copley medals; which the President delivered to his brother, (he being absent on a similar expedition in the tropical regions,) with an appropriate speech, at the last annual meeting of the Society. From these researches, in which Captain S. is now engaged, we may expect important additions to the knowledge already acquired, respecting the important question of the figure of the earth; and it is much to be hoped that multiplied observations may tend in some degree to diminish the great discrepancies at present existing between different determinations.

In the present volume there is a paper, No. 7, by Captain Kater, containing an account of the comparison of the various British standards of linear measure; into the details of which we will not enter; but merely wish to notice some inferences made by its ingenious author, which bear upon the subject of the paper just considered.

We will however just state the nature of these investigations. At the recommendation of the Commissioners of Weights and Measures, Captain K. undertook the accurate comparison of the various standards of linear measure adopted on various occasions: these were, Sir G. Shuckburgh's Standard; Bird's Standard of 1760; General Roy's Scale; the Royal Society's Standard; and Ramsden's Bar, the foundation of the Trigonometrical Survey of Great Britain. To these was also added Colonel Lambton's Scale, the basis of his Trigonometrical operations in India. All these were supposed to give the yard: they were found on the most careful examination to differ by very minute quantities; sufficient however in some instances to make considerable discrepancies when any extensive measurements were founded on them. The standard used in the trigonometrical survey, differed most from all the others. The Commissioners proposed Bird's Standard as the legal yard; and this differs in-

sensibly from Sir G. Shuckburgh's Scale, of which a fac simile was made for Professor Pictet of Geneva; and this plan facilitates the comparison of British with foreign measures.

Captain K. concludes his paper with a very important remark, to which we are particularly desirous of calling the attention of our scientific readers, as it is intimately connected with the question respecting the figure of the earth.

Captain K. observes, that in determining the figure of the earth by means of the measurement of distant portions of the same meridian, many anomalies have been remarked, which may in some instances, be attributed to the difference of the standards employed in such measurements. He then gives as an example, the results deduced by Colonel Lambton for three portions of the meridian in India, compared with the lengths of degrees in France, England, and Sweden; and the compressions or ellipticities of the earth, as derived from them respectively. In order to reduce these different measurements to the English national standard, he points out the corrections necessary, as deduced from his previous comparisons, and then exhibits the compressions as deduced from each. The mean of the different results as given by Colonel Lambton, and as given with the requisite corrections, are, $\frac{1}{302.96}$ and $\frac{1}{307.55}$. But from other considerations, Captain K. is inclined to think $\frac{1}{305.31}$ to be a more fair mean.

"And this," he observes, "would agree very nearly with the deduction of M. Laplace from the lunar irregularities: with the result of Dr. Young's interesting and novel investigation, by a comparison of the mean, with the superficial density of the earth: and with the conjecture which I hazarded from the compression given by the experiments on the length of the pendulum at Unst and Portsoy."

It will be immediately obvious that there exists a very considerable difference between the ellipticity thus determined, and that resulting from Captain Sabine's observations. On this point we must be allowed to say, that in our opinion such discrepancies afford a strong ground for leading us to seek some other method, not attended with similar difficulties, in the attempt to determine this important problem; which it seems the acknowledged skill of the best observers has not been able to free from very considerable uncertainties, and wide disagreements in the results.

We conceive that these remarks will serve to give a stronger recommendation and confirmation of the preference, given by M. Cagnoli, to the astronomical method, which he sug-

gested, of determining the ellipticity from the times of occultations of fixed stars by the moon; a method which seems to possess every requisite for much greater accuracy than experiments on the pendulum, or measurements of arcs of the meridian can be susceptible of. M. Cagnoli has adduced a numerous list of discrepancies among such determinations, in support of his preference of the astronomical method, and we consider the present instance as a very strong corroboration of his opinion. See his "Memoir on the Figure of the Earth," translated by Mr. F. Baily.

Intimately connected with the question respecting the figure of the earth, is that respecting its density. On this subject some observations are made in No. 19. of the present volume, by Dr. Charles Hutton, F.R.S. of which we will proceed to give some account. The density of the earth has in two instances been the subject of experimental enquiry, namely, by Drs. Maskelyne and Hutton, at the Schehallien mountain, in Scotland; and by the Hon. H. Cavendish, in a series of very elaborate experiments. A short account of each of these operations is given in the paper before us, with the view of estimating the comparative advantages of each method; and the preference is, in Dr. Hutton's opinion, to be decidedly given to the former. His reasons he details at considerable length. The operations at Schehallien were conducted by Dr. Maskelyne. The meridian zenith distances of 43 stars were repeatedly and carefully taken, both on the north and south sides of the mountain. The differences observed on the two sides were such, as to give a result of 11·6 seconds, for the sum of the deviations of the plumb line, caused by the attraction of the mountain, above that of the earth. The mountain was also carefully surveyed, and the height, distance, and bearing of all its points, were accurately taken, with respect to the observatories.

Dr. Hutton's share in the business now commenced, in computing from the data thus afforded. He first, from the measurement of the mountain, conceived it divided into nearly one thousand vertical columns of given bases and altitudes. And from the size, distance, and bearing from the stations of these columns, he calculated their united effect in attracting the plummet, in the direction of the meridian. He then computed from the known magnitude of the earth, what its attraction must be on the same plummet; on the supposition that the density of the earth is the same as the density of the hill. This ratio was found to be nearly as 9933 to 1.

Next, taking the deviation observed by Dr. Maskelyne,

he inferred the actual observed ratio of the attractions to be nearly 17,804 to 1. Having thus obtained two results, the one from actual observation, the other from computation on the supposition of equal densities, the two ratios compared must give the ratio of the real mean densities of the earth and the mountain. This he found to be nearly 9 to 5; and hence, if we knew the latter, the former would be determined. The latter, or density of the mountain, now became the subject of enquiry. At the time of making the observations, this was only known conjecturally; and in the first publication of the results, a number so deduced was assumed. More recently, however, the mountain was examined by that celebrated geologist, Mr. Playfair: who upon examining and comparing a great number of specimens taken from different parts of it, determined its mean density nearly 2·8; hence the density of the earth is nearly 5·05. And Dr. H. considers that 5 may be fairly taken as the mean density of the earth, after making all due allowances. Water being 1.

Dr. H. then proceeds to consider the possible sources of error in these operations, but concludes that none of consequence can have arisen.

He next goes on to examine at length the experiments of Mr. Cavendish, into which we will not enter, especially as Dr. H. has clearly shewn that they are very far from satisfactory. He has with great labour gone over all Mr. C's. calculations, and has given a list of errata not hitherto discovered in them, some of which are important and considerable.

He concludes by expressing an earnest wish for a repetition of experiments on the principle of those at Schehallien; and recommends the large pyramid in Egypt as affording many advantages in the prosecution of this object.

Of the remaining Papers on Mathematical Subjects, our limits will only permit us to enumerate the titles.

No. 9. An Account of a Micrometer made of Rock Crystal, by G. Dollond, F.R.S.

No. 11. Notice respecting a Volcanic Appearance in the Moon, by Capt. H. Kater, F.R.S.

No. 17. On the Aberrations of compound Lenses and Object Glasses, by J. F. W. Herschell, Esq. F.R.S.

Into any account of this profound and elaborate paper it would be impossible to enter, though we cannot let it pass without strongly recommending it to attentive perusal. It contains much practical information, which cannot fail to be of eminent service to the optician.

No. 22. Calculations of some Observations of the Solar Eclipse, on the 7th September, 1820, by Mr. C. Rumker.

This Paper contains very accurate determinations of the longitudes of the several places of observation.

No. 23. An Account of the Re-measurement of the Cube, Cylinder, and Sphere, used by the late Sir G. Shuckburgh Evelyn, in his Enquiries respecting a Standard of Weights and Measures, by Capt. Kater, F.R.S.

No. 24. An Account of Observations made with the Eight Feet Astronomical Circle, at the Observatory of Trinity College, Dublin, since the beginning of the Year 1818: for investigating the Effects of Parallax, and Aberration on the Places of certain Fixed Stars; also the Comparison of these with former Observations for determining the Effects of Lunar Notation, by the Rev. John Brinkley, D.D. F.R.S. and M.R.I.A. Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

This Paper contains a large assemblage of observations on the points above-mentioned; the tables occupy 10 pages.

We cannot forbear quoting the account which the author gives of his object in this important communication.

"The results of the observations which I now beg leave to lay before the Royal Society, were instituted with a view of discovering, if possible, the source of the differences that have existed between the results of former observations made here, and of others made at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich: and they will, it is imagined, be found to be useful relative to some other important points in astronomy. My former observations of certain stars pointed out a deviation of about one second from the mean place, after having made all the usual corrections. Mr. Pond's observations pointed out no such deviations. The deviations that I had found agreed with the effects of parallax. The observations that I have since made, far more numerous than the former, concur in exhibiting the same results: in showing deviations in certain stars that can be explained by parallax. Every other suggested solution of the difficulty appears quite inadequate thereto. It is, I think, nearly demonstrated, that no change of figure in the instrument has occasioned it, and that the uncertainties of the changes of refraction can have had only a very small share, if any, in producing the effect observed."

This paper is highly interesting as bearing on the question of supposed parallax in the fixed stars. A few years since some papers on both sides of the question were published by Dr. B. and Mr. Pond, the Astronomer Royal. In a case where the quantity in question is so very small, it must be long before astronomers can form any decided opinion:

it is probable that there may be many sources of minute irregularity in the apparent places of the heavenly bodies, with which we are as yet totally unacquainted.

No. 25. On the Effects produced in the Rates of Chronometers by the Proximity of Masses of Iron, by Peter Barlow, Esq. of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

This paper contains extensive series of results, tending to shew that the proximity of masses of iron has a very considerable effect on the rates of chronometers, five out of six being retarded, contrary to the result obtained by Mr. Fisher, which we on a former occasion noticed, who found them all accelerated. His experiments, however, differed from Mr. Barlow's, in his employing a magnet to affect the chronometers; whereas in Mr. B's. trials, the effect was produced by a ball of iron, without any fixed magnetism. He reasons upon this circumstance, and attributes the magnetism to the balance spring of the chronometer. It appeared, however, that detached balance springs, before being fitted to the works, possessed no magnetism: but the situation and office of the balance spring appeared to Mr. B. to be likely to communicate magnetism to it after a short time. He points out the necessity of attending to the influence of masses or plates of iron on chronometers on ship-board, and conceives that a correcting plate, similar to that applied by him to the compass, may be employed with advantage. The chronometers in the experiments were placed in various positions, with respect to the ball of iron, and certain differences were observed in the effects, but no general law respecting the situation is laid down.

ART. XI. *Force Navale de La Grande-Bretagne. Par Charles Dupin, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c.— 2 Tom.* Paris. 1821.

WE are happy to find, that M. Dupin continues his labours in the investigation and discussion of the various departments of our public service. The work is one, which when completed, will from its subject, and the manner of its execution, be found to possess no common value; though it will probably interest foreign countries, and future times, more strongly than our own. In a book like the present, chiefly taken up with the enumeration of statistical details, the fact of its being executed by a foreigner, might at first

sight appear to be disadvantageous; but we are persuaded, that it is this, which more than any other circumstance, enhances its interest. In any attempt to appreciate properly either the merits or the demerits of what is constantly before our eyes, it is particularly useful to be able to compare our own point of view, with that taken by a person whose perceptions have not been dulled by uniform habituation, nor indisposed for the reception of truth, by the usual prejudications and predilections of national attachments. In this respect, M. Dupin is peculiarly well adapted to assist us. He is, evidently, a lively, liberal, active-minded man; of indefatigable research, and we must really add, of as perfect impartiality as could possibly be expected or wished, in any writer, while speaking of the advantages of another, not to say of a rival nation. That amid all his undissembled admiration of what is good in our own manners and institutions, he still retains a sense of national pride and even superiority as a Frenchman, is in reality only a matter of credit to him. We heartily despise the cosmopolite liberality which has made such conquest of all the inborn sympathies of our nature, as to be enabled to weigh the good and the evil of our country, with the *sang froid* and balance of a political economist. We should particularly dislike it in a Frenchman, whose national vanity, running as it often does into absurdity, and sometimes into impertinence, is, after all, one of the best parts of his character. There is nothing blind or exclusive, or assuming, in M. Dupin's nationality, and we should not wish to see it less.

Our readers will recollect, that the two volumes composing the first part, and which we had occasion to examine in a former number, related to the military force of Great Britain. Those before us describe the constitution and administration of our navy. In a third part, M. Dupin proposes to examine the means presented for the facilitation of the internal intercourse of the kingdom; such as our bridges, piers, roads, canals, docks, light-houses, &c.; a fourth division will be devoted to the considerarion of our 'Industry, properly so called;' by which we suppose M. Dupin understands our establishments and resources in commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. This last appears to be an extension of his original design, as we understood him to have described it in the former volume; it was evidently wanting to a work professing to give a comprehensive picture of the public works, and establishments of the empire. The whole series when completed, will form a proud monument of the superiority in arts and arms, attained by

our country; we may even add a trophy, perhaps the most splendid and the most encouraging yet offered to mankind, of the height of glory which genius and industry can achieve for a people, under the salutary influence of a political system, that affords every stimulus to human exertion, and assures to it both in its progress, and its success, the most perfect security and protection. M. Dupin intimates his intention to reserve for a future and distinct work, the consideration of this part of the subject; we mean the review of the moral and political causes which have prevailed, in the progress and consummation of that structure of national greatness, which will have been described with such detail in the volumes composing the 'Voyages dans la Grande Bretagne.'

Judging merely by the particular subjects to be treated of, we might, perhaps, expect the volumes before us, to be the most interesting of the whole set. With the exception of our political institutions, our naval history presents, decidedly, the proudest and most distinctive point of view in which our national glory can be contemplated. Other countries, almost all in their turns, have for a time exercised a certain superiority of military fortune, force or genius, over their neighbours; but the annals of the world afford no example of any thing approaching to that undisputed supremacy which we have achieved by sea. An ascendancy so complete that it has nothing to dread from the combined efforts of the maritime forces of both hemispheres; by the prerogative of which, while our own island is placed beyond the menace of hostile attack, the commerce of the world exists only under our good pleasure and sufferance, and our influence is extended, and power dreaded in every region which is washed by the waters of ocean. It has often been observed, to be the peculiar felicity of this species of military power, that the most unbounded exercise of it, with respect to foreign nations, can never be the subject of political jealousy at home; and that while it thus forms the most constitutional, it is at the same time the most economical branch of public force. Our naval peace establishment consists not in the subtraction from society of a large body of idle and unproductive pensioners; it is to be found in an extended foreign and coasting trade; and thus at once affords an increase of wealth to the country, and a nursery for the force which is to defend it. We cannot help taking this occasion to insist, that every possible degree of favour and encouragement should be shewn to our shipping interest; it forms the immediate basis of the whole fabric

of our national prosperity and greatness. And we doubt whether any sacrifice of commercial convenience or profit, should be considered too great for the promotion of an object of such paramount importance. All this has been a thousand times said, and but a short time since, we should have felt ashamed to obtrude upon our readers such immemorial common-place. We repeat it again however, because we think we have of late observed in the legislature, something of a disposition to relax a little from that vigilant adherence to this principle, the acting upon which, there seems every reason to presume, has mainly contributed to advance the prosperity of the empire. No doubt the system may be pushed so far, and so injudiciously, as to counteract its own object; but we are persuaded, that the apprehension of this effect, ought alone to limit its exercise; and that the particular interests of no other class of men should be consulted, in a matter so intimately connected with the security of all.

Notwithstanding the interest which we necessarily take in the subject of M. Dupin's present volumes, we cannot call them an amusing work. For the far greater part, they are made up of minute details, connected with the several branches of our naval service, whether administrative, architectural, or military; and this species of official statistics, valuable as it obviously is, as an accurate delineation of a great department of our establishments, is any thing but entertaining reading. We are not sure, whether we did not even derive more entertainment from the division of the work, which we formerly described to our readers. One ground of this preference, may consist in the more continual suggestion of comparison between our military system and establishments, and those of France, which ran through the former volumes. France had for some years been considered the first military nation in Europe; our own reputation in this respect, had been of very recent acquirement, and it was a matter of considerable interest, to observe the result of this opposition of rival merits, calculated as they were by a judge so well qualified, both by his knowledge, his industry, and impartiality to make the estimate, as M. Dupin. In the present instance, however, there is little room for this feeling. France has no navy properly so called; and her inferiority in that respect has long been so decided, and so acknowledged, as to destroy all interest in any attempt to form a comparative review of the degrees of perfection respectively attained by the two countries, in this career of national competition.

The French themselves, appear to have become so persuaded of our ascendancy on the sea, as to regard the continuation of the contest with feelings of absolute despair. In his introduction to the present volumes, M. Dupin endeavours to resist and refute this tendency on the part of his countrymen.

"On voit dans tous les rangs de la société, certains hommes qui se croient excellens Français, parce qu'ils combattent bien l'étranger, avec des paroles. Ils attribuent au governement britannique, un instinct de haine, infaillible à notre égard. Ils le gratifient d'une prévoyance prodigieuse, sur tout ce qui peut nous nuire. Partout, ils répétent en confidence, que (par des traités secrets) l'Angleterre nous oblige à ne pas armer nos vaisseaux, à tenir notre marine dans l'abjection et la nullité, pour l'anéantir par nos propres mains. Voilà, nous disentils à l'oreille, tout l'intérêt de l'Angleterre—Et, l'instant d'après je les entends nous dire à haute voix: *Il n'est pas dans l'intérêt de la France, d'avoir une force navale.*" Tom. I. p. xi.

"Qu'il est douloureux pour les amis de la patrie, de voir, sous toutes les bannières, les hommes les plus éminens, au lieu de consacrer leur savoir et leur génie à rechercher, à proclamer, à défendre la vérité, s'en servir à la façon du vulgaire, pour prononcer toujours du côté des événemens; sans daigner faire la juste part des causes et des hasards.

"Parce que, trop souvent, dans le cours de la dernière guerre, nos marins (mal exercés) se sont montrés mal habiles on s'est hâté d'en conclure qu'ils étaient incapables de devenir jamais habiles. On a prononcé gravement cette sentence. *Les Française ne sont pas nés pour la marine.* Comme si des guerriers forts, actifs, intelligens et courageux, pouvaient ne pas être nés pour tous les arts militaires.

"De prétendus divinateurs de la fortune des peuples, voyant depuis long temps nos flottes malheureuses, annoncent que jamais la victoire ne reviendra s'asseoir sur nos vaisseaux. Imbus des préjujées de je ne sais quelle astrologie politique, ils croient notre force navale entraînée par un astre funeste, qui la conduit de défaite en défaite à sa ruine irrévocable. Un mot leur suffit pour nous prouver que le joug de la fatalité pèse à jamais sur elle,—elle est française.

"Il serait plus magnanime et plus vrai de se dire, en la jugeant: Par cela seul qu'elle est française, elle est faite pour la victoire. D'après cette juste croyance, si je voulais expliquer ses défaites je n'irais pas me perdre dans le dédale des causes occultes et des prédestinations. J'irais droit aux fautes des organisateurs et des directeurs de cette force, pour y trouver par quel vice ou par quelle erreur, elle n'a pas remporté les triomphes où l'appelait, en tout temps, l'héroïsme du peuple française. C'est dans cet esprit que j'ai considéré l'histoire de nos malheurs: histoire qui, peut-

être, trouvera plus d'un utile commentaire, dans la partie de mes voyages que je publie maintenant." Tom. I. p. xiii.

The allusion is here, we believe, to certain expressions which were last year made use of, in the debates on the navy estimates, in the French chamber of deputies. We can understand the loss of heart, which so long and uninterrupted a course of disasters, must have produced among our neighbours; and notwithstanding the arguments, and the eloquence of M. Dupin, we are, ourselves, not sure that the line of policy which he so warmly deprecates, is not in reality the best that his countrymen could adopt. We doubt much, whether in truth all nations *are* equally "born for the sea." This difference of aptitude may be, and most probably is, engendered by circumstances; but as long as these circumstances are, like those of climate and geographical position for example, matters of necessary existence, their effects will probably be equally uniform and constant. At the same time we are aware, that these questions cannot wholly be argued on the grounds of physical circumstances, though their influence in this particular case is likely to be more direct than in most others; and, at any rate, we can sympathize with the reluctance which a gallant and enterprizing people, like the French, possessing so fine a maritime position, and so great an extent of coast, must feel in sealing so direct an acknowledgment of her inferiority, and abdicating to her rival the undisputed empire of the element, which washes so large a portion of her territory.

The five first books of M. Dupin's work are composed almost wholly of details concerning the manner of our naval administration, and the management of the several departments to which it is confided. The mere titles of these books will sufficiently explain the nature of their contents, and at the same time, absolve us from the duty of leading the reader into a specific examination of them. The first book treats of the authority of the King, and of the Legislature in its relation with the Navy. The second, of the command and staff of the Navy. The third and fourth, of the central offices and boards of administration. The fifth, of the organization of the Ports and Arsenals. In his investigation of the method pursued in these several departments, M. Dupin finds matter for praise almost equally uniform and unqualified. There is one exception, indeed, to this strain of panegyric, but it refers to a subject not belonging to our system of naval administration. In his fourth chapter of the fourth book, M. Dupin renews the complaints so often

urged by his countrymen against the manner in which prisoners of war are treated in this country. This is a subject upon which we have always felt some difficulty in making up our minds. Nothing can possibly be more alien from the general spirit which actuates equally the government and the people of this country, than that systematic barbarity which has been alleged to mark our treatment of the unfortunate men whom the chance of war has thrown into our hands. This, indeed, is fully admitted by M. Dupin, who dwells much and warmly upon the inconsistency, as well as the inhumanity of our conduct in this respect. We think it remarkable too, that in a country, and at a time, where there is so large a bounty upon the detection and exposure of official abuses of any kind; where a libeller or a felon cannot find himself uncomfortable in his confinement, or quarrel with his gaoler, without making his case a subject, night after night, for parliamentary debates and committees; it is singular, we repeat, that under such circumstances, the French prisoners were never able to find the slightest support in their clamour even from the most zealous and *des œuvrés* of that body of gratuitous patriots and philanthropists, who so disinterestedly devote themselves to be the scavengers of the public administration. We may attribute more weight to the fact than it deserves; but we cannot help thinking, that the silence observed by this phalanx, even at the period when the complaints of the prisoners were loudest, forms a tolerable presumption that their complaints were not merely unfounded, but that they did not even present a pretext upon which a reasonable charge of mal-practice could be erected. At the same time, it must be admitted, that if this were the case, it is not easy to understand the grounds of that universal expression of indignation and discontent which has been heard from the persons who fell into our hands, and as it should seem by them alone. If the hardships endured by these individuals were nothing more than such as are necessarily incident to people in their mischance, why have not the same complaints been heard from the prisoners returned from Germany and Russia? It is difficult not to believe that this uniform strain of reproach and invective was occasioned by some peculiar aggravation of the evils to which prisoners of war are commonly subjected; and conceding this, we are at the same time perfectly persuaded, that this aggravation in question is wholly attributable to the peculiar circumstances in which this country was placed, with respect to its means of securing the detention of large bodies of men; and that the rigour to which they were subjected, did not in any case exceed that

which was exacted by the urgency of the circumstances to which we have alluded. We must give a specimen of M. Dupin's declamation on this subject, and for this purpose we select the passage in which he discusses the motive which may be supposed to have dictated proceedings so uniformly inhuman.

"Comment donc un peuple humain, généreux, magnanime à tant d'égards, peut-il, envers des ennemis vaincus et sans défense, dépouiller, ainsi, tout sentiment de clémence et de commisération? Les apologistes du gouvernement anglais prétendent que la reclusion des prisonniers de guerre, alors qu'ils s'élevaient au nombre de 70,000, était une mesure de prudence, commandée par le besoin de conserver aux trois royaumes la paix intérieure et la sécurité. Est-il bien vrai que 70,000 captifs, dispersés au milieu de douze millions d'habitans, y répandraient de justes alarmes, et mettraient en danger la sûreté de l'état? Ces captifs répartis par faibles détachemens, sur toute la surface de la Grande-Bretagne, surveillés par les garnisons régulières, les dépôts de l'armée, les milices, les juges-de-paix, les constables (Et surtout par l'habitant, si soupçonneux envers le prisonnier!), ces captifs, je le demande encore, pourraient-ils inspirer de sérieuses alarmes? Cependant, admettons ce motif pour les époques d'assez courte durée, où 70,000 guerriers étaient en effet prisonniers de la Grande-Bretagne. Mais, en 1793 et 1794, mais en 1803 et 1804, lorsque le nombre des prisonniers ne s'élevait pas à quinze ou vingt mille hommes; n'en étaient-ils pas moins enfermés sur les pontons et dans les châteaux-prisons? Qu'on cesse donc d'alléguer l'ignoble motif de la peur: la haine réclame sa parte.

"Il fallait exciter, dans le cœur du peuple anglais, des sentimens, implacables d'aversion, d'horreur même, contre ses ennemis, et surtout contre les Français. Il fallait donc qu'il ne pût jamais ni les voir, ni converser, ni séjourner avec eux. Car il eût peutêtre reconnu que ce sont aussi des hommes sensibles au bienfait, amis de l'humanité, amis de leur patrie, amis de la liberté des autres peuples. Des citoyens d'un pays, mis en contact avec les citoyens d'un autre pays, découvriraient souvent que la guerre la plus acharnée n'est qu'un forfait de leurs gouvernemens respectifs: ils déposeraient à l'instant toutes leurs inimitiés, et reconnaîtraient leurs vrais intérêts: or, c'est un danger que certains gouvernemens ont surtout été jaloux d'éviter, pendant le cours des dernières guerres." Tom. I. p. 174.

With the facts of the case we shall not attempt to meddle. It would not be difficult to point out much inconsistency in M. Dupin's own statement; but any discussion of this part of the subject is rendered unnecessary, after the able and apparently almost official manner in which M. Dupin's

charges have been met in a late number of the Quarterly Review. The article we allude to, leaves nothing to be desired on the score of ability and information; though the reviewer may, perhaps, be said to have indulged in a tone of severity and harshness, which was hardly called for by the occasion. M. Dupin is not a writer calculated to awaken such a spirit in the correction of the errors into which he may have fallen: a character of the most unfeigned liberality towards this country, pervades his whole work; and if he has, upon this point, shown himself to have participated in what every one, who has been in France, must know to be the universal persuasion of his countrymen, a fault so venial might have been pointed out and corrected, without departing from that tone of respect and candour, to which the uniform courtesy of his own demeanour so distinctly entitles him.

The sixth book is entitled, "Du Pied de Guerre, et du Pied de Paix," and is by much the most interesting of the first volume. We shall indulge ourselves with an extract or two from that part of the first chapter in which our author is considering the progress of our maritime ascendancy.

"Depuis trois siècles, que ces grands changements ont commencé de s'opérer, la force navale britannique, sujette à mille fluctuations, au milieu des guerres extérieures et des guerres civiles, s'est vue tour à tour abattue et relevée par des alternatives de bonne et de mauvaise administration, jusqu'à l'heureuse révolution de 1688. Mais, à dater de cette époque, un gouvernement qui sut unir la vigueure militaire des institutions monarchiques, à l'énergie politique des institutions libérales, s'étant assis sur des bases durables et régulières, la marine britannique est devenue de plus en plus florissante. En cinq quarts de siècle, elle a soutenu six grandes guerres maritimes; et dans chacune, elle a déployé des forces plus imposantes et mieux organisées que dans toutes les précédentes. C'est depuis lors que l'Angleterre a réalisé ses prétentions à l'empire des mers, en occupant tous les points importans qui en sont comme les clefs. Gibraltar, Malta et les îles Ioniennes, lui ont assuré la domination de la Méditerranée. Avec Héligoland, elle domine vers les parages de la Baltique. Avec Sainte-Hélène, Bonne-Espérance et l'Ile-de-France, elle domine sur la route de l'Inde. Enfin l'Inde elle-même, les plus belles des Antilles, et la Canada, et Terre-Neuve, et la Nouvelle-Hollande, ont accru ses utiles domains. Voilà les conquêtes que l'Angleterre a faites depuis sa révolution, et qu'elle doit aux progrès de sa force navale.

"Rome seule aux temps de ses plus éclatans succès, peut nous offrir l'exemple d'un tel système d'agrandissement, qui ne soit pas l'effet unique des talens d'un grand homme, ou de l'effervescence

d'une génération, élevée par les circonstances au-dessus d'elle-même.

"Voyons donc de plus près quels ont été les progrès de cette force britannique, qui dans le cours de cinq générations a produit de si grands résultats. Voici quel était le nombre des bâtimens de guerre qui la composaient, aux époques les plus remarkables des temps dont nous parlons.

BATIMENS.	DE POSTE.	PETITS.	TOTAL.
En 1688. (A la chute des Stuarts.).....	108	65	173
En 1701. (A la mort de Guillaume III.)	169	87	256
En 1760. (A l'avénement de George III.)....	268	100	368
En 1784. (Fin de la guerre d'Amérique.)	339	191	469
En 1801. (Epoque des préliminaires de paix)..	457	488	945
En 1812. (Décembre.)	547	474	1,021

"Ce tableau nous montre qu'en 1688, il y avait, proportion gardée beaucoup de grands navires et peu de petits. Tandis qu'en 1812, il y avait presque autant de petits que de grands bâtimens, appelés *navires de poste* (vaisseaux et frégates).

"Mais il faut observer qu'en 1688, beaucoup de bâtimens comptaient dans la marine comme navires de poste, qui ne comptent plus aujourd'hui que comme petits bâtimens. D'ailleurs, les vaisseaux ainsi que les frégates de chaque rang, sont plus grands qu'ils ne l'étaient à la fin du dix-septième siècle."

"Vers la fin du dix-septième siècle, les guerres maritimes se bornaient de la part de l'Angleterre, à livrer quelques combats avec une ou deux flottes, à faire quelques croisières, quelques blocus isolés, quelque entreprise spéciale et qui suffisait aux travaux d'une campagne. Mais dans la guerre navale qu'a vu commencer et finir le dix-neuvième siècle, l'Angleterre a conçu la pensée d'attaquer presqu'en même temps, les marines de la France, de l'Espagne, de la Hollande, du Danemarck, de l'Italie et même de l'Amérique: elle a fait face à toutes les puissances maritimes. Non-seulement elle a bloqué tous les ports militaires qui pouvaient recéler quelque escadre ou quelque flotille, elle a bloqué tous les ports de commerce; et l'on a vu ce spectacle dont, jusqu'alors, aucune puissance maritime n'avait offert l'exemple: les habitans d'une île dont l'étendue est assez médiocre, sont parvenus à former, avec leurs seuls vaisseaux, une ligne continue d'observation, le long de toutes les côtes de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique. Tous les continens des deux mondes ont été simultanément assiégés, les villes prises de vive force, le commerce de l'univers en vahi. Enfin, après vingt ans de combats, cette puissance navale qui avait commencé la lutte avec 30 millions de sujets, l'a terminée en consolidant son empire sur 80 millions de conquis et de conquérans. Et pourtant,

rappelons-nous que la Grande-Bretagne n'a jamais compté, pendant cette époque, plus de 145,000 marins ou soldats de marine, employés pour opérer ces prodiges.

"Grâces aux progrès de l'architecture navale, on a construit des vaisseaux capables de résister plus long-temps aux secousses journalières d'une onde agitée, et même à la violence des tempêtes. Par-là, dans toutes les saisons, ces vaisseaux ont pu tenir une croisière constante, sur les mers les plus dures, aux abords des côtes les plus dangereuses. Une carène à formes plus parfaites, doublée en cuivre pour diminuer encore la résistance à la marche; une mâture, une voilure, un gréement mieux combinés, plus légers et plus maniables; tout s'est réuni pour rendre les bâtimens de guerre plus rapides dans leur sillage, plus agiles dans leurs évolutions, et plus aises à manœuvrer avec un moindre équipage. D'ailleurs, des constructions, des radoubs, des armemens d'une étendue et d'une activité qui surpassaient les efforts des époques antérieures, ont permis de ne jamais laisser un équipage inactif: revenue des plus longues compagnes il changeait de bord, ou réparait le sien au peu de jours Aussitôt après, il reprenait la mer, comme un équipage nouvellement embarqué; parce qu'à son retour, il était aussi frais qu'à son premier départ. Des soins ingénieux, apportés par la prudence et la philanthropie, au bien-être des équipages, ont fait disparaître des vaisseaux ces épidémies qui, tant de fois, avaient suffi pour mettre hors d'état d'agir des escadres entières. En même temps, le nombre des maladies accidentelles, généralement diminué, rendait plus grand le service effectif d'un même nombre d'hommes levés et soldés par l'état Enfin, la santé de ces hommes, conservée par un régime éloigné de toute parcimonie, fortifiée par les travaux constans de la mer, affermissait les constitutions les plus débiles, et donnait une vigueur nouvelle aux tempéramens les plus robustes: doubler ainsi la force des bras, c'était doubler leur nombre c'était plus encore.

"Les 145,000 marins employés dans la plus grande activité de la guerre contre l'empire française, valient donc bien plus que la quadruple des 42,000 qui servaient sur la flotte britannique, en 1688; et nous devons déjà concevoir la possibilité des immenses résultats obtenus par une telle marine, durant la guerre dont nous venons d'être témoins."—Tom. I. P. 236, 237, 238, 239, 240.

M. Dupin remarks the operation of the same prudence in our naval system, which, in his former volumes, he had pointed out in the disposition of our military force. At the commencement of 1813, at a time when the French armies had been just destroyed in Russia, and of course all fear of invasion was out of the question, a force of not less than 74 ships of the line, 80 frigates, and 220 smaller vessels, was kept in commission, in the British ports and seas, and might in eight days have been got ready to act for the defence of our coasts.

In the third chapter of this book, M. Dupin comes to the consideration of the average loss of life sustained by our fleets in the course of their campaigns; and on this subject he brings forward some curious facts. From accounts laid before the House of Commons in the year 1762, it appears, that out of 184,899 seamen and marines, who had been lost in the course of the seven years' war, 1,512 had been killed in battle, and 133,708 lost not in battle, making the total loss 135,220. These last, however, are not presumed to have died of disease or wounds, inasmuch as the number comprehended all who had been sent to the hospitals, and from whatever cause, whether death, dismission, or desertion, had not returned to the service; it seems singular, that in a war so long and so extensive as that of 1756, we should not have lost more than 1512 seamen killed in battle. M. Dupin justly remarks upon this comparison of the extent of our losses in engagements with the enemy, with that of those sustained from other causes; that all the military means resorted to, to augment our superiority in fighting, would not have preserved from death more than 1512 men, whereas the cases connected with the preservation of the health and good treatment of the crews, applied in the reduction of a loss of 133,708 men, would necessarily have effected an infinitely greater economy of human life. This truth has not escaped the attention of our government, which accordingly has made every exertion for the promotion of a work, in which, as usual, humanity is not less interested than good policy; and the good effects of these endeavours have been progressively increasing up to the present day. The following extract will demonstratively shew the fact.

"En nous bornant aux années les plus remarquables des trois dernières guerres, comparons le nombre des marins envoyés aux hôpitaux de l'intérieur et des colonies, avec le nombre des morts et des désertés. (Nous supposons toujours un effectif de 100,000 marins, afin d'obtenir des résultats comparables.)

Years.	Diseases.	Cured.	Died.	Deserted.
1779.	40,815	37,271	2,654	1,424
1782.	31,617	26,290	2,222	993
1794.	25,027	23,438	1,164	662
1804.	11,978	9,448	1,606	214
1813.	9,336	7,794	698	10

" A la seule vue de cette table, on est frappé de la diminution graduelle, non-seulement du nombre des malades, mais du nombre des morts. Cette diminution est à peu près dans la rapport de 4 à 1, depuis 1779 jusqu'en 1813. On pourrait, il est vrai, dire que 1779 était une année de très-grande mortalité. Mais 1782 était, au contraire (proportion gardée), une époque de très-faible mortalité. Néanmoins, en 1782, le nombre des malades et des morts est encore trois fois et demi plus grand qu'en 1813. Voilà ce que les soins et les découvertes de l'art ont gagné pour la marine anglaise, depuis la fin de la guerre d'Amérique jusqu'à la fin de la guerre de l'empire français.

" Remarquons avec soin la diminution prodigieuse des marins anglais, échappés des hôpitaux, pour déserter le service.

Années.	1779;	1794;	1804;	1813.
Déserteurs.	1,424;	662;	214;	10.

" Rien ne dé montre mieux l'amélioration progressive du sort de ces marins. L'homme emploie tous les moyens pour fuir un genre de vie qui n'offre que l'image hideuse des privations, à bord; ou des maladies, des souffrances et de la mort, dans un hôpital. Mais, lorsqu'on diminue, lorsqu'on fait presque disparaître toutes ces causes de mécontentement, de dégoût et d'effroi, le marin calcule pour peu les fatigues et les dangers de la mer et des combats: il ne déserte plus.

" Le gouvernement est obligé de payer des sommes considérables, pour recruter ses marins, par l'enrôlement volontaire, et même par la presse. Sous ce point de vue, il doit trouver une grande économie à les soigner assez bien pour qu'il ne soient jamais tentés de déserter. D'ailleurs, les marins qui passent aux hôpitaux, étant jusqu'à leur retour, perdus pour la force navale, il faut en lever un plus grand nombre, pour tenir à la mer un nombre donné de vaisseaux. On voit donc que c'était, de la part de l'Angleterre, un calcul parfaitement entendu, que de n'épargner rien, pour maintenir ses matelots dans l'état de santé le plus florissant."—Tom. I. p. 257.

These calculations regard the number of seamen sent to the hospitals only. With respect to the mortality which takes place on board of ship, we have not the same means of judging, as it is only since the year 1810 that the captains of all ships of war have been ordered to transmit to the Admiralty, on the first of January in every year, an account of all the deaths which had taken place in the preceding year. The following are the results for the three first years.

	Seamen on board.	Died or killed on board.
1810	138,581	5,183.
1811	136,778	4,265.
1812	138,824	4,211.

Of those who die on board, it is estimated, that one half perish of disease; the other comprehends those lost in battle, or by accidents in working the ship. The following remarks by our author deserve notice.

" Dans les trois années qu'on vient de citer, la perte moyenne annuelle à bord, pour cent mille hommes, est de 3,302. Le nombre des marins morts à l'hôpital (en 1813) est de 698: en tout 4,000. Ainsi *dans les dernières années de la guerre contre l'empire français, la marine anglaise ne perdait qu'un vingt-cinquième de sa force totale.* D'après les calculs que j'ai rapportés, dans le tableau de la *Force militaire de la Grande-Bretagne*, au voit que, vers les mêmes époques, la perte de six années était, année moyenne, de 12,356, sur cent mille soldats, c'est-à-dire, presque un huitième. Il y avait donc, alors, au moins trois fois plus de danger à servir dans l'armée de terre, que dans l'armée navale britannique.

" Puisque des 8,302 marins qui meurent à bord, dans le cours d'une année, la moitié périt par suite de blessures ou d'accidens violens, éprouvés dans les manœuvres; il en reste 1,651 qui meurent de maladies inhérentes à leur constitution, ou gagnés à bord. Si l'on y joint les 698 morts dans les hôpitaux, on a 2,349 hommes, c'est-à-dire, *un quarante-deuxième* de la force totale. Il y a quarante ans, la mortalité annuelle des marins s'élevait au *quatorzième* de l'effectif.

" Ainsi donc, sur la flotte britannique, on a diminué, dans le rapport de 3 à 1, le nombre des morts naturelles. Cependant, malgré cet immense progrès, il reste encore un vaste champ à parcourir, pour atteindre un meilleur ordre de choses. La grande majorité des marins employés à bord des vaisseaux, est comprise dans les limites de vingt à trente ans. Or, on voit qu'à Londres, il ne meurt annuellement qu'un soixante-onzième de la population comprise entre vingt et trente ans. C'est donc près d'un tiers moins qu'à bord.

" En 1819, sur un effectif de 32,000 individus appartenant à la marine française, 24,000 sont entrés à l'hôpital. Ils y sont restés vingt-cinq jours, valeur moyenne; ce qui a produit 60,000 journées d'hôpital. En suivant cette proportion, sur cent mille individus, employés (en temps de paix) dans la marine française, 75,000 entreraient annuellement à l'hôpital. Or, de 1811 à 1813 (temps de guerre), sur cent mille marins anglais, 6,923 seulement, entraient annuellement à l'hôpital."—Tom. I. p. 259.

M. Dupin's second volume, entitled, " Etudes et Travaux," is, upon the whole, more interesting than the first. In the opening chapter, he examines the moral causes which have concurred with those of physical circumstance, to procure for us that naval ascendancy which we have so long exercised over our neighbours.

But the second and fourth books of the second volume are by much the most interesting of the whole. The first of these refers to the 'Exercises, tactique et combats," of our navy. Upon the subject of naval tactics, M. Dupin discusses the nature of the improvements suggested by the celebrated Clark of Eldin. The object of that writer was to discredit the false system of attack which had prevailed in the English fleet, from the time nearly of the Revolution; and to bring the navy back to those principles which had been for the most part acted upon in the maritime wars of the seventeenth century, though it is only within these last thirty years that they have been reduced to any thing like system. The merit of effecting this belongs clearly to Clark, and we cannot better or more shortly describe the nature and the extent of the change of tactics suggested by his work, than in the words of M. Dupin himself.

" Selon Clerk, depuis cette époque jusqu'à la fin de la guerre d'Amérique, on voit ordinairement les amiraux anglais prendre l'avantage du vent, courir sur les escadres françaises, en attaquant la tête par la tête, puis le centre par le centre, et (quand ils l'ont pu) la queue par la queue. Dans ces actions diverses, les Français poursuivant leur route sur la ligne du plus près, en dépassant de plus en plus la tête de l'armée ennemie, l'ont accablée du feu des batteries de leur avant-garde et de leur centre; ensuite, l'arrière-garde et quelques vaisseaux plus avancés battant en retraite, sont allés former sous le vent une ligne parallèle à l'ordre primitif; après quoi, le reste de l'armée, battant de même en retraite, et venant se former sous la protection de la deuxième ligne, l'armé entière s'est de nouveau présentée au combat dans le même ordre qu'avant la bataille. Les Anglais se regardant comme vainqueurs, parce qu'ils restaient maitres du lieu de l'engagement, voulaient de nouveau poursuivre notre flotte et recommencer la bataille. Mais leur avant-garde, en grande partie dégréée par le premier combat, se trouvait hors d'état de forcer de voiles. Au contraire, l'armée française semblait être encore intacte, et restait maitresse de ralentir ou de forcer sa marche." P. 59.

" En développant avec un vrai patriotisme et une rare sagacité, l'*insuccès* réel des apparentes victoires de ses compatriotes, Clerk a cherché quels devaient être les ordres de bataille les plus propres à produire des résultats décisifs. Ces ordres sont ici, comme dans l'armée de terre, ceux où les plus grandes masses sont opposées aux moindres masses de l'ennemi.

" Ainsi, tandis que les ordres de bataille, où l'engagement devenait général de vaisseau à vaisseau, ne produisaient guère de succès qui ne fût acheté par des pertes à peu près égales de part et d'autre, Clerk a fait voir que toutes les fois qu'on pourra combattre une partie de l'armée ennemie, en mettant l'autre partie

dans l'impossibilité de prendre part à l'action, les chances de victoire seront d'autant plus certaines, que la partie mise ainsi dans l'impossibilité d'agir sera plus considérable. En coupant seulement une des ailes de l'ennemi pour l'accabler, sans que le reste puisse lui porter secours, on a donc la plus grande chance de succès. Mais en coupant le centre de l'ennemi, quoique la victoire doive être plus chèrement achetée, elle sera plus décisive et fera tomber plus de vaisseaux en notre pouvoir. Ces principes sont devenus le guide des amiraux anglais, et leur ont procuré ces éclatans succès qui ont si fort discrédité la marine française.

" En 1782, dans la bataille livrée par Rodney, contre de Grasse, le premier ayant coupé par le centre la ligne du second, et notre arrière-garde ayant cédé contre l'effort de toute l'armée ennemie, les Anglais se replient sur la partie du centre qu'abandonne notre arrière-garde. Alors l'amiral français et ceux des siens qui restent autour de lui, poussés par des forces supérieures, et pris entre deux feux, sont contraints de se rendre : ce fut la bataille la plus décisive depuis celle de la Hougue.

" Le combat de Trafalgar offre la plus belle application des vrais principes de l'art : application telle qu'on devait l'attendre de l'amiral que la nature avait doué du coup d'œil militaire et de l'instinct stratégique, les plus vastes et les plus rapides. L'armée française se présente en ligne, sous le vent, au plus-près, et n'ayant pas assez d'air, pour pouvoir prendre un ordre parfait, avant d'être atteinte par l'ennemi. Nelson se hâte de former deux colonnes d'attaque qu'il dirige sur deux points du centre de notre flotte. Dans cette marche, à mesure que les deux colonnes approchent de notre ligne, les vaisseaux assaillans forcent de voile, se déploient par ordre de vitesse, et couvrent tout notre centre pour l'accabler. Pendant cette manœuvre rapide, les deux françaises restent dans l'inaction, l'avant garde, au lieu de virer vent devant pour prendre en flanc et de revers les colonnes assaillantes, l'arrière-garde au lieu de forcer de voiles pour s'élever jusqu'au lieu du combat. Ces ailes sont en ligne, et cela leur suffit : elles attendent donc avec une effrayante impassibilité que le centre soit détruit ; il l'est enfin. Alors oubliant leur pieux respect pour l'ordre sacré de la ligne, elles ne songent plus qu'à la retraite.

Ne doit-on pas être frappé de voir l'amiral qui commandait l'arrière-garde d'Aboukir, causer par son immobilité la perte de cette armée navale ; et commandant une flotte entière au Trafalgar, être écrasé lui-même, parce que ses deux ailes imitent l'immobilité dont jadis il avait donné l'exemple ?

" Jusqu'ici nos armées navales ont formé sur une seule ligne leur ordre de bataille, soit pour l'attaque, soit pour la défense. Il est surprenant que l'exemple des armées de terre qui, pour forcer un centre ou une aile, forment d'épaisses colonnes, au lieu de faire avancer dans un ordre parallèle des lignes d'une immense étendue, ne nous ait pas appris à former de même des masses

épaisses pour accabler le point faible de l'armée ennemie. Une ligne de trente vaisseaux manœuvrant seulement à deux tiers d'encâblure d'intervalle, occupe un espace de cinq kilomètres (¾ de lieue.) Comment veut-on que cet immense cordon reçoive des impulsions rapides d'un point unique occupé par l'amiral, et trop souvent invisible ?··Comment une aile, dans un péril pressant, pourrait-elle accourir à temps au secours de l'autre aile, surtout s'il fallait aller contre le vent ?" P. 62.

The fourth book is devoted to the examination of the means employed in our dock-yards for increasing the strength and durability of our ships of war; and contains, we think, more new and more valuable information than any other of the whole work. We regret, that from the nature of the subject, we cannot give our readers any abstract of its contents, without entering upon details altogether inconsistent with the space we have left for ourselves in the present article. Of late years, every attention has been paid to these points in the construction of our vessels, and we are happy to have Mr. Dupin's unqualified testimony to the happy effects which have resulted from them. He strongly recommends to the French Government the adoption of the several improvements which have thus been introduced into the operations of this important portion of our public works. For an account of what they consist in, we must refer the reader to the work itself, where they will be found enumerated and described with all possible precision, and with greater clearness than might have been expected in a matter so much involved in technical and scientific detail. The fifth and sixth books contain a complete and minute description of our several arsenals and dock-yards, with an analysis of the system upon which they are administered.

We must now for the present take leave of M. Dupin; and the abruptness with which we do so perhaps requires the less apology as we have reason to expect so shortly to meet him again in the progress of his very useful and honourable exertions.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR MAY, 1822.

ART. I. *On Protection to Agriculture. By David Ricardo, Esq. M.P.* 1822.

IT is not a little humbling to reflect that the wisdom of man is almost entirely confined to a periodical change of principles, and to the adoption of new measures, generally the reverse of those, which he has been accustomed to pursue. Disappointed in the result of his arrangements, he not only questions the soundness of the views upon which they were formed, but even makes haste to relinquish and abjure them altogether; satisfied that he cannot go wrong, if he shall resolutely advance in a direction wholly opposite to that, in which he was wont to proceed. For example, the policy of our fathers in regard to trade and manufactures, was founded on a pervading system of protection and restriction. A policy which has no doubt been carried to the very utmost limits of practical advantage; and until the principle of reaction on the part of other countries, had begun to admonish us that the real benefits of trade can only be permanently established on the footing of a liberal reciprocity. At present, on the contrary, the public voice is lifted up in favour of an absolute freedom of trade, and a complete emancipation from all the prohibitory and restricting enactments, which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of nations. Our philosophical legislators are found eagerly joining their suffrages with those of the embarrassed merchant, in recommendation of a new system: impatient to commence a career of experiment and adventure: and desirous to be admitted to competition with the whole world, unaided by bounties, and unprotected by custom house exactions. The dangers of a second and worse extreme are, it is clear, now before

us; and it will require all the weight and experience of our wisest counsellors to defend the country from the effects of precipitate innovation.

The vacillation and inconsistency now mentioned, have been at all times most strikingly exemplified in regard to the corn laws: for the pressure always occasioned by any considerable deficiency or excess of produce, on the consumer and the farmer respectively, creating loud complaints and energetic appeals to Parliament, has too frequently led to measures on the part of that assembly, which indicated a larger share of good nature than of legislative wisdom. Their expedients change with the change of the weather; and their principles, as political economists, are found to receive a bias from the state of the wind, or the report of the sales at Mark-lane. In such circumstances, reasoning is useless, and all reference to standard authorities and the maxims of experience passes for mere drivelling. Acts of Parliaments are sent forth to appease the clamorous petitioner, much on the same principle that coloured water is given to a whimsical patient, or a piece of gilded wood to a crying child: the eye is filled, and the mouth is stopped for the time, and by and bye nature and common sense return, to effect the cure and restore the temper.

On the subject of agricultural distress, two questions present themselves for consideration; namely, what is the extent of the evil complained of; and secondly, what are the most likely means to remove or to mitigate it.

In regard to the first, there has certainly been more noise than enough, at least, if we may be allowed to form a judgment of the farmer's circumstances, from the prices of agricultural produce, during the last four or five years. From a parliamentary paper printed early last year, we find that the price of wheat for seven years preceding was as follow:

	s.	d.
1814	73	11
1815	64	4
1816	75	10
1817	94	9
1818	84	1
1819	78	0
1820	65	7

The average price of wheat, therefore, during the years just specified, is not less than 76*s.*; a return which is, in our opinion, amply sufficient to remunerate the grower for all the expences of production, if he is not burdened with an

excessively high rent, or impeded by difficulties of an uncommon description. From 1793 to 1800, the price of the same commodity was as under:

	s.	*d.*
1793	48	11
1794	51	8
1795	74	2
1796	77	1
1797	53	1
1798	50	3
1799	67	6

If the average of these years be taken, it will be found rather under 60*s.* 6*d*; a conclusion which seems to weaken the ground upon which the farmer establishes at once his complaints, and his claims for redress and parliamentary interference. Nay, if we strike out five years of scarcity, intervening between 1791 and 1820, the average of the remaining twenty-five years will not be equal to that for the last seven; we mean, from 1813 to 1820. The years we have struck out and the respective prices are these;

	s.	*d.*
1800	113	7
1801	118	3
1810	106	2
1812	125	5
1813	108	9

When these years are left out of the thirty, elapsed between 1790, and 1820, the average price of wheat does not exceed 70*s.*; whereas, the same price from 1813 to 1820 is 76*s.* Where then is the cause for all the murmurings, and lamentations, and predictions of ruin, with which the ears of the country have of late been assailed. The agriculturists have enjoyed a monopoly of the whole market of the United Kingdom, with very trifling exceptions, ever since the conclusion of the war; and their prices during that period, have averaged higher than ever they did in any similar period, in the memory of man, if we except two or three years in the present century, when we were afflicted with the fears and even with the pains of famine. Even from 1802 to 1809, during the heat of the war and the height of the non-intercourse system enforced by Buonaparte, the average price of wheat did not greatly exceed 70*s.* the quarter; being nearly six shillings under the average from 1813 to 1820.

It must not be concealed, however, that the prices of last

year were considerably under the averages just given; being not more than 55*s.* 3*d.* the quarter of wheat, and in proportion for other kinds of grain. It is worthy of remark on the other hand, that the quantity sold at Mark-lane in 1821, exceeded considerably the quantity sold in any of the four preceding years; and that consequently the *value* of the corn disposed of, does not exhibit the same rate of diminution that is presented by the return of prices. We extract from a document in Mr. Ricardo's pamphlet, the following statement in regard to the quantity, average price, and total value of the wheat sold in Mark-lane from 1817 to 1821 inclusive.

	Quantity.	Av. Price.	Total Value.
1817	337,264 Qrs.	94 0	£1,585,151
1818	236,167	84 6	1,003,710
1819	285,541	72 6	1,035,085
1820	366,668	67 0	1,228,337
1821	428,315	55 3	1,177,867

If then, the sales effected in London were only in proportion to those in other parts of the country, we are warranted in asserting that the increased consumption, or at all events the increased sales, have more than compensated for the diminished price, and that in the aggregate, the value of the farmer's crops has not materially fallen. The returns from Mark-lane it is readily admitted, do not of themselves warrant the conclusion now stated. It is at the same time consistent with experience to look for an enlarged consumption, in proportion to the cheapness of the commodity, and the means possessed by the people at large of becoming purchasers: and on this ground there is some probability that the extended dealings in the London market, would be found upon enquiry, to afford only a fair representation of similar dealings in all the large towns of the kingdom. But whatever may be the fact in regard to the amount of sales elsewhere, we find, that as far as this immense city is concerned, the quantity of wheat sold last year at 55*s.* brought more money than was received in 1818, when the price was 84*s.* 6*d.* or in 1819, when the price was 72*s.* 6*d.* The difference in the former year is not less than 170,000*l.* whilst in the latter it amounted to more than 140,000*l.*

We are perfectly aware of the fact that a small excess in quantity over the customary demand, creates a depression of price much beyond the proportion of that excess; and also, that a deficiency in the supply has a corresponding effect in raising the market to perhaps a still greater extent above the ordinary rate. An abundant crop, therefore, is not

always an advantage to the farmer; but notwithstanding, in forming our estimates of profit and loss, we should never forget that, if prices be lowered, it is because quantity has been increased, and that the latter to a certain extent at least, compensates the former.

But we maintain, that till last year prices were not below the scale which is allowed on all hands to yield an ample remuneration to the agriculturist. The average price of wheat for the seven years preceding 1821, was, we repeat, 76*s.*; a fact which proves with irresistible force both that the corn bill of 1815 has operated with sufficient efficacy, and also, that the landholder has no justifiable argument for the clamour which he has been pleased to employ at county meetings, as well as in the face of Parliament.

The agricultural distress then, of which we daily hear so much, has not been of long standing; for, till the last year, the prices of corn were considerably above the *maximum*, or protecting prices of all former times. But, it may be rejoined, the prices of 1821 were very much depressed, and the prices of 1822 are still lower, whilst the capital of the farmer, which must be expended year after year in the cultivation of the soil, cannot long resist the effects of such ruinous operations, and will accordingly be totally and irretrievably lost. Some expedient therefore, must be speedily adopted, otherwise the land will be left unploughed, and the wrecks of our capital conveyed to other countries, where it may be employed with greater advantage. Something in short, must be done to console and relieve the disheartened and embarrassed husbandman.

As the distresses in question, are every where acknowledged to proceed from an excessive production which has for the time deranged the wonted relation between demand and supply, the means of relief are neither very obvious, nor if viewed in the light of correct policy, can any of them be altogether free from objection. The expedient which most naturally presents itself, is that which is actually adopted by government, and which consists in affording to the farmer the means of reserving his stock of produce for the choice of an improved market. A million, advanced at the moderate interest of three per cent, upon the security of corn lodged in proper warehouses, may possibly have the effect of extending a temporary relief to such farmers as from their local situation can avail themselves of the arrangement. Aid has frequently been granted to the merchant and manufacturer upon a similar principle, and of course no objection can be urged against the measure on the ground of motive or

usage; still from the very nature of the case itself, and the cumbrous quality of agricultural produce, it may be doubted how far the benevolence of Parliament is likely to prove effectual. It is not difficult to find objections to all such expedients, inasmuch as they necessarily interfere more or less with the natural adjustment of supply and demand; and most readers accordingly, will admit the justness of the following remarks made by Mr. Ricardo, however little they may be disposed to allow their application in the circumstances now before us.

"If the cause of the low price of corn be owing to an abundant quantity in the country, and not to an abundant quantity hurried prematurely to market, by the distress of the farmers, the proposed remedy will be really mischievous, as in that case we must go through the ordeal of low prices, and increased consumption, which is always in a degree consequent on low prices before the supply will adjust itself to the demand, and prices become again remunerative. By the encouragement thus given to storing corn for a twelvemonth, the period of glut may be retarded, but it must come at last. On the other supposition that from alarm or distress, more than a due proportion of corn is prematurely sent to market, and that before the next harvest, the whole supply will, in consequence, prove deficient, and the price will rise: I must observe, that sharp-sighted individuals, prompted by a regard to their interest can discover this, if it be so, with more certainty than Government. Money is not wanted to purchase the wheat thus unduly brought to market; nothing is required but a conviction of the probability of a diminished supply or an increased demand, and a probable rise of price to awaken the spirit of speculation. If there were any well founded opinion of such a rise, we should soon witness a more than usual activity among the corn-dealers. When there was a prospect of continued wet weather just before the harvest of last year, did we not see an immediate spring in the price of corn, &c. &c.

In answer to the above remarks, as applied to the particular question of agricultural distress, it will be enough to say that it is just *because there is no prospect* of a deficiency before harvest, nor even then, that the relief in question is vouchsafed to the farming interest. Could sharp-sighted individuals foresee a scarcity, and thereupon commence extensive purchases of corn, the expedient now proposed would not only be unnecessary, but as he himself describes it, "really mischievous." As however the gift of prescience is denied to mortals, they must be content to proceed on the ground of probability; holding themselves prepared to turn

to advantage the contingencies which they cannot anticipate; and little as we know as to what a year may bring forth, the most ignorant requires not to be told that the seasons in this climate are extremely uncertain, and moreover, that years of plenty are commonly succeeded at a certain distance, by years of comparative scarcity. The periodical ebbs and flows of abundance and want, are not confined to the banks of the Nile, where the lean kine swallowed up those which were fat and well favoured, but are experienced every where, and nay, even subjected to the result of probable calculation, within a given cycle or term of years. The farmer, therefore, who locks up his corn, and accepts pecuniary accommodation in order to meet the claims of his establishment, proceeds to a certain extent on known ground, and trusts to a chance of which the value may be roughly estimated if it cannot be accurately determined. There is no Joseph to certify him at what period the years of plenty shall be succeeded by years of less abundance; but he knows that such years will come at no great distance of time, and it is therefore by no means unreasonable to rely upon their occurrence for the improvement of his property. Like all other chances however, the one under consideration has its evil as well as its good; and if prices do not rise in the course of the present or succeeding year, the condition of the farmer who may avail himself of the Government loan, will instead of being ameliorated, only prove so much the more depressed.

In the midst of suffering and adversity, blame is frequently attached where there is no fault, and relief is as frequently expected where no relief can come. The agriculturist, in the case now before us, ascribes much of the evil which bears upon him, to the operation of Mr. Peel's bill, as it is usually called, and deprecates, of course, the continuance of a system fraught with so much direct ruin and confusion. It is maintained by the opponents of that wise act of legislature that money has been thereby forcibly raised in value 25 per cent., according to some; 50, and even 60 per cent., according to others. These persons, however, as Mr. Ricardo justly observes, found their statements, not on the condition of things which subsisted when the bill in question passed, but on facts respecting our currency, which had long ceased to exist before that event took place. In 1813 and 1814, the depreciation of paper compared with gold was at its highest point, the market price of the latter being then 5*l.* 8*s.* and even 5*l.* 10*s.* per ounce; but in 1819, when Mr. Peel's bill passed into a law, the value of paper was only five per cent below its ancient standard, gold at this period being

4*l.* 2*s.* or at the most 4*l.* 3*s.* the ounce. The assertion, therefore, that the measure now mentioned, raised the value of our currency 50 or 60 per cent. is founded in error, and gives a very unfair view of the operation of a statute, which the circumstances of the times had rendered absolutely necessary. It was expedient, as the author well observes, that an end should be put to a state of things which allowed a company of merchants to regulate the value of money as they might think proper: and the only point which, in 1819, could come under consideration was, whether the standard should be fixed at 4*l.* 2*s.*, which was the price of gold, not only at the time when Parliament was legislating, but its price for nearly the whole of the four preceding years, or whether the ancient standard of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* should be restored.

"Between these two prices Parliament was constrained to determine, and I think in choosing to go back to the ancient standard, it pursued a wise course.—If, indeed, in 1819, or immediately preceding 1819, gold had been at 5*l.* 10*s.* an ounce, no measure could have been more inexpedient than to make so violent a change in all subsisting engagements, as would have been made by restoring the ancient standard; but the price of gold, as I have already said, was then, and had been for four years, about 4*l.* 2*s.*, never above and frequently under that price: and no measure could have been so monstrous as that which some reproach the House of Commons for not having adopted, namely, of fixing the standard at 5*l.* 10*s.*; that is, in other words, after the currency had regained its value within 5 per cent. of gold, under the operation of the bad system, again to have degraded it to 30 per cent. below the value of gold."

The rise of value in the currency, and the consequent depression of the value of goods, would have been confined to 5 per cent. had not the Bank, in their anxiety to resume payments in coined gold, raised somewhat the bullion market, and thereby still further elevated money and sunk commodities. We know not to what extent the Bank is chargeable on the ground now stated; for as Mr. Ricardo seems a little offended at that establishment, for not having adopted his bullion scheme of payments, some allowance must be made for the exaggeration of controversy, and for the warmth of personal feeling. At the most, however, the effects of cash payments cannot have extended to more than 10 per cent. in depreciating agricultural and all manufactured commodities; a change which, as it operates equally on all money transactions, and acts for as well as against every one who buys and sells, cannot possibly have produced more than a small share of the embarrassments and defalcations of which the landed

interest complains. To repeal the bill of 1819, therefore, would be the most unwise expedient that ever entered into the head of a desperate speculator, intent only upon present relief, and totally regardless of the future. Parliament has accordingly turned a deaf ear to every proposal having that repeal for its object: and the country may congratulate itself upon the comparative impunity with which so important a step as the general resumption of cash payments has been accomplished.

Taxation, a never-failing topic of declamation and complaint, is next laid hold of, as the main source of agricultural calamity, and Parliament has accordingly been dunned with petitions to relieve farmers from their share of the public burdens, and thereby to re-establish them in their wonted prosperity. This clamour is likewise founded in ignorance. Taxes which press equally upon all do not press upon the occupier of land in particular; and all such imposts as affect him as a producer, if they have been some time in existence, have found a compensation by raising the price of his commodity to the consumer. Farm produce has not been lowered in consequence of new taxes, which, meeting with an accidental excess in the supply, have prevented the agriculturist from finding that compensation which every producer looks for in an addition to his prices. On the contrary, not only are the taxes which more immediately affect the farmer, of considerable standing, but they are such as have been proved by experience to be perfectly compatible with a high price of raw produce; for all that are now in existence, and many more, were exigible in 1812 and 1813, when the average price of wheat was, respectively, 125 and 108 shillings the quarter. In fact, the taxes which bore upon the farmer, as a producer, have been greatly lightened, and several of his other charges have been likewise diminished, since prices began to decline—a circumstance which ought to have attracted the attention of the most unthinking, and exposed the fallacy of many a plausible argument.

On this part of the subject the reasoning of Mr. Ricardo is equally just and striking. Were all the taxes which feed the exchequer repealed at one sitting of Parliament, the circumstances of the farmer would not be bettered in the slightest degree; for, says he, "there is no other rational solution of the cause of the fall of agricultural produce but abundance," and the repeal of taxes would not diminish the quantity of corn. This opinion, however, at once so sound and so obvious, he finds it necessary to defend against the charge that

"Those who maintain that on no reasonable grounds can it be shewn that taxation is the cause of agricultural distress, and of the low price of corn, are sometimes represented as maintaining that a repeal of taxes will afford no relief. Such a conclusion shows a want of candour or of intelligence, for it is perfectly consistent to maintain that taxation is not the cause of some particular distress, and at the same time to insist that a repeal of taxes would give relief. When Lord John Russell's horse falls because he trips over a stone, and is enabled to get up again when relieved from the burthen of his harness, it would surely be incorrect to say that the horse fell because he was burthened with harness; though it would be right to assert that the tripping over the stone threw him down, while the relief from the confinement of the harness enabled him to get up again. For my own part, then, being of opinion that almost all taxes on production fall finally on the consumer, I think that no repeal of taxes could take place which would have any other effect than to relieve consumers generally of a part of the burthens which they now bear. I am convinced that there are causes of distress to the producers of a particular commodity, arising from abundant quantity, from which no practicable repeal of taxes could materially relieve, particularly if the commodity be agricultural produce."

In all this we entirely agree with Mr. Ricardo. The inferences, however, to be drawn from his reasoning, must be confined to the home trade in corn, and ought not to be extended to the hypothetical condition of a free intercourse between all the farmers and all the consumers in Europe—a consummation which he appears to wish very devoutly. In that case, the amount of our taxation, as affecting generally the cost of production and the scale of prices, would come to be considered in a very different light, and would appear to every intelligent eye as involving such a peculiarity in our situation, as will long preclude an absolute freedom of exchange in the raw produce of the soil, between us and the neighbouring nations of the Continent. Taxes may not affect the agriculturist when viewed in relation to his dealings with the merchant and manufacturer of our own country, where all bear the same burdens; but they may and would affect him deeply as soon as he entered into competition with the farmers of France and Poland, where taxation is comparatively unfelt.

Mr. Ricardo has not attended sufficiently to this circumstance. In constructing a corn bill he would make no allowance for *general* pressure of taxes in this country, because all classes pay as well as the farmer; and it is only for those taxes, such as tithes and poor's rates, which are supposed to

laid upon the occupier of land exclusively, that he would provide any compensation, in opening an intercourse with foreigners in the trade of corn. There cannot certainly be any doubt that, in this particular, his views are radically wrong. If, for instance, the cost of production in this country, owing to our taxes generally, and our higher scale of prices consequent thereupon, should be sixty shillings, whilst the same cost, on the Continent, owing to the absence of taxation and a lower scale of prices, should be only forty shillings, is the British farmer entitled to no protection, merely because other *British* subjects are taxed as highly as he is? Or, can any thing be more absurd than to urge, as the foundation of such an opinion, that as general taxation only raises the general price of goods, and does not alter their *relative* value, such taxation does not "subject us to any disadvantage in our commerce with foreign countries!" It is the general high price and not the relative value, which determines our power of competing with the foreign producer: and therefore, if, in ordinary circumstances, it costs more to raise corn in England than in Poland, it is of no earthly consequence, as far as the principles of trade are concerned, whether that greater cost arises from taxes which affect all classes, or from those which affect only the husbandman. But Mr. Ricardo thinks differently, and maintains that the only protection which ought to be given to the farmer, and the only bounty accorded to him on exportation, is the amount of the difference of the taxes which he pays, when compared with the other producers of his own country; and then, says he, "the course of trade would be left precisely on the same footing, as if *we were wholly an untaxed country*, and every person were at liberty to employ his capital and skill in the way he should think most beneficial to himself."

He is of course very angry with the Committee on Agriculture, who lately gave in their report, and who conclude their recommendations to the House in the following words:—"If the circumstances of this country should hereafter allow the trade in corn to be permanently settled upon a footing constantly open to all the world, *but subject to such a fixed and uniform duty as might compensate to the British grower the difference of expence at which his corn can be raised and brought to market, together with the fair rate of profit upon the capital employed, compared with the expense of production, and other charges attending corn grown and imported from abroad*, such a system would, in many respects, be preferable to any modification of regulations depending upon

average prices, with an ascending and descending scale of duties; because it would prevent the effects of combination and speculation, in endeavouring to raise or depress those averages, and render immaterial those inaccuracies, which from management or negligence have occasionally produced and may again produce such mischievous effects upon our market; but your Committee rather look forward to such a system as fit to be kept in view for the ultimate tendency of our law, than as practicable within any short or definite period."

He is indignant that, in the above allusion to a "fixed and uniform duty," the Committee have paid no respect to the "principle which he has endeavoured to shew is the only sound one," namely, that the duty should merely countervail the *peculiar* burthens to which the grower of corn is subject; but, on the contrary, have even proceeded to recommend such a fixed duty as will compensate to the British grower, the difference of expense at which his corn can be raised and brought to market, compared with the expense of production and other charges attending corn grown and imported from abroad. He deplores that no hope is held out that we shall at any future time be enabled to purchase corn *at as cheap a price as British industry shall be enabled to obtain it* for us: that no security is given to the British capitalist that wages shall not be unnaturally raised in this country, by obliging the labourer to purchase corn at a dear, and not at a cheap rate—a security, he adds, so essential to the keeping up the rate of profits: and, above all, that the farmer is not encouraged to look forward to a time when he will be spared from the fluctuations in the price of the commodity which he raises, and which are so destructive to his interests. Instead of aiming at these objects, paramount to all others, in the mind of Mr. Ricardo, the Committee acknowledge that their views are directed towards such a compensation to the British grower, as will make up to him the difference between the expense of raising corn here, and producing it from the Continent.

As the three points above mentioned, namely, cheapness of food, low wages, and steady prices of corn, are much insisted upon by Mr. Ricardo and his school, as the main source and support of national prosperity, let us enquire briefly, whether, in the peculiar circumstances of this country, they are at all attainable, and whether, if attained, they would be productive of any advantage.

Cheapness, every one is aware, is a mere relative term; and, of course, corn may be dear at 20s. per quarter, and

it may be cheap at 60*s*. A working man with two shillings a day will find himself at least as comfortable with wheat at the latter price, as he would with eight-pence a-day, were wheat at the former price: and, indeed, the other necessaries of life, being taken into consideration, he would be even more comfortable with the higher wages and the higher price of corn. This Mr. Ricardo himself would not deny. He would further admit too, that, were wheat to be permanently, or even for any considerable length of time, as low as 20*s*., wages would come down in the proportion we have mentioned; for he knows well that so close is the connection between the expense of maintenance, and the reward of labour, that wages, in the course of a few years, would be determined by the average price of the most common food.

Now, suppose this end is attained. Wheat is sold for 20*s*. a quarter, and mechanics work for eight-pence a-day. What is gained by this revolution in prices? Nothing! When things had once settled on their new level, they would proceed as before: and if the country were prosperous, the scale of prices would gradually ascend, as is uniformly the case in all thriving communities. In fact, we cannot discover any one advantage likely to result from a permanent depression of prices in any country under the sun; and in this country, situated as it is at present, the very attempt to bring about such a change would infallibly ruin all classes, unhinge the whole structure of society, derange the principles on which all commercial and money engagements are founded, and inevitably create all the misery and confusion of a national insolvency. Were the value of money doubled, or tripled, it would be impossible to raise for the public creditor 30,000,000*l*. a year, or for private debtors to discharge their obligations, whether of principle or interest. In one word, the Utopia of Mr. Ricardo could only be ushered in by an universal bankruptcy, a cancelling of all engagements, and a renewal of commercial and social intercourse on a fresh foundation.

But all these evils would be amply compensated in the eyes of our author by the *high profits* which would result from the *low wages*, contemplated by him as the first and most happy fruits of cheap corn all over the kingdom. This, the reader requires not to be told, is one of the points on which Mr. Ricardo has run mad, and therefore it would be in vain to reason with him on its merits and bearing. Profits, he thinks, never rise but when wages fall, and wages never rise but at the expense of profits: therefore, if you wish to keep profits up you must keep wages down. "If goods,"

to use his own words, "worth 1000*l.* require at one time labour which cost 900*l.*, and at another time, the price of the same quantity of labour is raised to 950*l.*, profits will fall from 200*l.* to 100*l.*" Now, pursue the reasoning a little farther and you will find that if labour were reduced to 600*l.* the profits would rise to 400*l.*; and again, if the former were reduced to 500*l.* the latter would rise to 500*l.*—a state of things so delightful to the imagination of a capitalist that it is by no means surprising certain minds should be seduced by its charms. There is one little condition, however, upon which the whole rests, and which is, indeed, essential to the very conception of the case, even as a matter of theory, namely, that the goods, *in all changes of circumstances, must be held* "*worth* 1000*l.*" Labour may fall and corn may fall, but the money price of the hypothetical goods must not fall. In all cases and at all events they must stand at the 1000*l.* Do not the very terms of this hypothesis expose its absurdity? And is is not amazing that a writer of the experience and sagacity of Mr. Ricardo should ever have imagined that the market price of goods would, in the ordinary circumstances of society, remain for any length of time above the cost of production! Capital, every one knows, finds its level, as well as labour or any other commodity which has to compete for employment: and if profits were extraordinarily high for a time, capital would encrease, and, by a very natural process, understood by all men, would reduce profits again to the ordinary rate attainable in the general market of Europe. It is perfectly obvious, therefore, that were wages much lowered, the commodities produced by labour would be lowered in the same proportion; for the competition of capitalists, ever on the watch to make the most of their property, would assuredly prevent the continuance of exorbitant profits in any department of industry, whether manufacturing or agricultural. In order then to secure high profits, the amount of capital in the country must be diminished relatively to the demand for its use; it being established, beyond all controversy, that the principle which regulates the price of all other things is applicable, in its fullest extent, to money as an instrument of production or as the medium of commercial exchanges. How childish is it, therefore, in Mr. Ricardo to exclaim,

"There is no other way of keeping profits up but by keeping wages down. In this view of the law of profits, it will at once be seen how important it is that so essential a necessary as corn, which so powerfully affects wages, should be at a low price; and

how injurious it must be to the community generally, that, by prohibitions against importation, we should be driven to the cultivation of our poorer lands to feed our augmenting population!!"

The third motive adduced for such low prices of corn as would place us nearly on a footing of equality, in this respect, with the nations of the Continent, is the assurance of steadiness in our grain markets, and a consequent exemption from those fluctuations to which, from the effects of good and bad seasons, we have hitherto been exposed.

It will be readily granted, on all hands, that, if we were accustomed to draw our supplies from the whole of Europe instead of the more limited territory of the United Kingdom, the effects of a very good or a very bad year would not be so immediately or so deeply felt; because such is the variety of soil and climate among the nations of Europe that comparative scarcity in one would probably be compensated by comparative plenty in another. If we drew nearly the *whole* of our supplies from abroad, and that, too, *indiscriminately*, and without attaching ourselves to any one or two markets in particular, the price of corn in England would, no doubt, be more steady than it is at present, when restricted to the produce of our own soil.

It is only, however, upon the supposition that we draw a great proportion of our food from abroad that the advantage of steadiness in price will be secured; for if we still depended upon ourselves for the main supply, we must continue subject to the vicissitudes which arise from the varying nature of the seasons. But where is the man who would recommend that we should cease to be an agricultural people, and trust to the French or the Poles for the staff of life! Mr. Ricardo himself would not venture to administer such advice; and if he did not, his promised steadiness of price would prove an empty dream. If we habitually take but a small proportion of our corn from our neighbours, they will raise only a small quantity to meet our demand; and thus in a bad year at home, as we cannot expect more than our usual supply from abroad, we should be nearly in the same condition as if we did not import at all.

But the steadiness of price to be effected by an open trade with corn merchants in foreign parts, is to arise not only from an unrestricted importation, but also, in a great measure, from the facilities thereby supplied to a copious exportation into those countries, whensoever an abundant crop shall have overstocked our markets at home. Miserable, indeed, will be the condition of our agriculture, when farmers

shall be able to avail themselves of this fortunate hope! Wheat is raised on the Continent at about 40*s.* the quarter, a price which, it seems, is "amply sufficient to compensate the foreign grower for the whole cost of production:" that commodity, therefore, would not be imported from England by any continental merchant but when it was so extremely cheap here that he could count upon a profit at two pounds the quarter, after defraying all the expenses of commission, freight, and warehouse rent, and perhaps a small duty chargeable in his own port. If this statement be correct, and Mr. Ricardo himself, is our authority for the sum given as the remunerative price of wheat on the Continent, it follows that no relief could be expected here from exportation, until the price of our best corn had sunk to about 30*s.* per quarter. If 40*s.*, or a little above 40*s.* be the ordinary price of wheat in the principal markets of Europe, it is clear that foreigners would take none from us except when our prices were eight or ten shillings under theirs. And if it should happen that the abundance experienced in England were likewise extended to our neighbours abroad, as would most likely be the case, then the relief in question could not be obtained until our prices had fallen even much lower than 30*s.* And does any sane man look forward to such a condition of things with complacency, and call it a national good! Would it be desirable, taking England as she now stands, to see prices gradually sink so low as that exportation of our wheat at 30*s.* should be esteemed a relief and a deliverance!

But we deny, after all, that steadiness of price would be the result of the freest trade in corn that could be established. The effect of good and bad seasons would still be felt, and prices would vibrate as much and as frequently as they do at present. Let the reader consult the following table, extracted from the Agricultural Report, and he will perceive that the boasted effects of free exportation diminish to a mere shadow.

	s.	*d.*		*Quarters.*
In 1728 the price of wheat was	48	5¼	with an excess of import of	70,597
1732	23	8¼	with an excess of export of	202,056
1740	45	0½	.....	46,822
1743	22	1	.....	371,429
1750	28	10½	.....	947,223
1757	53	4	with an excess of import..	130,077
1761	26	10¼	with an excess of export..	441,956

In 1728, it will be observed, the price of wheat was 48*s.* 5¼*d.*, and that four years after it had fallen to 23*s.* 8¼*d.*, or less than the half. The same thing occurs in 1740, as

compared with 1748. The fall exceeds 50 per cent. The years 1757 and 1761 present a similar fact; a fall of price from 53*s.* 4*d.* to 26*s.* 10½*d.* And it is worthy of remark, that during these immense fluctuations, there was an unlimited freedom of export to the Continent of Europe, and we believe, to all parts of the world.

How, then, with such facts before him, can Mr. Ricardo found any hope of exemption from varying prices, on more extensive freedom of trade? Have we not seen that, when the ports were open on both sides, and corn sent to and fro between England and the Continent, as if they had been parts of the same kingdom, prices changed from year to year, to a greater extent, and within shorter periods, than takes place at present under a system of positive restriction? From 1814 to 1820 inclusive, the highest price was 94*s.* 9*d.*, and the lowest 65*s.* 7*d.* And even if we take in the year 1821, of which the average was 55*s.* 8*d.* we shall not have a single instance of a decline of 50 per cent. on the price of wheat; whereas between 1728 and 1761 the price of that article rose three times and fell three times, somewhat more than 50 per cent; and that too, at a period when the prices of corn in England and on the Continent were nearly on the same level. It is, therefore, absurd in the extreme, to hold out the expectation of steady prices to the agriculturists of this country, from a renewal of the international trade in corn, even on the most unrestricted footing that could be devised. After having submitted to a complete revolution in our domestic trade, after having raised the value of money to double its present amount, after having unsettled all the relations which subsist between borrower and lender, between national securities and private income, we should find that the effects of a very fruitful year, or at least of a series of such years, would be as much felt as ever, and that wheat which, in one season, sold for 48*s.* would, in two or three seasons after, bring no more than 23*s.* We trust, therefore, that amidst the thousand proposals submitted to Parliament for relieving the farmer, no steps will be taken with the view of realizing Mr. Ricardo's dream of a free trade in corn. The voice of experience and of common sense proclaims at once its danger and its absolute futility. To render it either practicable or safe we must retrace the principal steps we have taken for the last thirty years; throw off the load of four hundred millions of debt, and twenty millions of annual taxes; and, in a word, counteract the progress of society, of habits and in-

stitutions, during the most important epoch that Great Britain has ever witnessed.

At the end of the late war it occurred to many individuals in Parliament and out of it, that, owing to the advancement and probable increase of manufactures on the Continent, our high prices of corn and labour might, perhaps, render us incapable of competing with the French and Germans, in the great market of Europe: and fears were entertained, accordingly, and not without some reason, that the artizans of England, who, during the course of hostilities, had supplied nearly the whole world with their productions, would, in consequence of the high scale of prices recently established among them, be ultimately confined to the supply of their own countrymen. The experience of seven years has, however, completely proved that these apprehensions were groundless: for such is our superiority in skill, capital, and materials, that our manufacturers are able to undersell those of the Continent, even in their own markets, and in those articles too, in the making of which they have attained the greatest proficiency. The leading motive, therefore, to lower our scale of prices is withdrawn. The higher price of our food and labour is amply compensated by the excellence of our machinery, the abundance of capital, the cheapness of coal, and the active ingenuity of our workmen. Could Mr. Ricardo have urged, as a reason for bringing down our scale of prices to that of our neighbours, the alarming fact that these last, aided by cheap food and low wages, were now supplanting us in their own country, as well as in foreign parts, and that we were no longer able to bring goods to market on terms fitted to compete with them on neutral ground, then, indeed, his arguments would have been entitled to the most serious attention, and his projected remedies would have claimed at once our gratitude and the deepest reflection. As matters stand, however, they are not only useless and inexpedient, but positively hurtful and indefensible.

We meant to make a few remarks on the corn-bill now before Parliament, and to canvass the merits of the several proposals laid before the House of Commons, in the form of resolutions. These, however, as the subject must now be familiar to every reader who takes an interest in such matters, shall be shorter than we originally intended; nothing being more tiresome than a mere abstract of speeches, pronounced, as many of them are, in great ignorance, or, which is still worse, in the bitter spirit of party controversy.

We observe that since we began this article the proposal for granting a million, on low interest, to relieve the embar-

raised farmer, has been withdrawn; and as the chance of good resulting from it was extremely uncertain, it is impossible to say whether the policy actually adopted be advantageous or otherwise. To lend money in such circumstances is as much contrary to usage as to sound principle, and perhaps on these accounts alone it is better that the expedient has been relinquished.

Friendly as we are to the agricultural interest, as one of the main props and ornaments of the country, we regret to observe that the advocates of that interest, in either House of Parliament, demand too much in the way of protection and high price; because, if they gain their end, in the mean time, they will only thereby pave the way for measures of a decidedly opposite nature, whenever a bad season or two shall have roused the feelings of the working classes, and led them to petition the Legislature. It is admitted on all hands, that a duty of a certain amount is necessary to protect the British grower against the competition of foreigners, and, moreover, that a substitution of duty for prohibition, within given limits, would be an improvement on the system adopted in 1815. The amount of that duty, however, and the price at which importation should be allowed, are points upon which the land-owner and the consumer are at issue, and which will continue to divide Parliament as long as there are men who produce food and men who use it.

All things considered, a moderate protection, in the end, will best answer the views of both parties; and, perhaps, there is no rate more likely to accomplish the object desired than 70*s*., as the average price at which importation should be permitted to commence, with a duty of 15*s*. per quarter, on the wheat imported. Lord Londonderry's proposal to allow of importation at 80*s*., and until prices shall fall to 70*s*., with a duty of 12*s*. whilst vibrating between these extremes, would no doubt answer equally well; particularly if taken in connection with the additional duty of 5*s*. per quarter, during the first three months of importation. Whatever scale be adopted, and whatever regulations be enforced, no immediate relief, it is clear, can accrue to the agriculturist; for as he already possesses a monopoly of the market, and cannot possibly look for an efficient bounty to encourage him to export his produce, he must wait, let Parliament do what it will, until things find their natural level; until the supply shall adjust itself to the demand; until the abundance of the late good years shall have been somewhat absorbed in the comparative poverty of others, which are perhaps at no great distance.

One word to Mr. Ricardo. Is he determined to persevere in his strange views in regard to the law of profits; to maintain that wages can never rise but when profits fall; that the latter cannot improve except at the expense of the former; and to draw from this groundless hypothesis the more groundless and mischievous conclusion, that the most effectual way to enrich a country is to ensure low prices of corn to the farmer, and low wages to the labourer? In certain supposable circumstances the doctrine may be hypothetically true, that as labour and the profits of stock constitute the whole cost of production, so in proportion as the return from the one is encreased, the return from the other must be diminished; yet, practically speaking, the operation of that law is confined to very narrow limits, and is even, in many cases, completely reversed; nothing being more common than to find wages and profits rising together and falling together for a considerable length of time. At all events no person of experience will ever entertain the opinion, which Mr. Ricardo appears to sanction, that, if wages, owing to a very low price of corn, were to fall 50 per cent., profits would immediately rise 50 per cent. The notion is bad enough as a mere theoretical tenet; but it deserves marked reprobation when made the ground of a practical measure, and the rule for legislating on the interests of the two great classes of the community, the capitalist and the labourer.

ART. II. *France for the last Seven Years; or, the Bourbons. By W. H. Ireland, Member of the Athanæum. of Sciences and Arts at Paris.* 8vo. 456 pp. 12s. Whittakers. 1822.

SOON after Bonaparte's return to Paris from his banishment to Elba, the name of Mr. W. H. Ireland was "articulated" to him by Count Pavetri. Mr. Ireland was confused, the blood rushed into his countenance, and the powers of speech were wholly denied him. Bonaparte addressed him with a few quick and laconic phrases, and having developed the inmost recesses of his soul by a very hard look, ordered him the Cross and the Pension of the Legion of Honour. True it is, that, owing to the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Ireland received neither of these "flattering testimonies of the Emperor's favour;" but to his credit be it spoken as a man of grateful

temper, that, in consequence of the promise, he has thought it his duty to write a book in praise of Bonaparte, and in abuse of every body else.

In pursuit of this great object, he has not deemed it necessary to be more scrupulous than Lady Morgan, Mr. Hobhouse, or any other writer, of either sex, of the same Jacobinico-Imperial school; and accordingly, whether he presents to his readers facts which he witnessed, or stories which he heard, he has drawn most copiously upon the stores of his imagination. As a compiler of traditions, or a composer of legends, Mr. Ireland would hold a distinguished rank; and, whenever the *Gesta Romanorum* are held to exceed Livy and Tacitus as historical authorities, we think the *Gesta Gallorum* now before us, will be cited as the most veracious annals of modern France.

It would be unjust, if we were to strip the great variety of secret anecdotes which it has fallen to Mr. Ireland's lot (no doubt, *exclusively*) to obtain, of any of the benefit which it may derive from the gorgeous splendour of his style. We shall therefore endeavour to divest the gem as little as possible of its costly setting; and, whenever our readers perceive any unusual deviation from our own homeliness and simplicity, even if we should chance to omit the ancient landmarks of inverted commas, we entreat them to believe that we are not trespassing upon another man's ground, with any fraudulent intention of claiming it as our own.

The state of "coalesced Europe," when Bonaparte arrived in Elba, was somewhat uncomfortable. "A vacuum succeeded in the human intellect, and we bent around a stupified gaze, in search of that blazing comet, whose erratic and eccentric light had so late astounded, but was seen no more." In order to relieve themselves from these unpleasant feelings, there can be little doubt that the Allied Powers connived at Napoleon's escape; and the supposition is corroborated by the similar line of conduct which they pursued on a former occasion.

"The return of Bonaparte from Egypt, was a matter perfectly well understood by the leading powers of Europe, whose intention it was to make him instrumental in restoring the Bourbons to the throne of France; for, if no such intention had existed, it was morally impossible that he could have effected a landing, as he must have been captured by the fleets of England, or the countless cruizers which covered the seas, and were always upon the look out." P. 2ff.

That he might free himself from the suspicions of royalism,

which he had thus so unwittingly excited, he determined, much against his will, to put some one of the Bourbon family to death; and after much deliberation he "selected" the Duke d'Enghien as his victim. It is not generally known however, that after he had taken the trouble of infringing the law of nations, by violating a neutral territory, in order to secure the person of this gallant, high-minded, and unoffending Prince, he was so averse to do the very thing for which he had seized him, "that he hesitated to affix his signature to the fatal instrument, until urged by Prince ———." It is perhaps generally known that no "instrument" at all was signed; but that the whole process of the murder was arranged by telegraphic dispatches between Paris and Vincennes.

Mr. Ireland gathers his information from all quarters indiscriminately; from the antichamber of the Tuilleries, or the *boutique* of the *Fauxbourg*; from the Emperor himself, or from "a very respectable tradesman in Paris:" and the dependence which may be placed upon his narratives is, we doubt not, in each case pretty equal. This very respectable tradesman had *heard his father* fifty times relate, how when he was on duty as a national guard at the Temple, he had great curiosity to see the Dauphin; and how he managed to get posted in the unhappy Prince's apartment. Here he saw in bed a miserable object covered with sores, "much taller from the head to the bottom of the back," than it was possible the Dauphin could be, from the height which the very respectable tradesman's father knew him to have attained six months before. The sagacious centinel, on a hint from the gaoler, held his tongue while any mischief could happen to himself from blabbing; and now that the revival of his story can only do mischief to his king and country, he commissions his son to tell Mr. Ireland, who he is quite sure will tell all the world, that the Committee of Public Safety hired a child whom they poisoned, as a pseudo Dauphin; and without making any political use of the real Prince, from motives of sheer humanity, winked at his escape; and turned him loose into the world after they had butchered his father, mother, and aunt; and this too at a time when they must have known the importance of cutting up by the roots even the most remote sucker from the main stem of royalty, if they sought to consolidate their own ambitious schemes.

On these grounds, and on the opinion of "one Gentleman" whom he has "frequently consulted," Mr. Ireland persists in believing Mathurin Bruno to be the son of Louis XVI. and this belief is strongly corroborated, it seems, by the pertina-

city of the good people of Rouen, who long supplied the claimant "not only with the absolute necessaries of life, but even delicacies of the table, with wines of the choicest quality." Really the trade of Perkin Warbeck, in spite of imprisonment, is not the worst of all speculations.

The French are an odd people in their enthusiasm. When Bonaparte alighted at the portal of the Tuilleries, at the commencement of the Hundred Days, they not only hustled him up stairs on their shoulders, amid his repeated cries of "*Soyez sage mes bons enfans! soyez sage je vous en prie!*" (we thought the Emperor spoke better French), but they tore off one of the flaps of his coat in "the general impulse which approximated to madness." This delicious mania was carried to a still greater extent, in a visit which he soon afterwards paid to a young lady's boarding-school, founded under his own auspices.

"No sooner was it known that Napoleon had arrived to honour the institution with his presence, than all the young ladies *en masse* rushed forward to testify their gratitude to their munificent benefactor; it was in vain that the persons placed as their guardians, and for the purpose of education, had recourse to threats and intreaties in order to restrain this natural flow of affection; neither coercive or soothing measures were productive of the desired effect, wherefore they were abandoned to the unrestrained demonstration of their exuberant feelings, which were carried to such a height, that the Emperor, oppressed by the sentiment, burst into tears; when finding himself relieved, he mingled with the youthful crowd, embracing some, and presenting to others his hand to be kissed, and thus emboldened by his condescending familiarity, his young *protegées* began by rifling him of his pocket handkerchief, which was immediately torn into ribbands, and then subdivided, to be delivered in pieces to the craving applicants; not contented with this, the skirt of his coat was put into a state of requisition, for while occupied in caressing those in front, a phalanx in the rear, literally curtailed with a pair of shears, several inches from the bottom of his grey surtout, all which he submitted to with heartfelt delight, and on retiring to regain his carriage, (being unable to suppress them) tears again found vent, when placing his hand to his eyes, he was heard to articulate these words:—*Voici le comble du bonheur—ceux-ci sont les plus beaux momens de ma vie!!*" P. 107.

In these instances, compared with his former life, the sentimental Emperor reversed the common order of procedure; he commenced by being *sans culotte*, and ended by being *sans surtout*—most people, if they had their choice, would part with the first, last; but this is not the only case in which Napoleon put τὰ κάτω ἄνω.

We omit sundry anecdotes, which "have never been hitherto published," because among them we find Bonaparte's well-known bon mot; "*Et moi je vous reconnais aussi par votre,* PIED-DE-STAEL!" which every body must admit is translated quite according to the letter, if not according to the spirit. "*And you are equally recognisable to me, by your* PIED-DE-STAEL"—neither do we insert any of the curious histories, "told for a *positive matter of fact,*"—"received through the channel of a person whose veracity there is no cause to doubt:" and "related immediately after the fact had transpired;" because in the two first cases it would be rude to contradict the assertions made; and in the last we do not very plainly see how the truth of the narrative is a consequence to be fairly deduced from the premises laid down. Perhaps, however, it is to be drawn much in the same way as when we are assured that Mr. Ireland "having been personally acquainted with Labedoyere, is (on that account) enabled to give some statements not generally known." If *we* have not quite forgotten the language of the schools, we should whisper that this sort of reasoning belongs to the class called *non sequitur.*

It may be as well however to remark, *obiter*, that Mr. Ireland makes some trifling mistakes about the Belgian campaign; first of all the English and Dutch were *not* beaten at Quatre Bas; on the contrary, the French, after a hard-fought day, fell back on Frasnes. Secondly, the French had nearly 90,000 men on the field of Waterloo, not 69,000. Thirdly, the Duke of Wellington in that battle, before the arrival of the Prussians, had 64,000 men under his command, not 90,000*. Fourthly—but this is only a matter of opinion, and therefore we shall not combat it—Mr. Ireland and his friends think that Lord Wellington and Blucher ought not to have advanced so promptly after the "*affair*" of Waterloo. If we had lost a Cross and a Pension of the Legion of Honour by this very movement, we dare say we should think the same.

Without knowing it, perhaps, Mr. Ireland has made one classical allusion. Beside the grave of Labedoyere, stands a cypress which "is *constantly* divested of its boughs by the visitants." We recollect but a single tree which possessed a similar marvellous power of self-reproduction—Labedoyere's may bear the same motto,

Uno avulso non deficit alter.

Of the extent of Mr. Ireland's general attainment, in this

* The data upon which these computations are founded beyond dispute, are given in an Article on General Gourgaud's Campaign in France and Belgium, E. C. November, 1818.

way, we have a few decisive instances. He talks of *Hygiea* (p. 54.) *prima mobile* (131.) besides announcing himself in his title-page as Member of an *Athanæum*. He alludes, as if he were familiarly acquainted with it, to a system of punctuation applied to Horace, which would make "the poems of that famous Roman satirist produce a direct contrary meaning;" and he prints Mrs. Jordan's epitaph in the following exquisite Latinity.

"Dorothea Jordan, quæ per multos annos Londine cuique aliis Brittanniæ Urbibus, Scænam Egregice Ornavit, Obiit 30 nodas Julii, 1816, Annos Nata 50." P. 308.

Mr. Ireland, perhaps, will be gratified to hear that Mr. Examiner Hunt transcribed this unparalleled *morceau* into his Newspaper, *verbatim et literatim*, a few Sundays back.

ART. III. *Memoir of Richard Roberts Jones, of Aberdaron, in the County of Caernarvon, in North Wales; exhibiting a remarkable Instance of a partial Power and Cultivation of Intellect.* 8vo. 50 pp. Portrait. Cadell & Arch. 1822.

THE extraordinary subject of this very interesting little memoir, is the son of a carpenter, residing in a small sea-port on the wildest part of the coast of Wales. His father is in circumstances of extreme poverty, and occasionally employs himself in fishing, or in voyages from Aberdaron to Liverpool, in a small boat. Richard was born in 1780, and, by certain constitutional defects, particularly weakness of eye-sight, was disqualified from the more robust bodily labour in which the situation of his parents made it desirable he should be employed.

At about nine years of age, he was instructed by his mother and his younger brother, to read the Bible in Welsh. He then attempted the acquisition of English, in which however he is far from a proficient. The reasons which he assigns for the difficulty of this language, is that the orthography is unfixed, and that the pronunciation changes every ten years. By the aid of a boy in the parish-school, he commenced Latin at fifteen; and, though unable to attend this school himself at the stated hours, he frequently made use of the books which he found in it, during the absence of the other boys, and thus added largely to his stock of information. About the same time, he acquired a mode of writing, which though evidently self-taught, is particularly legible.

When thirteen he purchased a Greek grammar of a Welsh poet; and, in the following year, accident threw in his way an Epitome of Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar. The discovery to which his initiation into Hebrew led, must be not a little gratifying to such of our Cambrian friends, as possess pedigrees in Chaldee, and can confidently annex their genealogy to the Præademite Kings.

"Of the ardour with which he engaged in this pursuit, some idea may be formed by the following singular anecdote, which is related in his own hand-writing: 'If it had not been the reverse of fortune, I would study a little of Hebrew music. A short time before I commenced to study Hebrew, I dreamed; and saw in my dream Johan. Buxtorfius singing Hebrew psalms to the harp; viz. as he sang psalms, he played the harp with his hands, and sang with his voice. He stood upon a mound opposite to my father's house.'

"On being asked by a friend, how he could have known the language in which Buxtorf sang, if he had not then commenced the study of Hebrew? he replied, that he knew very little of Hebrew when the dream occurred to him; that he sung the twelfth chapter of the Psalms, the whole of which Richard repeated by memory; that the person who appeared to him, whoever he was, had a Hebrew book with points lying near him, and that the harp was a very large one, *of the ancient Welsh construction.*" P. 7.

Poor Richard's inaptitude to labour, and the total ignorance of the remainder of his family as to the object or the value of pursuits so widely differing from their own, brought down upon him, very frequently, anger, remonstrances, and blows. Having accompanied his father to Liverpool in the year 1804, he wandered into a bookseller's shop. Here the singularity of his appearance soon attracted notice, and by a casual bounty he was presented with a few books; amongst which were the *Analecta Græca Minora*, *Schurhardii Horologium Hebraum*, Virgil and Blair's Grave. The greater part of his library, however, was unfortunately lost or damaged by the upsetting of his boat in his voyage home.

Fresh severities awaited his increase of learning; but it was not until his shoulders bore the marks of an iron poker, that he determined to quit his paternal hut. Having collected his few books, he took the road to Caernarvon, wholly unprovided with money. His burden, like Æsop's, grew lighter as his journey lengthened; for board and lodging could only be purchased by the disposal of part of his literary stock; so that when he arrived at Bangor, he possessed nothing but some fragments of a Latin and Greek, and a Welsh and Latin dictionary.

Bishop Cleaver was struck by his appearance; clothed him,

encouraged him in his pursuits, employed him in his garden, and presented him with some useful books; among which were Schrevelius's Lexicon, and Robert Stephens's Greek Testament. After about two months he betook himself, without assigning any reason, to the Isle of Anglesey; where he remained about half a year under the roof of the Rev. John Williams, principally employing himself in the study of Greek. His departure hence also is involved in some mystery: and the cause of it is thus recorded in his own hand-writing.

"'I dreamed at Treffos: and I saw in my dream the head of Herod brought into the parlour, and the hair thereof bearing three colours mixed, viz. black, red, and the colour of brimstone burning; and I heard that the death of Herod was sadly lamented; wherefore his head was received with great veneration and honour. And I heard that Herod was beheaded in the battle against the Γαλατας Αλλοφυλους, when fighting against them at the head of one of the Roman armies: *consequently my welfare was changed at Treffos!!*'" P. 12.

Some French refugees, whom he met in Anglesey, supplied him with a grammar: and by some farther assistance from them, he not only reads their language, but speaks it with a good accent. He has since acquired an equal knowledge of Italian.

From Treffos he repaired again to Liverpool: where his appearance is thus described.

"His person and dress at this time were extremely singular: to an immense shock of black hair he united a bushy beard of the same colour. His clothing consisted of several coarse and ragged vestments, the spaces between which were filled with books, surrounding him in successive layers, so that he was literally a walking library. These books all occupied their proper stations, being placed higher or lower, according as their sizes suited the conformation of his body; so that he was acquainted with the situation of each, and could bring it out, when wanted, without difficulty. When introduced into a room, he had not the least idea of any thing that surrounded him; and when he took his departure, he appeared to have forgotten the entrance. Absorbed in his studies, he had continually a book in his hand, to which he frequently referred, as if to communicate or receive information, and apparently under a conviction, that every person he met with was as much interested in such studies as himself.—His sight was imperfect, his voice sharp and dissonant; and, upon the whole, his appearance and manners grotesque in the highest degree; yet, under all these disadvantages, there was a gleam in his countenance which marked intelligence, and an unaffected simplicity in his behaviour which conciliated regard." P. 13.

It was necessary however for his support, that he should be permanently employed; and as he professed to have been brought up a sawyer, he was engaged by a person in that trade. When put into the pit, he worked at first with extraordinary activity; but his efforts by degrees relaxed, till he fell breathless and exhausted at full length on his face, piteously calling for help. It seems that he had worked at the full extent of his arms length, without being aware of the necessity of advancing his feet. When lifted up, he complained bitterly of his evil treatment, and of being put under ground. Upon farther inquiry, it was found that the only sawing to which he had been used, was that of the branches of timber fallen in the Welsh woods.

For the next six months he appears to have been comfortably posted, by some benevolent persons in Liverpool, in a situation in which he could uninterruptedly pursue his studies. But his disposition was restless, and packing up his books, which were increased by Pagninus's Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ, Erpenius's Arabic Grammar, and Bythner's Lyra Prophetica, he returned to Aberdaron. His father for a time "was not so fierce against him;" but when his little cash was exhausted, his former barbarous treatment was renewed, and he sought refuge once more in Liverpool. Here "his ambition," as he says, "brought upon him many troubles and offences, almost inextricable and innumerable;" and in the course of these, he was obliged to part with his Hebrew Bible. To replace this, and to obtain instruction in Chaldee and Syriac, he resolved upon a journey to London; and, accordingly in the summer of 1807, deposited his few remaining books in the folds of his dress, threw a small package over his shoulder, and with a long pole in his hand, round which was rolled a map of the roads, set off for the great city on foot.

But—*Quid Romæ faciat?* He could find no employment, nor obtain assistance "by any means whatever" So he made his way to Dover, perhaps with the intention of passing to the Continent. Fortune however threw him in the way of the superintendent of the Dock-yards; who allowed him breakfast, gave him a chest to keep his books in, and paid him 2*s*. 4*d*. a-day for sifting ashes, like a He-Cinderella. His earnings enabled him to engage the Rabbi Nathan, as his Hebrew master; and he remained no less than three years in a state of happiness and tranquillity, during which he has recorded little more than the following dream, which is illustrated by a drawing.

"'Before my continual disappointments and troubles in learning, I dreamed, and saw myself in my dream upon the plain near

the rivers of Babylon, where I saw the harps of the captives of Israel hung upon the willows; and I saw the willows grown to an exceeding great height, and the harps were hung upon them in the night when being rainy weather.'" P. 18.

In 1810 he returned to London, and fell into the hands of the *Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.* Considering the liberal protection which this sagacious and salutary institution has from time to time afforded to Judah Catarevus, Hyam Isaacs, John Myers, Lazarus Leon, Schlusselburg, Josephson, Marinus, and the inimitable Joseph-Samuel-Christian-Frederick Frey, we are by no means surprized to hear that its kindness to a simple and unfortunate applicant, who possessed no recommendation but that of honesty and learning, was of short continuance. Mr. Lewis Way perhaps may tell the public why it was converted into "hostility and oppression;" insomuch that Richard was "reduced to the utmost distress, and compelled to sell his books, to prevent his being starved to death." His beard, his want of personal cleanliness, and his broken English, would have formed admirable saint-traps for an anniversary meeting; but probably Richard had too much single-heartedness, to lend himself as a tool to folly and fanaticism.

The bounty of the *Welsh Bardic Society,* enabled him to return to Bangor, where he lived for six months with the Rev. Richard Davies; and, during that time, "copied for his patron all the Hebrew words in Littleton's Latin Dictionary, and corrected several of the *errata* in them, according to the Hebrew Lexicon of *Sanctes Pagninus*, abridged by *Raphelengius.*" Soon after he was placed with a printer at Liverpool; but it was of no avail; he could learn nothing. In an Irish lodging-house he was robbed of Martin's Chaldee Grammar, and several other books, and the remainder were thrown through the window into the street. We do not learn the offence which he gave his landlady; it might be asserting the antiquity of the Jews above the Milesians. One of his friends withdrew to London; "*consequently*" he says, the Hebrew words which he had copied from Littleton's Dictionary, were stolen from him. To complete his misfortunes, he was at length obliged to pawn *Schrevelius, Erpenius,* and his Hebrew Grammar.

Since this time he has passed a year or or two at Baghillt, in the county of Flint, where in full accordance with his love of Hebrew lore, he learnt to blow a ram's horn, to the great annoyance of the neighbourhood; to this musical acquirement, he has since added a knowledge of the French horn, and his native harp.

Liverpool at present is his chief residence, where he may be seen at times, walking with a book under his arm, without money, or speaking to any one.

"If any gratuity be offered to him (for he never solicits it), he receives it with a degree of hesitation, generally using the words, 'I am not worthy.' To any ridicule to which his dress and appearance may give rise, he is totally insensible. At one time he chose to tie up his hair with a large piece of green ferret, which gave him the most ludicrous appearance possible. Some time since, one of his friends gave him a light-horseman's jacket, of blue and silver, which he immediately put on, and continued to wear, and which, contrasted with his hair and beard, gave him the appearance of a Jewish warrior, as represented in old prints, and consequently attracted after him a crowd of children. In his present appearance, he strongly resembles some of the Beggars of Rembrandt; and if he had lived in the time of that great artist, might have afforded a good subject for his immortal pencil; yet there is some expression of dignity in his countenance, which is well marked in the excellent portrait of him, given as a frontispiece, and which cannot be observed without a feeling of respect." P. 24.

He is particularly frugal in his habits, addicted to no vice, and temperate in his mode of living, drinking only water with the occasional indulgence of milk. His disposition is gentle, and his manners civil and respectful. To truth he is scrupulously adherent; and in return for kindness, or as a mark of good will, he frequently gives, or offers to give, not only his books, but even the MSS. which he has compiled with infinite labour.

But the most remarkable feature of his mind is, that it embraces the words of the language which he has acquired, more as being in themselves the ultimate objects of his study, than as keys to information: so that with a thorough comprehension of the grammatical construction of every sentence in any work which he has been reading, he is nearly ignorant of the facts which it contains.

"A distinguished member of the University of Oxford happening to call on one of Richard's friends, at a time when Richard himself happened to be near at hand, it occurred to his friend, that the literary curiosity of the learned visitor might be gratified by a short interview with a character of such a description. Richard was accordingly introduced; and, after the first surprise occasioned by his appearance had subsided, and some explanations had been given as to the nature of his acquirements, he was asked several questions, both in the French and Italian languages, to which he replied with that readiness and simplicity for which he is remarkable. He was then asked, whether he understood Latin and Greek; and having answered in the affirmative, was desired to read a passage in Homer. Richard accordingly thrust his hand into his bosom, and

diving down to the residence of the great poet, dragged him from his depths, and offered him to the visitor to select a passage, who, declining a more intimate acquaintance, desired Richard would open the book, and read such passage as might first occur to him. He accordingly began with some lines in the Iliad with great deliberation and accuracy, commenting on them as he proceeded, with many judicious critical remarks, which shewed a thorough knowledge of the language, and surprised the gentleman to whom they were addressed. Being then requested to translate what he had read, he gave it in such English as he usually employs; slowly and cautiously, but with sufficient accuracy to shew that, as far as grammatical construction went, he perfectly understood the sense. The following dialogue then took place:

"Q. Very well, Richard; you have translated this passage very well. Pray have you read the Iliad?

"A. Yes, I have.

"Q. And what do you think of the character of Andromache?

"A. (After a pause) Andro—mache?

"Q. Yes. What do you think of the character of Andromache?

"A. (After another pause) It is a *fight of men* *.

"Yes, yes; that is certainly the derivation of the name: but what do you think of Andromache, the wife of Hector?

"A. I know nothing about that." P. 28.

Yet as to his method of study, he answers very rationally; as the following dialogue will prove.

"Q. As you seem to have made no little proficiency in languages, pray tell me what method you take in acquiring a language?

"A. It is according to what the nature of the language is.

"Q. How would you set about acquiring a modern language?

"A. If it was the Spanish, for instance, I would take a vocabulary of the language, and examine what words corresponded with or resembled the words in any other language, with which I was acquainted; as, for instance, the Latin, French, or Italian; and those words I would strike out of the vocabulary, leaving only such as were the original or peculiar words of the Spanish tongue; and then, by the assistance of a grammar, I should soon be able to attain a knowledge of that language." P. 31.

His compilations consist of a Hebrew Grammar, a Greek and English Lexicon, a Collection of Hebrew Extracts, followed by a Vocabulary in Hebrew and English, and a brief Latin treatise on the music and accents of the Jews, and a Lexicon in Hebrew, Greek and English, in which he has made considerable progress. This last was intended to include the Latin and Welsh; but the want of books hitherto has prevented him from interweaving them. We sincerely

* Ἀνδρῶν μαχη.

trust that the little publication, to which we have directed the attention of our readers, will assist in removing the poverty against which he has continued to struggle with such unbroken perseverance. His wants appear to be few; and both as a man of desert, and as a singular phenomenon in the history of the human mind, he has a claim upon the purses of those who have the ability and the inclination to give. The profits derived from his Memoir, are to be expended in securing him a provision; and the following highly respectable Committee, in Liverpool, has undertaken to receive subscriptions, and direct their application. Messrs. W. W. Currie, A. Lace, S. Parkes, W. Rathbone, W. S. Roscoe, H. Taylor, J. Ashton Yates. It will be no small satisfaction to us, if we shall in any way have contributed to the furtherance of their benevolent design.

ART. IV. *A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales, and its dependent Settlements in Van Diemen's Land: with a particular Enumeration of the Advantages which these Colonies offer for Emigration, and their Superiority in many Respects over those possessed by the United States of America. By W. C. Wentworth, Esq. a Native of the Colony.* 8vo. 476 pp. 12s. Whittakers. 1819.

ART. V. *Journals of two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales, undertaken by order of the British Government in the Years* 1817-18. *By John Oxley, Surveyor-General of the Territory, and Lieutenant of the Royal Navy. With Maps and Views of the Interior, or newly Discovered Country.* 4to. 424 pp. 2*l.* 10*s.* Murray. 1820.

We by no means feel assured that the majority of our readers, if the question were fairly proposed, could give as accurate an account of Port Jackson and Botany Bay, as they possibly could of their more notorious classical prototypes, the "brief Gyarus," or the Erythræan islands to which the Great King was used to transport τοὺς ἀνάσπαστους καλουμένους. With this feeling we shall prepare to tell them all the little which we ourselves have been able to learn on this subject from the books now before us, and one or two other authorities which have come in our way.

The Spaniards, soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century, lay claim to the discovery of the great island

of the southern hemisphere. In the year 1609, Don Pedro Fernando de Quiros memorialized the court of Madrid on the advantages of planting settlements on this new continent, as it was at that time supposed to be; and represented its probable extent to be not less than that of Europe and Asia Minor taken jointly: a conjecture for which it is not easy to assign the excellent Don's reasons, as it is plain that he knew no more than a small tract of coast. The maritime enterprize of the Dutch, within six years of the first discovery, laid open more than four degrees of latitude on the west; and during the remainder of the century large additions were made to their information by successive voyagers, so that the country with much justice assumed the name of New Holland. It does not appear to have attracted the attention of the English till the close of the century, when it was twice visited by Captain Dampier: the first time in 1688, the second by especial commission from William III. eleven years afterwards.

The eastern coast was explored by Captain Cook, in the year 1770, when that celebrated navigator ascertained, beyond doubt, that New Holland was an island. The profusion of curious plants, which he discovered on a spacious inlet on this coast, induced him to name it Botany Bay; and on his return he represented it to government as an advantageous spot for a settlement. It was not however till 1786, that his suggestion attracted the serious attention of the British ministry, and they then resolved to take possession of this part of the island with a particular view to the transportation of convicts. Two armed brigs, six transports, and three store-ships were accordingly fitted out for this service: on board them was embarked a force of less than 200 men to guard 564 male and 192 female convicts; and the command of the expedition and of the colony when founded, was intrusted to Captain Arthur Phillip, an active and enterprizing officer. After a voyage of eight months the fleet cast anchor in Botany Bay, on the 20th of January, 1787; and so healthy had been the passage, that the number of deaths, including casualties, amounted only to thirty-two.

It was soon perceived that Botany Bay was ill calculated for colonial settlement. Its extent is great, but it has little depth of water, and moreover is exposed to heavy swells from south-easterly winds. A bar, about three miles from its mouth, is not more than fifteen feet deep; and the streams of fresh water on its coast are scanty and impure. About three leagues and a half to the north a completely land-locked har-

bour, of an irregular form, the soundings of which were of sufficient depth for ships of the heaviest burden, and its extent large enough to contain all the navies in the world, presented a far more eligible spot.

This noble harbour had been named Port Jackson by Captain Cook, but it had been viewed only at a distance, and the height of the capes and the sinuosities of its channel precluded him from accurate examination. An inlet, between five and six miles from the mouth, was selected by Governor Phillip for his new capital, and distinguished by the name of Sydney Cove. The water drew four fathoms close to shore. It had neither rocks nor shallows. Its dimensions were well adapted for building, about a quarter of a mile in depth, and twice as much in breadth, and a considerable stream of fresh water discharged itself at its upper end.

The number of persons who were first landed at this settlement amounted to 1030. The projected town grew with speed under their labours; and the chief difficulties to which the colonizers were likely to be exposed, arose from a possible failure of supplies. The live stock, public and private, was by no means sufficiently large to make such fears unreasonable, in case of any accidental interruption of communication with the mother country. We subjoin a list of it as a curiosity—2 bulls; 5 cows; 1 horse; 3 mares; 3 colts; 29 sheep; 19 goats; 74 pigs; 5 rabbits; 18 turkies; 29 geese; 38 ducks; 210 fowls; and out of these the bulls and four cows at an early period were lost in the woods.

In the summer of 1790 great apprehensions of famine were entertained. A ship of war proceeding from England, with abundant supplies, had been wrecked in her passage, and a large increase to the population had been received by fresh drafts of convicts; but after a reduction of the daily rations, and an anxiety of some months, these fears were effectually relieved. In 1792 Governor Phillip departed for Europe, and the command of the colony was held by commission till the arrival of Governor Hunter, in 1793. Soon after the succession of this officer to the command, it was discovered that the stray cattle had bred largely in the forests, and under proper management the wild herds furnished hopes of most abundant supply. The population at the close of 1797 amounted to 3,960 persons; and the live stock had gained upon the scanty numbers given above in the following proportion:—horses and mares 57; horned cattle 227; sheep 1531; goats 1427; hogs 1869. The mother settlement had established several branches, particularly one in Norfolk island, already containing near nine hundred inhabitants; and a

considerable town in the interior, which retained its native title Paramatta; coal had been discovered in profusion towards Botany Bay; the granaries were full, and no less than 5419 acres of land had been brought into cultivation.

In 1799 Lieutenant Flinders ascertained the existence of a strait separating Van Dieman's land from the main island, and prosecuted his discoveries to the south with great zeal and enterprize. The gradual abandonment of Norfolk Island was already in contemplation, and Van Dieman's Land appeared to present many allurements for occupation in its stead. In 1804 this design was executed. The history of the colony, as connected with the case of Governor Bligh, is too generally known to need repetition here; and its domestic annals, thenceforward, present little more than the conviction of offenders, and the petty events which in the infancy of a state are exaggerated by their recorders, from the dearth of more important incidents, into a disproportionable and somewhat ludicrous magnitude.

Such are the chief facts which we have gleaned from a volume published (by Mr. O'Hara we believe) in 1817, and to these we shall subjoin a few others, to be found in the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, printed in 1812.

By a return made on the first of March, 1810, the district of Sydney contained 6158 inhabitants. Paramatta 1807; Hawkesbury 2389; and Newcastle 100: of these 5513 were men, 2220 women, and 2721 children; and about a fifth of the whole convicts: to this sum must be added a force of 1100 military. Dalrymple and Hobart's Town, in Van Dieman's Land, contained 1321 inhabitants; and in Norfolk Island, which subsequently has been abandoned, were 177: 21,000 acres of land were in cultivation; 74,000 in pasture. The live stock amounted to 521 horses, 593 mares, 193 bulls, 6351 cows, 4782 oxen, 33,818 sheep, 1782 goats, 8992 hogs. In 1817 the horses and mares were 3072, horned cattle 44,753, and sheep 170,420.

Sic fortis Etruria crevit *.

Mr. Wentworth, as his title page imports, was born in New South Wales; and, as he informs us in his preface, resided there for about five years, after his arrival at the age of maturity. He writes very plainly and clearly; and though his occasional bursts of patriotism almost call up a smile, we can assure him that we have at heart a sincere respect for the good feeling which prompts them.

* The very appropriate motto selected for the colony.

Sydney, Mr. Wentworth informs us, until the administration of Governor Macquarie was built with a total disregard to uniformity. It covers a much larger space of ground than is proportioned to its population: for, as in ancient Rome, the houses, in great part, are *insulæ*, standing in extensive gardens. This however is a fault, if it be one, which must speedily be corrected by the increasing value of land. The rents are nearly half as great as in the best situations in London; and "it is very far from a commodious house," which can be procured unfurnished for £100 a year.

Paramatta is situated fifteen miles from Sydney by land, eighteen by water. For half this distance the river which flows into Port Jackson harbour is only navigable for small boats. The town, which consists of little more than one street, about a mile in length, is built on the side of a small stream, flowing into the river. The value of land is 200 per cent. less than at Sydney. Windsor, on the confluence of the south creek with the river Hawkesbury, about 35 miles from Sydney, and Liverpool about 18, on the banks of George's River, are both in their infancy.

The climate, particularly in the inland district, is healthy; the mean heat in summer (December, January, and February,) does not exceed 80° Fahrenheit at noon, and this is tempered by a regular sea breeze from nine in the morning till six in the evening, from the N.E. relieved during the night by a land breeze, varying from W.S.W. to W. In winter the mean temperature at noon is from 55° to 60° and hoar frosts and fogs are frequent.

For the first five or six miles from the coast the land is barren and rocky, scarcely producing even stunted underwood. Beyond this girdle, as it were, the soil improves, and is profusely covered with gigantic forest trees. This woody district stretches for ten miles in depth, and opens upon a luxuriant pasture, and an endless variety of hill and dale. The plains on the banks of the Hawkesbury River are still more fertile, insomuch that a single acre of land has been known to produce in the course of one year fifty bushels of wheat, and a hundred of maize. These two sorts of grain are chiefly cultivated, though barley, oats, and rye are partially grown. All vegetables and fruits known in England are to be found here also; though beans, potatoes, currants, gooseberries, and apples in particular, are inferior in quality to those of Europe.

Manufactories of cloths, hats, earthenware, pipes, salt, candles, and soap, exist to a considerable extent; and almost all the more obvious mechanical trades have their professors.

Wool is rapidly becoming the staple commodity, and has sold for three shillings a pound in the English market. The sheepholders are directing much attention to the improvement of their fleeces; and in the year 1816, 8000*l.* worth of the raw material was exported. It is principally to the benefits to be derived from this increasing trade, that Mr. Wentworth's golden dreams are directed. After pointing out the allurements which the colony holds forth to the enterprizing artizan, our Alnaschar proceeds as follows:

"The advantages, however, which the colony offers to this class of emigrants, *great* as they undoubtedly are, when considered in an isolated point of view, are absolutely of *no weight* when placed in the balance of comparison against those which it offers to the capitalist, who has the means to embark largely in the breeding of fine wooled sheep. It may be safely asserted that of *all* the *various openings* which the world at this moment affords for the *profitable investment* of money, there is not *one equally inviting* as this *single channel* of *enterprize* offered by the colony." Wentworth, p. 409.

"It would be useless to prosecute this calculation, since any person who may be anxious to ascertain its further results, may easily follow it up himself. It will be seen that with the most liberal allowances for all manner of expences, casualties and deteriorations, capital invested in this channel will yield the first year an interest of 13¼ per cent. besides experiencing itself an increase of nearly 24 per cent.; that the second year it will yield an interest of nearly 25 per cent. besides experiencing itself a further increase of rather more than 37½ per cent.; and that the third year it will yield an interest of nearly 37 per cent. besides experiencing itself an additional increase of about 42¼ per cent. or, in other words, money sunk in the rearing of sheep in this colony will, besides paying an interest of about 75¼ *per cent.* in the *course* of *three years*, *rather more than double itself.* Here then is a mode of investing capital by which the proprietor may insure himself not only an annual interest, the ratio of which would augment every year in the most astonishing progression, but by which the capital itself also would experience an advance still more rapid and extraordinary. Any person, therefore, who has the means of embarking in this speculation, could not fail with common attention to realize a large fortune in a few years. His chance of so doing would be still greater if he should happen to be acquainted with the management of sheep; but this is by no means an *indispensable* qualification; for such is the fineness of the climate, both in the settlements in New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, that all those precautions which are necessary to be observed in this country, in order to shelter this animal from the inclemency of the seasons, are there quite superfluous: sheds, indeed, are not only useless, but injurious; the flocks never do so well as when they are continually ex-

posed to the weather. It is only necessary that the folds should be shifted every other day, or if the sheep are kept by night in yards, to take care that *these* are daily swept out.

"The extent to which capital might thus be invested is boundless; since if the breeder did not possess as much land as would feed the number of sheep that he might wish to keep, he would only have to send his flocks beyond the limits of colonization, and retire with them as the tide of population approached. His hurdles, and the rude huts or tents of his shepherds, might always be removed with very little difficulty and expence; and if his and his neighbours' flocks should happen to come into contact, such is the immensity of the wilderness which would lie before him, that he might exclaim in the language of Abram to Lot: 'Let there be no strife I pray thee between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before us? Separate thyself I pray thee from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.' Such, should any of these disputes occur, might always be their amicable termination." Wentworth, p. 415.

Respecting the state of the convicts very little information is to be derived from Mr. Wentworth. He is a political economist, and disserts upon the necessity of a free trade and a house of assembly in preference to other matters. Besides this, perhaps, a native of New South Wales may entertain a very pardonable reluctance to enter into close details about these his naturalized compatriots. There is little charm to him in the recollection of the *infame asylum*, and he is as happy as my Lord Duberly in forgetting his genealogy.

> Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum
> Aut pastor fuit, aut—— illud quod dicere nolo.

Van Dieman's land, as we learn from others, has for several years been infested by a banditti of runaway convicts, under the name of bush-rangers. Their atrocities called forth the strong arm of martial law in 1817, and several of the ringleaders were hunted down and executed. The register of crimes in the courts at Sydney, as may be expected in a population so largely composed of the sweepings of the English hulks, is most appalling.

"It appears that during the year 1817, out of the ninety-two persons who were tried for various offences, which it will be seen were for the most part of a heinous nature, no fewer than seventy-three were convicted, fifteen capitally, four of whom were executed, the remaining eleven had their sentences commuted into transportation to the Coal River for life; that there were six others or-

ginally sentenced to the same punishment; that there were five transported for fourteen years, ten for seven years, and that the remaining thirty-seven were either transported for terms under seven years, or were punished by solitary confinement." Wentworth, p. 230.

The criminal court, if five members of it concur in the verdict, has the power of inflicting capital punishment with the consent of the governor. Banishment to the Coal River for life, or various periods, is the next severe infliction of law, and much dreaded by the convicts. They work in irons at this depôt during the whole of the day. In the year 1800 two men were condemned to death for robbery: they were taken to the place of execution with their coffins, and the ropes were already adjusted, when the provost marshal most unexpectedly produced their pardons. One of them was sensibly moved; the other bitterly lamented this extension of mercy, observing that he could never hope to be so well prepared for death again.

The convicts selected from the hulks for transportation are males under fifty, and females under forty-five years of age. A contract is made for their passage, but clothing and provisions during the voyage, and for nine months afterwards, are furnished from the Victualling Board. The owner of the vessel provides a surgeon (of whose duties we shall have occasion to say a few words presently), who receives a gratuity of 10*s.* 6*d.* for every convict landed in New South Wales. Such is the present excellent arrangement in point of accommodation, that from 1801 to 1810, out of 2398 embarked, 52 only have died on the passage, being 1 in 46. Between 1795 and 1801, the mortality was most distressing: 385 died out of 3833, being nearly 1 in 10. On their arrival in the colony, the artificers are chiefly reserved for the service of government; and the remainder, with a few exceptions, are distributed among the settlers, as servants and labourers. Those in the service of government are divided into gangs, and work from six in the morning till three in the afternoon; having the rest of the day at their own disposal, and being fed, clothed, and, for the most part, lodged at the public expense. The settlers, in like manner, provide for those assigned to them. At the expiration of his period of punishment, every convict is at liberty to return to England; or, if he chooses to settle, he has a grant of forty acres of land, tools, stock, and eighteen months' provisions. No difficulty exists among the men in working their passage homeward; but, unhappily, the women, even if they have relinquished their former habits, are frequently com-

pelled to resort to prostitution, or to submit to hopeless banishment.

Mr. Thomas Reid having made two voyages to New South Wals, as surgeon to a convict ship, has put together a history of the transactions which occurred during each of them. In the first, while he belonged to a male ship, there is little worthy of remark; unless that nothing can be worse regulated than the internal discipline of the vessel, as far as the master is concerned. He has no power of punishing the sailors, who consequently are daily guilty of gross acts of insubordination: and the soldiers are avowedly independent of him. The seeds of misrule thus early sown, are largely encouraged in growth by an overabundant allowance of spirits; and, on Mr. Reid's representation, we are not a little surprised how any ship escapes a mutiny of the crew, or an insurrection of the convicts.

Mr. Reid's second engagement was with a female transport ship. The majority of the wretched women conveyed in it, had been under the care of Mrs. Fry, in Newgate; and notwithstanding the instructions of the Lady's Committee, and the personal vigilance of Mr. Reid, (who kept watch under arms for forty nights in the prison, to prevent illicit intercourse with the sailors, and ran some risque, in consequence, of a dismemberment similar to that of Orpheus), we cannot discover the strong symptoms of penitence and amendment which, by separating his *facts* from his *reasonings*, this gentleman would persuade us were manifested under his regulation. His object, no doubt, was to do good: but like a great many other benevolent persons he miscalculated his powers, and mistook his course. He believes, however, that he fully succeeded; and he has published at some length the sermons which he delivered on the passage, as guide-posts to all future surgeons. He could not have given a stronger proof of the necessity of a chaplain.

With the natives, for many years after the foundation of the colony, but little intercourse was obtained. They are a savage race, without fixed residence; and subsist chiefly on hunting and fishing. They have neither houses nor clothing, and are entirely unacquainted with agriculture. Their canoes, their implements of war, and of the chace, are of the rudest contrivance and workmanship. Their colour is a dark chocolate, and their features of the negro cast: but their hair, unless in Van Dieman's Land, is not woolly. The disposition manifested by them at first, was very far from being friendly; and even after thirty years' intercourse, Mr. Wentworth observes, they have never been prevailed upon to pro-

the one of the arts of civilized life. A school has been founded by Governor Macquarie, for the education of their children; and we rejoice to state that, by the last accounts, eighteen students had already been placed there voluntarily, by their parents. Mr. Wentworth gives the following extract from the Sydney Gazette of January 4, 1817.

"'On Saturday last, the 28th ult., the town of Parramatta exhibited a novel and very interesting spectacle, by the assembling of the native tribes there, pursuant to the governor's gracious invitation. At ten in the morning the market place was thrown open, and some gentlemen who were appointed on the occasion, took the management of the ceremonials. The natives having seated themselves on the ground in a large circle, the chiefs were placed on chairs a little advanced in front, and to the right of their respective tribes. In the centre of the circle thus formed, were placed large tables groaning under the weight of roast beef, potatoes, bread, &c. and a large cask of grog lent its exhilarating aid to promote the general festivity and good humour which so conspicuously shone through the sable visages of this delighted congress. The governor, attended by all the members of the native institution, and by several of the magistrates and gentlemen in the neighbourhood, proceeded at half past ten to the meeting, and having entered the circle, passed round the whole of them, inquiring after, and making himself acquainted with the several tribes, their respective leaders and residences. His Excellency then assembled the chiefs by themselves, and confirmed them in the ranks of chieftains, to which their own tribes had exalted them, and conferred upon them badges of distinction; whereon were engraved their names as chiefs, and those of their tribes. He afterwards conferred badges of merit on some individuals, in acknowledgment of their steady and loyal conduct in the assistance they rendered the military party, when lately sent out in pursuit of the refractory natives to the west and south of the Nepean river. By the time this ceremony was over, Mrs. Macquarie arrived, and the children belonging to, and under the care of the native institution, fifteen in number, preceded by their teacher, entered the circle, and walked round it; the children appearing very clean, well clothed and happy. The chiefs were then again called together to observe the examination of the children as to their progress in learning and the civilized habits of life. Several of the little ones read; and it was grateful to the bosom of sensibility to trace the degrees of pleasure which the chiefs manifested on this occasion. Some clapped the children on the head; and one in particular turning round towards the governor with extraordinary emotion, exclaimed, 'Governor, that will make a good settler,—that's my Pickaninny!' (meaning his child.) And some of the females were observed to shed tears of sympathetic affection, at seeing the infant and helpless offspring of their deceased friends, so happily sheltered and protected by British benevolence. The examinations being finished, the children returned to the institution.

under the guidance of their venerable tutor; whose assiduity and attention to them, merit every commendation.

"'The feasting then commenced, and the Governor retired amidst the long and reiterated acclamations and shouts of his sable and grateful congress. The number of the visitants, (exclusive of the fifteen children) amounted to one hundred and seventy-nine, viz. one hundred and five men, fifty-three women, and twenty-one children. It is worthy of observation that three of the latter mentioned number of children, (and the son of the memorable Bennl-long, was one of them) were placed in the native institution, immediately after the breaking up of the congress, on Saturday last, making the number of children now in that establishment, altogether eighteen; and we may reasonably trust, that in a few years this benevolent institution will amply reward the hopes and expectations of its liberal patrons and supporters, and answer the grand object intended, by providing a seminary for the helpless offspring of the natives of this country, and opening the path to their future civilization and improvement.'" Wentworth, P. 19.

Nature seems to have delighted in "quaint antics," while producing life in this country. The peculiarities of the kangaroo, the opossum, the flying mouse, and the sloth, are well known. The *ornithoringos paradoxos* is not the only animal which unites in itself the characteristics of many others. We read of parrots with the heads of sea-gulls and the wings and tails of hawks, and skates with the heads of sharks. The emu has two feathers growing out of each quill; and its side bone, which resembles roast beef, is sufficient for the dinner of five hungry hunters. The plumage of the birds in general is most splendid and brilliant, but they are without song. Crows do not talk their customary European croak. Trees are found bearing three different kinds of leaves at once. Pork is obtained from animals something between pigs and turnspits; and there are few quadrupeds which do not possess the useful appendage of a false belly.

We come now to Mr. Oxley's journals. In the direction of the coast of New South Wales, and distant from it about fifty miles, is a vast mountain range, the Blue Mountains, which seemed to present an impenetrable barrier against entrance into the interior. The first attempts to cross them were invariably attended with disappointment: but the partial and increasing success which crowned the efforts of some later adventurers, created a strong hope of the ultimate practicability of a passage, and stimulated the enterprize of individuals. The smiling country which they already enjoyed became stale and wearisome, while they knew that there was something beyond, not yet attained, though perhaps within their power; and, like

the Abyssinian Prince, each was discontented with his *happy valley* till he burst the bars of nature which enclosed it. In the year 1813, Messrs. Wentworth, Lawson, and Blaxland, after suffering many hardships among the defiles, descended a hazardous precipice, which has since received the name of Mount York, and proceeded about ten miles over an open country, broken into steep hills. They returned to Sydney after a month's absence; and their accounts induced Governor Macquarie to prosecute their discoveries still farther. Mr. Evans, the deputy surveyor, having penetrated to the extremity of the first explorers route, proceeded in a westerly direction over a mountainous country (Clarence Hilly Range), and traced the rich and clear banks of a river (the Macquarie), abounding in fish. His journey extended nearly 100 miles, and in the whole course of it, which lasted about six weeks, he saw no more than six natives, two women and four children. A road has since been constructed over these mountains, passable for loaded carriages; and the Governor himself, with his lady and suite, have tracked the whole of Mr. Evans's route; and fixed upon the site of a new town, Bathurst.

In these excursions, a river, to which the name of Lachlan had been given, attracted much notice. As it flowed to the south west, it was hoped that it might empty itself into the sea, somewhere on the coast in that direction; and an expedition of sufficient magnitude, under the command of Mr. Oxley, was directed to explore its course, and note the general features of the country through which it passed. Thirteen persons were engaged in it; among whom were Mr. Evans, whom we have just mentioned, as second in command, two botanists, and a mineralogist.

The Lachlan abounds in fish.

"One man in less than an hour caught eighteen large fish, one of which was a curiosity from its immense size, and the beauty of its colours. In shape and general form it most resembled a cod, but was speckled over with brown, blue, and yellow spots, like a leopard's skin; its gills and belly a clear white, the tail and fins a dark brown. It weighed entire seventy pounds, and without the entrails sixty-six pounds: it is somewhat singular that in none of these fish is any thing found in the stomach, except occasionally a shrimp or two. The dimensions of this fish were as follow:

	Feet.	Inches.
Length from the nose to the tail	3	5
Circumference round the shoulders	2	6
Fin to fin over the back	1	5
Circumference near the anus	1	9
Breadth of the tail	1	1½
Circumference of the mouth opened	1	6
Depth of the swallow	1 foot.	

Most of the other fish taken this evening weighed from fifteen to thirty pounds each, and were of the same kind as the above." Oxley, P. 24.

The country through which they passed rapidly descended, and to the west and north west the river was lost in marshes. Taking a south-westerly direction, the travellers proceeded with great difficulty over a barren country, till they regained the course of the stream, which bent again to the west, and was finally dissipated in vast lagoons and morasses. It was demonstrated, without doubt, that no river deriving its waters from the eastern coast, could fall into the sea between Cape Otway and Spencer's Gulph, and that the country "south of the parallel of 34°, and west of the meridian, 147° 30′ E. was uninhabitable."

Considerable hardships were endured in the course of this descent: on one occasion no water was to be obtained for six-and-thirty hours: on another, hunger compelled them to kill a large native dog, which hunger also made them pronounce to be true, good, natural mutton. Another dog which was killed, but not for the table, occasioned the following singular exhibition of instinctive attachment.

"About a week ago we killed a native dog, and threw his body on a small bush: in returning past the same spot to-day, we found the body removed three or four yards from the bush, and the female in a dying state lying close beside it; she had apparently been there from the day the dog was killed, being so weakened and emaciated as to be unable to move on our approach. It was deemed mercy to despatch her." Oxley, P. 110.

The Lachlan having thus terminated, it was useless to pursue a farther westerly course, and as his supplies were fast failing, Mr. Oxley resolved to return up that part of its banks which he had quitted in his descent. Following these banks, he ascertained that in its several windings, from its source to its discharge in the lagoons—a space which he calculates at not less than 1200 miles—it does not receive a single tributary stream. The country through which it runs is of so singular a nature, that during fifty miles, no stones or pebbles were seen, excepting two; each of which was taken out of the maw of an emu.

Two native burial places were discovered on the return. The first presented a raised mound of earth, under which were some ashes; but there was no decisive proof whether they were from wood or bones. A semicircular trench was dug round one side of the tumulus, "as if for seats for persons in attendance." The second was much more decided in character.

"Almost directly under the hill near our halting-place, we saw a tumulus, which was apparently of recent construction (within a year at most). It would seem that some person of consideration among the natives had been buried in it, from the exterior marks of a form which had certainly been observed in the construction of the tomb and surrounding seats. The form of the whole was semicircular. Three rows of seats occupied one half, the grave and an outer row of seats the other; the seats formed segments of circles of fifty, forty-five, and forty feet each, and were formed by the soil being trenched up from between them. The centre part of the grave was about five feet high, and about nine long, forming an oblong pointed cone." Oxley, p. 138.

"On removing the soil from one end of the tumulus, and about two feet beneath the solid surface of the ground, we came to three or four layers of wood, lying across the grave, serving as an arch to bear the weight of the earthy cone or tomb above. On removing one end of those layers, sheet after sheet of dry bark was taken out, then dry grass and leaves in a perfect state of preservation, the wet or damp having apparently never penetrated even to the first covering of wood. We were obliged to suspend our operation for the night, as the corpse became extremely offensive to the smell, resolving to remove on the morrow all the earth from the top of the grave, and expose it for some time to the external air before we searched farther.

"July 30.—Employed in preparing dead cypress-trees for the timber of the raft. The rain continued throughout the day without intermission, and prevented us from making much progress with it. This morning we removed all the earth from the tomb and grave, and found the body deposited about four feet deep in an oval grave, four feet long, and from eighteen inches to two feet wide. The feet were bent quite up to the head, the arms having been placed between the thighs. The face was downwards, the body being placed east and west, the head to the east.

"It had been very carefully wrapped in a great number of opossum skins, the head bound round with the net usually worn by the natives, and also the girdle; it appeared after being enclosed in those skins, to have been placed in a larger net, and then deposited in the manner before mentioned. The bones and head showed that they were the remains of a powerful tall man. The hair on the head was perfect, being long and black; the under part of the body was not totally decayed, giving us reason to think that he could not have been interred above six or eight months. Judging from his hair and teeth, he might have been between thirty and forty years of age; to the west and north of the grave were two cypress trees, distant between fifty and sixty feet; the sides towards the tomb were barked, and curious characters deeply cut upon them, in a manner which, considering the tools they possess, must have been a work of great labour and time." Oxley, p. 39.

It was plain that the Macquarie river had never joined the Lachlan: and Mr. Oxley directed his return to the north in hopes of falling in with the first of these streams. The face of the country which he now entered was luxuriant; and he at last came upon the banks of the expected waters, now flowing in a northerly direction (lat. 32° 32′ 45′ S. long. 148° 52′ E.) as a river of the first magnitude. Numberless streams as he advanced upwards towards home fell into it, and low grassy hills and fine vallies, were in the neighbourhood of its banks.

The travellers returned to Bathurst, after four months' absence, without a single casualty. The magnitude of the river Macquarie, determined the Governor to fit out a second expedition, under the same direction, to determine its course. Contrary to expectation, this river also was found gradually to decrease in depth and to disperse itself, though still running with equal rapidity as when confined within its banks, in a shoal of midland waters, which as far as the eye could reach were boundless. The edge of these waters on the south-west side of the river could not be gained, owing to a morass; and an attempt on the north-east was equally frustrated by the impassable nature of the country. Mr. Oxley accordingly determined to gain the coast by a route directly east. He passed many streams flowing northward, and a range of lofty mountains; from which he followed the course of a considerable river issuing on the eastern coast, in long. 31° 25′ 45′. The inlet at which it emptied itself was named Port Macquarie; and the river The Hastings.

The route to Sydney along the coast presented most trying difficulties; and the travellers were, probably, indebted for their preservation to the discovery of a small, crazy boat, the remains of an European wreck; which was fitted up so as to be sea-worthy, and carried on the shoulders of the party for a distance of more than 90 miles.

The few natives encountered, were distinguished for the most part by their treachery and ferocity. On the banks of a lake—

"One of the men, William Blake, had entered the brushes about a hundred yards from the rest of the people on the north side, with the design of cutting a cabbage palm: he had cut one about half through, when he received a spear through his back, the point of it sticking against his breast bone. On turning his head round to see from whence he was attacked, he received another, which passed several inches through the lower part of his body: he let fall the axe with which he was cutting, and which was instantly seized by

a native, the only one he saw; and it was probably the temptation of the axe that was the principal incitement to the attack." Oxley, p. 342.

And again, notwithstanding an appearance of previous friendly intercourse, on another occasion—

"Dr. Harris and Mr. Evans had gone to bathe near the point, and within one hundred and fifty yards of the tent. Mr. Evans had already bathed and had began to dress himself, when four natives, whom we recognised as being among those whom we had treated so kindly yesterday, made their appearance with their spears in their hands, in the attitude of throwing them from the cliffs above. There was scarcely time to parley with them, when a spear was thrown at Mr. Evans, Dr. Harris having leaped down the rock into the sea, and escaped to the tent under its shelter. The spear fortunately missed Mr. Evans, and he likewise escaped with the loss of his clothes, by following the doctor's example. On the alarm being given they were pursued, but they had disappeared among the brush on the hill. This instance of their treachery redoubled our circumspection, and our situation here being favourable for their attacks, I determined to pass over the brow of the hill with the horses—a road which, from its extreme steepness, I had been willing to avoid by waiting for the tide; and orders were given to collect the horses and proceed on our route. Whilst this was doing, and I was sitting in the tent with Dr. Harris and Mr. Evans, writing this Journal, a shower of spears from the height above was thrown at the tent, one of which passed directly over my shoulder, and entered the ground at my feet: the others lodged around the tent, and among the people who were getting ready the baggage, but providentially without doing any harm." P. 348.

Much is yet to be done for this extraordinary, and, in many respects, highly promising country. Hitherto our discoveries lead to a belief that the belt of coast only is habitable, and that the Mediterranean district is a vast crater of waters. The northern coast, and still more that to the west, are so indistinctly known that it would be hazardous to decide upon their natures. But we trust that the spirit of enterprize, which Mr. Oxley's volume sufficiently manifests to be awakened, is not likely to be allowed to slumber, and that every future year will increase our stock of information from this most interesting colony*.

* By the last advices from New Holland, the entire number of inhabitants in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land amounted, in March 1821, to 34,686. Of original freemen, out of these, there are not above 3000; and the convicts, and ex-convicts, who complete the number (exclusive of the civil and military establishments), are divided in nearly equal proportions. Up to the close of 1819, the proportion of voluntary settlers to convicts was less than 1 to 10. Between

ART. VI. *Sermons and Charges by the Right Rev. John Hough, D.D. President of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, in the Reign of James II., and successively Bishop of Oxford, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester. With an Appendix. To which is prefixed, a Memoir of his Life. By William Russell, B. D. Fellow of Magdalen College.* 8vo. pp. 346. Rivingtons.

THE author of the volume now before us, has been hitherto chiefly known by his public conduct on one memorable occasion. With that single exception, his life seems to have been as private as the due discharge of his official duties will permit: and history, though it has not failed to record with merited commendation the firm and spirited resistance made to arbitrary power by the President of Magdalen College, has found nothing further to relate of him, but that he was deservedly raised to the episcopal dignity; and that, during a life protracted far beyond the common age of man; he filled his exalted station without reproach, and conciliated the esteem and reverence of all who lived within the influence of his authority and his virtues.

His character perhaps was never better drawn than by the electors of his College; who when they chose him to be their president, described him in their Registers, as "a gentleman of liberality and firmness; who by the simplicity and purity of his moral character, by the mildness of his disposition, and the happy temperament of his virtues, and many good qualities, had given every one reason to expect that he would be a distinguished ornament to the college and the whole university." His subsequent conduct proved, that his college associates were not mistaken in their opinion. In the critical situation in which they were placed by the tyrannical interference of their sovereign, they found him possessed of that happy mixture of vigour and discretion which enabled him to stand up in defence of his own rights and theirs, without giving their offended and vindictive monarch any just plea to urge against them.

The whole deportment, indeed, of Dr. Hough, throughout

"November 1819 and March 1821, the proportion of these claims which arrived was as 2 to 3. 640,000 acres of land have been granted to settlers. The number of horses was 3,500; horned cattle, 42,000; sheep, 480,000. In Hobart's Town, about 65,000 acres were in occupation; there were 250 houses, 12,000 horned cattle, 197,000 sheep. At Port Dalrymple, 25,000 acres, 95 horses, 5,400 horned cattle, 44,300 sheep.

this important contest, was worthy of the approbation with which it has been regarded.

"It was not," says the editor of this posthumous volume, "a factious spirit, or a lawless desire of insubordination, which gave birth to his opposition to the King's pleasure. His whole language and demeanour were that of a man well trained in the best principles of allegiance to his sovereign, submission to the laws, and a dutiful regard to the constituted authorities. Yet he spoke and acted as a freeman of England, whose rights are established by law, and are secured against any encroachments upon private property, by barriers which no power on earth may break down with impunity."

When, in happier times, Dr. Hough was advanced to higher stations in the church, his liberality was actively and continually displayed. He expended considerable sums of money in restoring the palace at Ecclesball, while he held the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry; and when he was removed to the see of Worcester, he greatly improved the domains at Hastlebury, and rebuilt the larger portion of the palace at Worcester. These benefactions justly entitle him to the thanks of his successors: and his liberal contributions to public and private charities prove, that he was not less ready to relieve the wants of others, than to provide for the comforts and conveniences of those who were to follow him in his preferments. The following anecdote which has been preserved by Dr. Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, is a pleasing instance of the simplicity as well as munificence of the good Bishop's character. When he was applied to by the managers of one of the county institutions for pecuniary aid, he proposed to give 500*l.*; the steward made some hesitation about the means of procuring so large a sum, which the Bishop charitably construed into a doubt of its not being enough, and immediately doubled it. It is for his moral excellencies and genuine piety, and for the constellation of virtues that raised him above other men, that Bishop Hough, in the opinion of his biographer, claims our admiration. These however, he adds—

"Brilliant as they are, they do not throw into the shade his eminent intellectual qualities, or the ornaments of his well cultivated mind. He possessed not perhaps the powerful talent and energy which have characterised many more recent supporters of of our church, amongst its spiritual governors; but his faculties were of the highest order, and his extant compositions lead us to regret that his modest and unpresuming disposition allowed him to

acquiesce in that limited exertion of them, which was necessary only for the quiet path of his profession." P. xlii.

The volume before us does not perhaps entirely justify this panegyric upon the literary ability of the good prelate, but it affords abundant proof that he was a sensible, clear-headed man, and his style is in perfect harmony with the unassuming simplicity of his character. He addresses himself at once to the understanding of his hearers; he brings his subject plainly before them, and seems desirous of nothing more than that they should perceive his meaning. He never travels out of his road to seek for ornament, and his thoughts are seldom clothed in the language of metaphor; yet there is nothing dry or tedious in his mode of composition, nor is it deficient in that modest dignity which peculiarly becomes the Christian prelate. Those who wish to be admitted to a more intimate acquaintance with the mind and feelings of Bishop Hough than his biographers can afford them, will not, we think, be disappointed by the contents of the present volume; they will be interested in the insight which it furnishes into the author's views of professional duty, and his sentiments on the one great topic of controversy, which then called forth the talents of the clergy; and they will close it with a conviction, that he has been rightly described as a virtuous and amiable man; and that it bears many traces of that firmness of purpose and decision of character which, in the most trying period of his life, displayed itself with so much credit to himself, and eventual advantage to his country. But if any conceive that, in this work, they will obtain a valuable addition to their theological library, we fear that the contents of the volume will scarcely satisfy their expectations. It is not enriched by critical illustrations of the Sacred Text, or by a careful discussion of important and controverted doctrines. It is, in truth, rather singularly deficient in all such respects. In the four Charges, if we except some spirited remarks on the genius of popery and the conduct of its adherents; there is scarcely an allusion to any peculiar feature of the times, or to circumstances which may have interested the feelings or affected the situation and welfare of the clergy. And, if we obtain from this part of the volume little information respecting the temporal state of the church; we find still less in the sermons to illustrate the views taken by the clergy of that period of her doctrines. They are sound, practical exhortations to holiness of life and Christian charity, but they are no more. Their merit is this, that they teach sobriety, righteousness, and godliness, in a clear, simple, and affectionate manner: but if sin-

not be denied that this teaching would, at least in the present day, have been considered as more efficacious, had the great leading doctrines of the Gospel been more frequently referred to as the only true motives to Christian obedience.

We have not now for the first time to state our opinions on this subject. We are no advocates for that eternal harping on some few strings of controversy which forms the characteristic feature of one school of modern divinity: nor shall we hesitate to admit, that a discourse may be both good and reasonable which studiously avoids every mere doctrinal discussion. But we maintain, that a vein of Christian faith and feeling should run clearly and brightly through every moral exhortation delivered from the pulpit, and mark it out distinctly as the pastoral advice of a shepherd of the flock of Christ. The preacher, in his anxiety to inculcate temperance and righteousness, should not forget that it is the grace of God in the Gospel which has appeared effectually to teach us these and all other virtues. He is put in charge with that Gospel, and as a preacher of the righteousness it inculcates, he is to keep the Gospel before him, and to refer his readers to its pages and its revelations, not only for the duties they are to discharge, but for the principles also on which they are to perform them. We confess that we lack something of this in the volume before us. There is certainly nothing in it which would for a moment lead us to imagine, that the Bishop designedly avoided any doctrine; or that, had he thought himself called upon so to do, he would have felt the least difficulty in delivering an orthodox opinion on any one of the articles of our church. But the volume would have been more interesting, and its publication in the present day far more useful, had its references to such topics been more frequent and more determinate; and it had afforded us the same opportunities of judging of the Bishop's abilities as a doctrinal expositor, which it now gives of estimating his powers of stating plainly, and recommending forcibly the leading points of Christian duty.

But, though the contents of this volume may not perhaps be calculated greatly to add to the theological treasures of the Church of England, at least there is nothing in them which can detract from the respect with which the memory of the venerable author will ever be regarded. And the particular object of the publication, as stated by the Editor, is of itself sufficient to silence our objections, even if we were more disposed than we really are, to question its expediency upon general grounds. It is intended to assist the family of a near relative of the prelate.

To such a design we cannot but wish the most complete success. And if that desire which the inquisitive mind will naturally feel to examine any production of such a man as Bishop Hough, be not sufficient to procure a ready sale for the volume; the zealous members of our protestant establishments are too feelingly alive to the claims of the deceased author on their gratitude, not readily to avail themselves of so easy a method of discharging some portion of the debt which his liberality to the church, and his disinterested devotion to her welfare has accumulated upon them. The Editor anticipates a more serious objection to the appearance of this volume, than any which fastidious criticism might suggest from a review of its contents. It has been asserted in the life of the Bishop, by Mr. Wilmot, and repeated in the valuable biographical dictionary of Mr. Chalmers, that he left a strict charge that no sermons should be published from his manuscripts after his death. If the fact were really so, it might perhaps be made a question, whether even the circumstance above-mentioned could justify an infringement of so solemn an injunction. We are, however assured by the Editor, that no mention of any such desire is made in his will; where it is certainly most probable that a positive charge would have been inserted, had his antipathy to the appearance of his writings in print been as great as has been represented. And, though it is admitted that he was reluctant to appear before the world as a public writer, still, if no positive restraint was laid by him upon those into whose hands his manuscripts were to fall, the peculiar circumstances which have urged the publication of this volume, will be allowed by candid minds fully to justify its appearance: and, we think, that the Editor may be assured, that, if nothing has been done by the remaining relatives of the Bishop contrary to the will of their ancestor, his memory certainly will not be injured by this record of his ministerial and episcopal labours. It should however be remembered, that the good Bishop was not himself solicitous of literary fame; and that the sermons and charges which this volume contains, were not composed with a view to publication, or revised with that care which in such a case he would probably have bestowed upon them. Thus considered, though they may not perhaps be valued as the efforts of extraordinary genius, or consummate learning; they will, we think, be admired as the effusions of an honest and good heart: and the unaffected ease and simplicity which are the characteristics of the Bishop's style, will recommend his exhortations and his precepts to all of congenial dispositions.

In the specimens which we shall now proceed to select of

the Bishop's language and reasoning, we shall be chiefly actuated by a desire of representing his views of that great question which was then so fiercely agitated, and in the consequences of which he was himself so deeply involved. But we shall also lay before our readers a passage or two from his practical sermons, which will shew how he treated those more common and less exciting topics, which will, of necessity, form the groundwork of a very considerable portion of the literary labours of every skilful teacher of Christian ethics. On the subject of Popery, the Bishop, as might be expected, speaks at some length, and with considerable animation in his charges; and the sentiments of such a man respecting the danger to be apprehended from the influence of the Romish Church, the arts it employs, and the designs it entertains, are deserving of the most serious consideration at the present critical period. He writes as one who had experienced the evils he describes, and the oppressive domination which he warns his countrymen carefully and steadily to resist.

"Quæque ipse miserima vidi
"Et quorum pars magna fui."

And if on the one side it may, as it doubtless will be urged, that the bishop could not but partake in some degree of the general excitement of the times; and that, on such a subject, he could scarcely be expected to write with perfect coolness or impartiality; on the other it may be replied, that the excitement was not occasioned by mere apprehension, but by positive suffering. It was not the effect of fears and passions, stimulated to madness, by a pretended plot; but the consequence of a struggle for all that can render the life of an Englishman dear to him, the security of his property, his personal freedom, and the integrity of his religion. All these were more than threatened: they had been invaded, violated, and curtailed; and the establishment of Popery, upon the ruins of the Protestant Church of England, was the sole object of the attack. When these things are considered, the language in which the Bishop speaks of the advocates of a Church which could sanction such measures to recover its temporal supremacy, can scarcely be deemed stronger than the circumstances of the times demanded. And if it should be argued, that the danger has passed away; that times have changed; that the opinions of the Roman Catholics have altered; and that Protestants may now well lay aside that jealousy which those opinions justified; the answer is this: *Semper eadem* is the Roman Catholic motto. The opinions and views of that Church have suffered no mutation; nor are they capable of change.

modification, if she may be believed when she states this matter for herself. She is still, in her own judgment, the mother and mistress of all churches. All who are not within her pale are still regarded as rebels and heretics. She cannot, consistently with her principles, permit them to continue in heresy, if she has the power to force them even to an outward conversion; she will not forgive their rebellion, on any other terms than those which conquerors are wont to impose. Even the obvious necessity of temporizing with those whom she has not yet been able to subdue, and of gaining partizans among the unwary by the semblance of moderation, can scarcely induce her to assume the language of moderation, and the scorn with which she has rejected every plan of concession which has yet been proposed, because it was clogged with securities which the warmest of her Protestant advocates have hitherto considered indispensable, gives us but too much reason to believe, that nothing short of an unconditional surrender of our Protestant establishment will ever satisfy her ambition; and that *Væ victis* will be the first exclamation of her triumphant votaries. If we would know what emancipated Catholicism will become, we must enquire of our ancestors what have been the tyranny and ambition of Rome in the days of her strength, or of her revivals.

"Here we see," says the Bishop, "force, and subtilty, and artifice, indefatigable industry, and restless malice, firmly combined under a despotic power, and all set upon the ruin and extirpation of our religion. The Church of England is above all others the mark of her hatred; her enmity to it is fixed and unchangeable, and she sticks at no means to accomplish its subversion. No disappointments can make her pause; neither shame nor remorse can touch her; but after a thousand baffled plots, she goes on to frame more; and after the most signal repulses, renews again the attacks. She knows that our Church is the bulwark of the Reformation: that England makes the most resolute opposition to spiritual and temporal tyranny, and that it is here oppressed truth and liberty seek refuge; and therefore she storms and undermines, and by all imaginable methods assaults this fortress, in confidence that having once gained or destroyed it, the remaining part of her work would be easy. The Northern heresy would fall of course. Such an enemy as this is indeed very dreadful; we cannot reflect upon her power and her rage, but it strikes us with amazement to think that we subsist. It is wonderful that at some time or other she has not swallowed us up quick, since her wrathful displeasure against us is without bounds or intermission: and she would certainly long since have done it, if the Lord himself had not been on our side: but his arm has appeared mighty in our deliverance, his eye has been ever watchful over us; he has never forsaken us, and in him we trust that he will still deliver us. Yet he looks that

we should likewise take care of ourselves; and as he has never failed miraculously to interpose, where our own natural powers have been insufficient for our defence, so he expects we should use those powers as far as they will go, nor allows us to rely upon his interposition but in concurrence with our own sincere, however feeble, endeavours. But we must not only look upon Popery as the most powerful, but also as the most deceitful and treacherous enemy to our constitution. Wherever it is attacked, we must expect to find her there: she can disguise herself in any shape, preach any doctrine that may do us hurt, and mix herself with dissenters of all denominations, to help forward their childish disgusts, their ignorance, and their madness, with her more refined subtilty and malice." P. 16.

In his second charge, discussing the solemn obligation which lies upon the Church of Christ, as the pillar and ground of the truth, to maintain the faith of the Gospel inviolate; he is induced to recall to the recollection of his hearers the sacred engagement into which they entered at their ordination, to "be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word." And this leads him to contrast the spirit and character of the two churches, as exemplified in the manner in which this duty is enforced by them on their respective clergy.

"Observe, my brethren, the benign temper of our truly Christian Church; she commands to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, and it were impious not to obey her; but as for the erring persons, she does not immediately discard them, and renounce her relation to them; we are not presently to fall on them, and treat them as enemies, but as mistaken weak brethren; she gives them leisure to recollect their follies and false reasonings; they may in the spirit of meekness be brought to a right mind, may repent, may reform themselves, nay, may be happy instruments of converting others, and bringing them into the way of truth. Cutting off an unsound member to secure the body is the last remedy, when all attempts to heal it are ineffectual, and is never to be practised but with reluctancy. This is the tender disposition of our mother, the Church of England, who is always pleased to reclaim, and never hasty to cast off, her offending children; but in the Church of Rome another spirit reigns. Slow measures are not calculated for the doctrine of implicit obedience; she disdains to argue, and is impatient of opposition or contradiction: and accordingly in that oath which she imposes upon a bishop at his ordination, we have no mention of disputing with, or labouring to convince, gainsayers; but he roundly undertakes the most compendious way to persecute heretics, schismatics, and all that oppose the papal authority, to the utmost of his power. The

express words in the oath are, hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles Domino nostro papæ vel successoribus ejus, pro posse persequar, et impugnabo. But we, blessed be God, have not so learned Christ." P. 29.

Such was Popery in the days of its power; and such were the terms in which our ancestors, who had felt that power, warned us, their posterity, against submitting again to the yoke of bondage which they had shaken off. Little did they suppose, that Englishmen would ever cease to regard with fearful interest the conflict which they had sustained, and to receive their admonitions as a salutary caution. Little did they conceive, that the eloquence of Protestants would be employed to advocate the cause of Popish influence; or that it would become the ceaseless object of a Protestant party, the professed advocates of religious liberty, to build up again the power of a persecuting Church. Let it be remembered, and the moment at which we write more than ever forces the recollection upon us, that in that long and arduous parliamentary conflict which happily terminated in the establishment of our liberty and religion, the great question of finally excluding the family of the bigoted James from the throne which he had pusillanimously abandoned, was at last carried in the House of Lords *by a majority of two only*. We speak as unto wise men; and may the cause be judged and decided in the same spirit of zealous affection for the Church of England, in which we now record this striking fact as a seasonable warning.

The following passage will shew how Bishop Hough was in the habit of treating a common subject of moral exhortation. It has been taken without much attention to the selection; for, from a style so equable as his, few extracts can be made of peculiar force or vigour.

"This life and the next divide all our cares, and the great difficulty lies in doing justice betwixt them; for this is present, always importunes us, has our senses for its constant solicitors, and the only danger of partiality is on this head; whereas the other is remote, addresses only to our reason and faith, is very frequently unregarded, and many times not understood; and yet, under all these disadvantages, it is in this life that the other is to be provided for. Possession and fruition will come hereafter, but the right and title must now be secured: we must have our conversation in heaven whilst we live upon earth; and if ever we hope to arrive there, we must begin by withdrawing our affections from the world. Now if we consider how great this work of salvation is, and with how much difficulty it is performed, what a constant watch must be kept over the appetites, and what frequent conflicts

must be had with temptations, how frail human nature is, and how perverse the will, and how little, many times, our best endeavours avail in supplying their defects, we must be forced to confess, that all our cares are too little in this service, and such as are turned another way are misemployed. Nay, it were well if they were only misemployed, and that were the worst that could be said of them, for then we should not lose ground in our main design, but only move on more slowly; but the impotent condition of this life is such, that the more it has of our cares, the more it stands in need of them; we make provision for the flesh—and what is the consequence? we apply it to fulfil the lusts thereof: the desires are enlarged by our endeavours to supply them, and our appetites grow unruly by being fed. Those things we long for afford not the satisfaction they promised; they are divested of all the advantages fancy gave them before enjoyment, yet they serve to make us more inquisitive and impatient; they first give the mind a false relish of pleasure, and then engage it in a fruitless pursuit, whereby it becomes restless and uneasy, and every day less able to disentangle itself, till at last tired out, and rather amused than pleased, it lazily gives itself up to the conduct of sense, is left destitute of God's grace, and irrevocably lost to all eternity.

"This is the deplorable condition of a soul that does not attend to its true interest; it is first cheated and cajoled into slavery, and then stupidly acquiesces under it. And here I might offer a great many reasons to induce us to direct our cares aright, to settle our affections on things above and not on things below, drawn from the vast disparity that is betwixt them; from the shortness of this life, the uncertainty and insufficiency of every thing it affords, and particularly from that grating consideration, against which no human wisdom or foresight can provide, that in spite of our teeth we are carried down with the stream of affairs, and oftentimes smart more severely for other men's faults and follies than our own; this is a sore evil, and enough to make a wise man sick of this world, though he had not the Christian's expectation of a better. On the other side, when the future life opens upon him, he immediately sees doubts and fears dispelled: even hope, the last and surest support of our drooping spirits here, has there no place; a full fruition shall swallow up his faculties, and all that he enjoys he shall for ever possess; there he meets with all the ingredients of perfect happiness, and finds every one of them within his reach: for the face of God always shines upon him, 'in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.'" P. 187.

The character drawn by the Bishop of the unhappy and virtuous Charles I., will, doubtless, be read with interest by all who are aware how much the personal conduct and disposition of the persecuted monarch has been made the subject of misrepresentation by his enemies; and how materially

both his failings and his virtues were permitted by Providence to become instrumental in working his own ruin, and the temporary downfall of the Church and Monarchy.

"We are now assembled to humble ourselves before God, for the guilt this nation contracted in the murder of a religious and virtuous prince, who carried as many noble qualities with him to the throne, and some as unusual, as ever shone from so high a sphere. His younger years had been cultivated with care, and his riper improved by variety of experience: his judgment was sound, his apprehension quick, his resolution firm, his intention sincere; and to these was added a zeal for religion and an unspotted life, which shewed the power of it in his heart, and set him above the false reasonings and temptations of a court. His very faults, for this imperfect state of life allows no mortal to be exempted from them, had a near affinity to virtues, and were particularly such as great and good men are most obnoxious to: for, excepting some virulent, malicious spirits, who set themselves professedly to blacken his memory, without regard to truth or common decency, the generality even of those who blamed his conduct have thought it sufficient to complain, that he indulged the Queen in too much confidence, which was almost an unavoidable effect of love, and that he had a certain easiness, and inclination towards those he thought well of, which made him give up himself to their counsels, many times in contradiction to his own superior judgment: but that upon other occasions he discovered a stiffness of temper, that made even his favours want much of that grace, which a ready condescension would have given them, and made him difficultly depart from an error that he had at any time the misfortune to close with. Yet the two former of these are the result of good-nature; and the other to some degree is woven into the very texture of a great mind. Now when such a prince takes up the sceptre, we are ready with confidence to promise ourselves, that under his shadow we shall live: live easily, plentifully, honourably, and securely; retaining ever a warm and lively sense of those inestimable blessings derived upon us from his prudent administration, and always ready to make such returns of duty as may lighten his cares, and induce him not to repent his labours. But how were all these promising hopes blasted, and how useless were these virtues and endowments rendered, in a kingdom divided against itself! Here was the cloud that appeared in the very dawn of this reign, which too plainly presaged the violent storms and tempests that succeeded: for though I do not intend to enter into this tragical history, which is abundantly known, and still sits close upon the hearts of good men, who are concerned for the welfare of these nations, yet I can not but observe, that from the first moment of his reign there seems not to have been a sufficient confidence betwixt this excellent prince and his people. They frequently presented him with dutiful addresses, and the humblest assurance of fidelity and

affection to his person and government; but these were accompanied with a petition of right; and for that they begged a legal security. His Majesty, on the other hand, was not wanting in grace and condescension: he told them they should find him indulgent to their desires, and that he would inviolably preserve their rights, but thought it became them to trust to his word, that he might have it in his power to demonstrate to them they were as secure in that as in a law. How small in appearance was this disagreement! The Commons declared this petition to be the sum of all they would ask; the King freely assured them they should have the full effect of it, but thought his honour touched if it passed into a law. Yet from hence the difference widened betwixt them, which, with the misunderstandings among the people themselves, did at last bring on the fatal ruin of both." P. 198.

The sixth sermon contains some remarks on posthumous charities which appear to us to be sensible and just; and they come with peculiar force and propriety from their venerable author, whose practice was so remarkable an illustration of his sincerity.

"If what is superfluous above a man's reasonable occasions cannot in truth be spent upon himself, he is destitute of common prudence, as well as wanting in his duty, if he does not seriously consider how it may be applied to the best use; something must be done with it, and he must be accountable for it. Perhaps he will acknowledge this, and say it does not want a place in his thoughts; that he designs something considerable, such as may be a lasting benefit to posterity, but is not fixed in his resolution as to the manner of applying it; that will require much and serious consideration, but his breast is labouring for the public good, and the world will see and feel it when he dies. It is pity he cannot come to a resolution sooner, and be advised rather to help those that are in need at present, rather than contrive for the ease and convenience of such as are yet unborn; for men may have many motives to these projects that will never suffer them to come into the account of their charities. But let him take his own way, and let his intention be pious and sincere; for it becomes us to make allowances as far as we can, rather than discourage a generous or a charitable work. But is he sure it will answer his end when the execution falls into other hands? Have we never heard of embezzlements and misapplication in such cases? I wish we had not. But be it likewise admitted, that what he designs will be faithfully executed. There is yet another question that more nearly concerns him: is he sure that God will accept it at his hands, and own himself at the great day to have been fed and clothed and succoured by him? Can he be said to give what was not his own? or can that be called his own where his property in it was at an end? His riches must have fallen into other hands, though he had made no disposition of them; he could not carry them to the grav-

the sum total of his charity amounts but to this, let the poor take them, since I am taken from them. Could he have been prevailed upon to dispose of them in his lifetime, it would have been his own proper act and deed; his own eyes might have seen the well-ordering and good effect of it, and his heart might have been warmed with that lively comfort, which results more sensibly from this than from the practice of any other Christian duty: especially if he had turned his cares towards the necessities of his poor neighbours, and helped to lengthen their present miseries: he could not then have seen the lighter countenance of one, whom he had seasonably succoured, clear up, without feeling his own soul refreshed; and when he had considered that a whole family often shared in, and was supported by, that single bounty, how much must his satisfaction have been enlarged: he could not have delivered a prisoner from restraint, and not found himself more at ease: he could not have contributed towards the education and instruction of poor children, without the pleasure of reflecting, that he took the likeliest course to give so many useful members to his Church and to his country; in short, he could not have done any sort of good office to those about him, that would not have been repaid with interest in the complacency of his own mind. These unspeakable pleasures he has lost, by setting his charity far off, to commence when he himself shall be no more; and if he meets with the reward of it hereafter, (as it becomes us to hope he may,) yet it must be allowed he has not taken the most effectual method to secure it." P. 239.

The case of the young man mentioned in the nineteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, is placed by the Bishop, in a point of view, in some respects new to us. He proposes him as an example of the danger of spiritual vanity; and considers the severity of the trial to which he was subjected by our Saviour, as intended to check his presumption.

"We have here a person that presents himself to Christ with a petition, that he would direct him in the ways of eternal life: and of all the disciples that ever approached him upon that account, none seem to have made greater progress beforehand, or to have been better prepared to obey the most difficult instructions: for our Lord bids him keep the commandments, and he answers readily, he had done it from his youth; they are enumerated to him in particular, and without exception he answers to all. Who can consider his circumstances, and not wonder at his reply? St. Mark observes, that thereupon Jesus looked upon him, (as it were with admiration,) and loved him: and indeed one cannot easily conceive where he should meet with a proper object of his love; he had applied himself early to the study and practice of religion, being then young. St. Luke, says he, was a ruler, and all observe that he was very rich; so he had youth and plenty, quality and authority, every thing that might give strength to the temptations of the

world; and they constantly lay within his reach; yet in spite of them he preserves his innocency in the most untractable, inconsiderate part of life, discharges his duty faithfully towards God and his neighbour, and desires still to go on to greater degrees of perfection. But here he was ignorant of his own strength, and was not aware that it would fail him. He had hitherto enjoyed the ease and conveniences of life in an unblameable manner, and little thought he should be ordered to dismiss them all at once. He knew the daily miseries to which poverty is exposed; he had experience of the many advantages he derived from the benefit of his estate; he could not apprehend but it might be lawful for him to keep and use it within the rules of sobriety and temperance; and therefore, being shocked with the unexpected command, and not sufficiently disposed to yield obedience to it, he went away sorrowful.

"What pity was it that he went! Methinks he deserves, notwithstanding, that we should judge as favourably of him as the history will allow, for his case is very singular. He was arrived to a pitch of piety and virtue far above the common standard; in the midst of all his affluence, his thoughts were employed in the pursuit of another life; and when he asked our Saviour's instructions towards the attainment of it, could he but have rested at the first question, that gracious Master, who knew his heart, had given him an answer accordingly, and spared him the difficult and unequal trial; but when he proceeded to ask, What lack I yet? he discovered a spiritual vanity, which Christ thought fit to correct. It looked as if he had a mind to distinguish himself, and pretended to outdo the common measures of duty; and then it was fit to shew him his weak side, and check his presumption with that advice which he could not digest; 'If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast, and give to the poor.' He was not wanting either in the disposition or exercise of charity, if his reply to Christ was sincere, but entirely to divest himself of all that he had, to supply the necessities of others, was a degree to which his faith was not strong enough to carry him. Yet even here he preserved his good disposition: he does not argue against the difficulty of the thing, he does not offer to dispute how far it was reasonable, but not being able to bring himself to a ready compliance, he goes away, but goes sorrowful; troubled that he should stick at any thing, and inclined, we may hope, rather to deliberate upon, than obstinately to refuse, his obedience: he had great possessions, and they had gained a greater place in his heart than he imagined.

"I presume it will not be thought I have said too much to extenuate the crime of this young man's reluctancy, when we remember that his case has still a melancholy side. We do not know what his determination was at last; we hear no more of him amongst our Saviour's disciples; and his going away gave occasion to that remark upon the extreme difficulties they labour under, who, being possessed of riches and the advantages of this world, endeavour to

enter upon the Christian life, and entitle themselves to future happiness." P. 245.

The Appendix contains a scheme of the Arminian, Calvinistic, and intermediate doctrines respecting God's decrees and human salvation, with remarks upon each of the systems as they are detailed. The Editor tells us in his preface, that the tract is generally attributed to Bishop Hough; but he does not state the ground on which he has come to the conclusion, that the Bishop was really the author of it; and there seems to us reason, from some parts of it to suppose, that it may have been the work of an earlier writer. The author speaks of Bishop Montague, the well known author of the "Appello Cæsarem," as *Mr.* Montague; but he was raised to the see of Chichester in 1638, and died Bishop of Norwich in 1641, ten years before Bishop Hough was born. It does not therefore seem very probable, that he would mention him except under his episcopal title. The author also alludes to Bishop Hall, in terms which would scarcely have been used by a writer when referring to one who had been dead probably for thirty years, and to a tract written by him some years before his death. "Scripsit," says he, "*non ita pridem* cum in superis esset reverendus quidam Præsul nostræ Ecclesiæ."

The question is not of importance, nor will the tract itself obtain much attention at a time like the present, when the Calvinistic controversy has been so carefully and ably examined, and so much light has been thrown on this abstruse subject by the labours of Mr. Young and Dr. Copleston.

We have endeavoured to state, as fairly as we can, our opinion of the volume before us. It never can be regarded without interest, while the name of Bishop Hough adorns the pages of our history; and we hope that its sale will be such as fully to answer the benevolent purpose for which it has been offered to the public.

ART. VII. *The System of the Weather of the British Islands. By George Mackenzie, Lieutenant in the Royal Perthshire Regiment of Militia, late Tacksman of Cyderhall, &c. County of Sutherland.* 8vo. 8s. pp. 220. Longman and Co. 1821.

THERE is a rule given by *Marsianus*, which *mutatis mutandis*, every man who wears a great coat and carries an

umbrella must have applied once or twice a week to his barometer: *Si vis divinare, totum contrarium ad unguem dicito ejus quod Astrologi pollicentur.* The good old couple who never both occupy their snug tenement at the same moment, are far safer guides to the would be weatherwise, than any tube of two and thirty inches; and we place more implicit reliance on a single revolution of their conjugal axis, than on all the gradations of all the mercury in all the bulbs in the world. When the lady announces that she is "At Home," we are seldom anxious to be abroad; but as soon as the old cloud compeller shrouds his frost-bitten cheeks, and the smiling dame creeps out in her holiday attire, we look for gentler gales and fairer skies. Lieutenant Mackenzie is of another opinion; and has turned his thoughts to a more scientific arrangement. As we are very far from understanding either the conclusions at which he has arrived, or the steps which he has trodden in his passage to them, our readers would probably be more perplexed than we are ourselves, if we attempted to explain them. That the learned Lieutenant, however, is correct in his hypothesis, there can be very little doubt; for, as far as we have been able to follow him, his theory seems to be built upon the indisputable veracity of our old acquaintance, the Rule of Three.

Time was when the laws of the weather were supposed to be more under the controul of celestial influences, than the arrangement of numbers; and Morinus and Cardan were held out to afford a surer text-book to the Euemeroscopist, than Diophantus or Bonnycastle. If the sun wheeled to a star of a hot nature, the valetudinarian threw off his flannel waistcoat; and while Mars or Jupiter was in the ascendant, or the two were in conjunction, (for the duplicate virtue of their heat, we are assured, makes the lower region of the air more fervent,) the diet of the student of health was confined to sallads and refrigeratives.

Saturn and Mercury, on the other hand, predicted an air distempered through severity of cold: and, in general, the superior planets, when in Northern signs, gave warning of a temperate winter; or if they were entering upon those of South, prepared the vigilant observer for a cold and moist peristasis of the atmosphere.

As we cannot assist our readers much with respect to Lieutenant Mackenzie's views, we are bound in honour to do all we can for them in other ways. We shall not, therefore, we trust, be accused of pedantry, if, after having thus unlocked our stores of occult knowledge, we forbear from immediately closing them. We claim permi-

to lay down a few more of the golden rules which regulated our forefathers in their judgment upon seed-time and harvest; and which, we doubt not, are still the pilots of that learned physician, who, with due regard to the fiery triplicity, and the various connexions, configurations and intercgradations of the heavenly intelligencers, annually ordains the seasons, and disposes of sun and storm, for the benefit of the Worshipful Company of Stationers.

Saturn, duplicated by Mercury, is sure evidence of a hard frost. If such a conjunction appear at a full moon, the virtue thereof is marvellously increased; nay, vigour is imparted to the aspect, should it occur even three days before the *Novilunium*. But like as the commixture of resembling signs, increases the influence which each possesses singly, so from the meeting of constellations, whereof one produceth cold and the other heat, (as they mutually impede and mitigate each other,) a temperate mean is, for the most part, elicited.

It would carry us too far out of the way if we were to pause upon the *Epichemasis* and *Prochemasis* of the Greeks; or on the access and application, the defluxion and separation of the stars, before they come into partile conjunction. For the guidance of the anxious traveller, it will be sufficient to observe, that the full and new moons, which (to use the very terms of the Cabala,) "be celebrated in angles," are usually accompanied with rain, on the same day on which they happen.

Would you know the time of winds that occasion tempests? Erect a scheme, and consider the position of the Lord of the lunation, and the latitude of the moon. Do you seek for prescience of changes of the air, especially to rain or snow, or at least to mists and clouds? Having found the almuten of the figure, and observed what planets are angular, (making at the same time the proper allowances for the mean motion of the moon,) direct the horoscope of the conjunction. Notable alterations, moreover, as will be perceived, are produced by conjunctions of the planets with the fixed stars, near the ecliptic. A change of signs betokens showers: or, as the rule runs, with a nice regard to particular seasons, "*Grandines in Aprili et Octobri, Nives in Hyeme, in æstate Tonitrua.*

Memorable also are the changes resulting from the forcible aspect with which the planets of opposite houses regard one another in opposition, quartile or trine. Mars and Venus, as might be expected, occasion heat and warm showers: Jupiter and Saturn, with less regard to mythological justice, vehement blasts of wind. Every body must see why

these configurations were called by the ancient mathematicians *Portarum seu valvarum apertiones.*

Look to Ptolemy's calendar for the rising and setting of the fifteen fixed stars of the first, and the fifteen of the second magnitude. When these are Heliacal, with the rise of the Dog-star, they portend sickness, with the setting of Arcturus, rain. Neglect not the lunar and planetary transit of the angles of the earth's revolutions. Consider the eclipses, comets, and other *general* constitutions, which oftentime affect the *special*. But, above all, have a paramount regard to the nature of the earth and air, peculiar to the horizon for which you are legislating. With this caution you may chance to be right as often as is necessary for your credit. To the mansions of the moon you need pay no more attention than to the pricking of your corns. To respect them is a vulgar error; concerning which, the great Pavian, who was "not of woman born," and from whom nought born of woman could proceed, well admonisheth, "*Mansiones Lunæ ne inspiciae; est Luna vis a loco suo, a loco in signifero, a Lumine, Planetis, et fixis.*" This sentence is so clear that it can scarcely be deemed one of those at which *Naudinus* sneered, when he asserted that the contradictions in the writings of the precociously-haired philosopher evinced, that he was not always in his senses.

Of this lore we must now, however, begin to be chary; and, perhaps, our readers may tell us that we have already been much too lavish. Our last quotation insensibly recalls us to Lieutenant Mackenzie, whose opening sentence is of an equally intelligible nature.

"The discovery of the Cycle of the Weather has been accomplished by means of a circumstantial register of atmospheric phenomena, from which, by a simple and easy process, the sum of the different elements have been obtained for each year and season; which sums being in quantities of *more* and *less* in a certain determinate order of succession, form the Cycle of Revolution of the years and seasons." Preface, p. i.

For this purpose it was requisite to ascertain the real commencement of the *weather year*, which, by no means, corresponds with that of the civil year. All calculations made from the latter presented a confused mass of sums: all made from the first of November, which is the pivot upon which the seasons turn, explain, as Lieutenant Mackenzie gravely assures his subscribers, "every thing belonging to the subject of the weather, for all times past, as well as to come."

As far as we understand, (but we speak with diffidence of ourselves) the inquiry into the sum of the duration of the winds—the sum of the rain—the sum of the force of the winds—the sum of the frost—the lightning, thunder, and aurorae boreales—the cloudy and clear days, and days partly both—the annual rate of the winds, and averages—and the East wind cycle of averages, when investigated properly, lead to the determination of the following periods and cycles; the three last of which, it is presumed, no one will be found hardy enough to deny.

" 1. Revolution of the axis of the winds takes place in 648 yrs.
2. Cycle or System of the winds and weather ditto. 54 do.
3. Eighteen year period, or course of wind and weather ditto. ..... 18 do.
4. Annual period of wind and weather ditto. ..... 1 do.
5. Half yearly period of wind and weather, or the seasons ditto. ..... ½do."

P. 12.

This notion of weather cycles is not altogether new. Pliny tells us of a dogma asserted by Eudoxus, (though we entirely acquit Lieutenant Mackenzie of all charge of plagiarism) that not only the winds, but all other tempests, for the most part, return, in the space of four years, to what they were before. The foundation upon which this theory rests, is that, after the same period, the political and the astronomical year, in many respects, coincide.

On the twelfth day of June, 1817, by a comparison " of a pair of wet winters, with a pair of dry summers," and by remarking the quadruple excess West, and the quadruple deficiency East, Lieutenant Mackenzie, " in an instant," discovered the system of the winds. The rules of the rain have " been made by slow degrees," and " even some of the most important were only perceived while preparing this account for the press." We rejoice that the scientific world is likely to be still farther benefited by the labours of this profound gentleman, whose thoughts cannot but be occupied by a query, which he proposes to his readers, (p. 145.) " whether " the magnetism of the North and South may not be to each other as the East is to the West wind?" We are inclined to think that the proportion may hold good: but we are cautious in expressing a decided and positive opinion: for as the sage, whom we have more than once before cited in this article, expresses himself in his xxvth Aphorism, wherever the heavens are concerned, *difficile est Indicare per ea quæ scripta sunt; longe difficilius artem ipsam tradere: difficillimum autem omnium, artem ipsam invenire.*

ART. VIII. *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, a Dramatic Poem; the Mermaid of Galloway; the Legend of Richard Faulder; and twenty Scottish Songs. By Allan Cunningham.* Crown 8vo. pp. 209. 7*s*. Taylor and Hessey. 1822.

THIS is a right bloody-minded tragedy, and well suited to any gentle reader who has a keen eye for the coroner's corner in a newspaper. If he can be satisfied with mook murders, and will be content with the verisimilitude of unreal horrors, there is food more than enough for the greediest appetite.

> "I hear the death groans—lo! I see the dirks
> Reek warm with murder's work—see! the blood drops
> Thick dappling all thy walls—along the floor
> Men stride in blood to the buckles, and grim throngs
> Of fiery spectres welcome those whose veins
> Are yet unsluiced with steel. I'll see no more,
> But fly thy dwelling, though my footsteps lay
> O'er acres of dead men—and I were paged
> By all the fiends o' the pit." P. 25.

The scene is laid in Lord Maxwell's domain, near Solway Frith, just before the Protector Cromwell's death; and the dramatis personæ consists of Lord Maxwell, his wife, his son, his cousin, his own friends, and his cousin's followers, his son's sweetheart, and her maid; one witch, one chaplain, several spirits, and sundry captains, royalists, soldiers, shepherds, and servants. So soon as the second act Halbert Comyne (who has just escaped shipwreck on his return from the wars,) murders his first cousin, in the hope of getting his property. Two of the followers, like Wall and Moonshine, bring the dead body on the stage, with a lanthorn, in order to lay it in a new dug grave. Two of the friends kill the two followers, and bury all three bodies in the same pit. Not content with the estate of his first cousin, Comyne seeks to win the sweetheart of his first cousin once removed, from whom the piece bears its name; and by one of those fortunate accidents, which so often occur in tragedy, and so seldom in real life, Sir Marmaduke Maxwell (who, on the night of his father's murder, escaped from the castle and the same fate, together with his mother) appears in the back ground at the very moment in which Mary Douglas receives the declaration of Halbert Comyne's love, and in order to free herself from his importunity, apparently consents to an assignation. Soon after, by another equally fortunate accident (though in the mean time he is horn mad with a jealousy,) Sir Marmaduke

Maxwell finds that she meant to cut the throat of her new lover at this meeting, and accordingly kisses her, and makes up the quarrel again.

Halbert Comyne is appointed warden of the Scottish Marches, by one of the last acts of the Protector; and accordingly, from his high station, after Cromwell's death is looked up to as a competitor for sovereign power, with Monck and Lambert. Before his march into England, he has an interview with the witch Mabel Moran, whom he finds singing a song, and sewing a winding sheet; the one rather unequivocally written *at* him, the other very plainly intended *for* him. But this is not the end of his discomfort—his "captains streteh themselves on the floor and sleep;" but he lies awake at midnight, amid "storm, thunder, and fire," and receives some very unpleasant messages brought from below by the spirit of Hogan, the spirit of Dougan, the spirit of Neal, and the spirit of Dingwall.

"*Spirit of Hogan.* Come, Halbert Comyne, we are waiting for you.

"*Spirit of Dougan.* Comyne, this night prepare to dwell with me;

"And by the light of hell's unquench'd fire,
We'll talk of what has pass'd.

"*Spirit of Neal.* Come, Halbert Comyne, there are fires prepared.

"*Spirit of Dingwall.* Come, Halbert Comyne, hell is ready for thee."

We do not see that there is much to choose between any of these invitations, except that Dougan's is the longest; perhaps it is on this account that he is the only one who gets a civil answer.

In the mean time the two friends who killed the two followers have had their dreams also. One of them

"—Stood and gazed upon the earth and heaven,
And, lo! I saw grim forms, perdition-doom'd,
Fill all the land—earth shudder'd to the throng
Of horrible phantoms, issuing o'er the bourn
Of mortal pilgrimage. Corses unloosed
From hearsing sheets were there, nor sweeping shrouds
Might hold their occupants. The halter-doom'd,
The treason-hatcher—he who fearless digs
The grave for a quick corse—with him who drops
The hemlock juice i' the entertainer's cup,
Flock'd toward Caerlaverock." P. 118.

T he other nearly throttled his wife, in a fit of the night-mare.

" 'Twas but last night
I lay in sweet sleep stretch'd—sudden I sprung,
My right hand clutching at an unseen throat,
And call'd with a voice that made my young babes quake,
'There, murderous villain, fill the grave thou madest.'—
My wife her white arms flung around my neck,
And I awoke, and said it was a dream;
Only a dream; kiss'd her, and smil'd." P. 122.

By the help of the ghosts, the friends, and Sir Marmaduke, Halbert Comyne is killed, and the lovers, in due fifth act catastrophe, are united in wedlock.

The plot of this drama, as our readers will perceive, is in some respects a parody on Macbeth; the diction is in the received style of tragedy, and abounds in *strong* expressions. The following strikes us to be quite original:

" This southron Monck
Is of mean blood—*a wart but newly grown*
On the rough lip of war."

One of the questions with which, if we believe Suetonius, the drivelling Tiberius used to perplex his unhappy *coterie* of grammarians, was " what song the Sirens sung?" Mr. Cunningham could have furnished them with an answer. In the first minor Poem, the mermaid of Galloway tempts a young laird on his bridal morn with her sweet melody, and he is very justly punished for his infidelity. It is not quite so just that his ghost should disturb the repose of his injured bride.

" It seem'd i' the mid-hour o' the night,
Her siller-bell did ring;
An' soun't as if nae earthlie hand
Had pou'd the silken string.
" There was a cheek touch'd that ladye's,
Cauld as the marble stane,
An' a hand cauld as the drifting snaw,
Was laid on her breast-bane.
" O cauld is thy hand, my dear Willie,
O cauld, cauld is thy cheek;
An' wring these locks o' yellow hair,
Frae which the cauld draps dreep.
" O seek anither bridegroom, Marie,
On thee bosom-faulds to sleep;
My bride is the yellow water lilie,
Its leaves my bridal sheet!" P. 150.

Richard Faulder, whose legend comes next, is an ancient mariner, who, on Hallowmass eve, takes a sail in a spectre-shallop with a " hoary old one." He and the old one see a

great many things which we should be very sorry to see, during three "Fittes." Among them are

"Crush'd helms, altars, crowns, swords, and monument stones—
Gods, gold, sceptres, mitres, and marrowless bones." P. 161.

Richard Faulder was astonished at the sight, as he well might be, and called out "Heaven bless thee!" at these words the old one changed first into a cormorant, then into a sea raven, and last into a fiend flame. The spectre-shallop

"Shrivell'd down to a barge and a bottomless boat,"

and Dick got on shore, resolving never to sail in it again.

If our readers have been surprized by the brief specimens above, they will, we think, be still more surprized by those which we shall subjoin. We have some difficulty in persuading ourselves that the same pen which has blurred paper with the melo-dramatic pantomime and childish *gobelinage* which form the main part of this volume, could produce lines so exquisitely touching as are to be found in some of the concluding ballads.

"MY AIN COUNTREE.

"The sun rises bright in France,
And fair sets he;
But he has tint the blythe blink he had
In my ain countree.
O! gladness comes to many,
But sorrow comes to me,
As I look o'er the wide ocean
To my ain countree.

"O! it's not my ain ruin
That saddens aye my ee,
But the love I left in Galloway,
Wi' bonnie bairns three;
My hamely earth burn'd bonnie,
And smiled my fair Marie,—
I've left a' my heart behind me,
In my ain countree.

"The bud comes back to summer,
An' the blossom to the bee,
But I win back—oh never!
To my ain countree.
I'm leal to the high heaven,
Which will be leal to me;
An' there I'll meet ye a' soon,
Frae my ain countree." P. 176.

Mr. Cunningham may perhaps be able to explain the coincidence between this ballad and one which is printed with some little variation, (Song LXXIX.) in the second series of Hogg's Jacobite Relics*.

* Brit. Crit. March, 1821.

The next picture is almost worthy of Burns.

"A WEARY BODIE'S BLYTHE WHAN THE SUN GANGS DOWN.

"A weary bodie's blythe whan the sun gangs down,
A weary bodie's blythe whan the sun gangs down:
To smile wi' his wife, and to daute wi' his weans,
Wha wadna be blythe whan the sun gangs down?

"The simmer sun's lang, an' we've a' toiled sair,
Frae sun-rise to sun-set's a dreigh tack o' care;
But at hame for to daute 'mang our wee bits o' weans,
We think on our toils an' our cares nae mair.

"The Saturday sun gangs ay sweetest down,
My bonnie boys leave their wark i' the town;
My heart loups light at my ain ingle side,
Whan my kin' blythe bairn-time is a' sitting roun'.

"The sabbath morning comes, an' warm lowes the sun,
Ilk heart's full o' joy a' the parishen roun';
Round the hip o' the hill comes the sweet psalm tune,
An' the auld fowk a' to the preaching are bowne.

"The hearts o' the younkers loup lightsome, to see
The gladness which dwalls in their auld grannie's ee;
An' they gather i' the sun, 'side the green haw-tree,
Nae new-flown birds are sae mirthsome an' hie.

"Tho' my sonsie dame's cheeks nae to auld age are prief,
Tho' the roses which blumed there are smit i' the leaf;
Tho' the young blinks o' luve hae a' died in her ee,
She is bonnier an' dearer than ever to me!

"I mind when I thought the sun didnae shine
On a form half so fair, or a face so divine;
She was wooed in the parlour, and sought in the ha',
But I won her away frae the wit o' them a'.

"Ance Poortith came in 'yont our hallan to keek,
But my Jennie was nursing an' singing so sweet,
That she laid down her powks at anither door-cheek,
An steppit blythely ben her auld shanks for to beek.

"My hame is the mailen weel stockit an' fu,
My bairns are the flocks an' the herds which I loo;—
My Jeanie is the gold an' delight o' my ee,
She's worth a hale lairdship o' mailens to me!

"O wha wad fade away like a flower i' the dew,
An' nae leave a sprout for kind heaven to pu'?
Wha wad rot 'mang the mools, like the stump o' the tree,
Wi' nae shoots the pride o' the forest to be?" P. 181.

It is to such compositions as these that Mr. Cunningham should confine himself, if he regards his reputation. If we have expressed ourselves with freedom on those attempts of a different nature to which he has unfortunately addressed himself, it is from a wish to warn one, who evidently is fitted for better things, from a mistaken path. We do not say that all his ballads are equal to the two which we have cited; nor does he, perhaps, in any of them, steer quite clear of the track of his numerous predecessors: but we are willing to confess (and we have given sufficient proof of the value of such a confession,) that the last two and thirty pages of his volume have more than repaid us for the thankless toil of struggling through five times that number which preceded them. We can scarcely offer a higher meed of praise.

ART. IX. *Sardanapalus, a Tragedy. The Two Foscari, a Tragedy. Cain, a Mystery. By Lord Byron.* 8vo. pp. 439. Murray. 1821.

It is reported by Lord Bacon, that Sir Henry Wotton used to say, 'that critics were like brushers of noblemen's clothes.' The comparison, though it reflects rather upon the dignity of the Mystery, is yet upon the whole very just; and however in the lapse of nearly two centuries it has been found necessary and profitable to the fraternity to lower their sphere of action, and to apply their expurgating services to the less costly habiliments of knights and knights' ladies, of common council-men and common place-men, of the members of the lower house, and the members of no house at all, still it is the lace and brocade of a Peer, which a genuine critic must ever feel to be his peculiar property, and the inspection and handling of which will call forth all the ancient energies, and all the pristine predilections of his honorable profession. To rub down a noble Lord is indeed a fine thing; to touch up his tinsel, to smooth his ruffles, and to unravel his knots, is the acme of our felicity; we are then conscious that we do not waste our strokes in the impassible obscure; our gentlest touches are sure to be followed by a correspondent wince, and our most reserved commendations by the egregious good humour of the sensitive object of our care. We have, of course, with the rest of the world, remarked the different temper displayed by some of our most

distinguished brethren, who have omitted to pay their bounden devoirs at the levee of the noble personage, whose name is at the head of this article, and failed to render those services, which the office they hold in the commonwealth evidently imposes upon them. We, simple men, recognise our duty, and will strive to perform it; we mean to go to work freely and openly, as becomes the purity of our intentions; we will use no flattery, for a nobleman should despise it; we will speak the truth, and the whole truth, that we ourselves may sleep quietly; and if after all our exertions, we should fail in satisfying the just expectations of impartial judges, we trust it will be believed, that our inability and not our will is the cause of our sinking under the arduous task.

In the first place, we request Lord Byron himself not to be prejudiced against our title and superscription, nor, because we have not hitherto flattered him, to conclude on that account that we mean to abuse him. Indeed, he may well consider us amongst his best and sincerest friends; for we, almost alone, have ventured from time to time to administer to him, those wholesome correctives of common sense, of which the object of so much indiscriminate admiration peculiarly stands in need. In this service, it must be confessed, we have sometimes been obliged to be so rude, as to tell him the truth; we have represented to him, that most people, in defiance of the determinations of himself and his friend to the contrary, have stubbornly resolved to think themselves free, and therefore responsible agents; that they see nothing reasonable in concluding, that the voice of nature, and the united wisdom of generations upon generations are false and pernicious, or that the reckless opinions of a few desperate young men, are a good argument for an entire revolution in religion, laws, and manners; that even if they were convinced of the propriety of a reform, they cannot discover in him or in any of the known champions of the sect, some main, and as they humbly conceive, indispensable qualifications for a reformer; and that, upon all the circumstances of the case, they cannot help considering the many fine passages in his works, whether in verse or prose, about superstition, despotism, revolution and so forth, as in reality little more than the Arcadian babblings of a secure aristocrat, and as possessing about as much meaning as his other panegyrical aspirations, after the slave-driving liberties of America. We were perhaps too bold in this, and hazarded our reputation with the public, in saying so many unaccountable things; but for that very reason we lay claim to be reckoned as Lord

Byron's soundest advisers, as the honest physicians who would not indulge their patient in the whimsies of a nervous imagination, nor cherish the morbid phantasms of discontent and ennui, to the lasting injury of his whole constitution. Perhaps his Lordship like a patient in similar circumstances in ancient times may have expostulated

——————— pol me occidistis, amici,
Non servastis;

yet we would venture to hope, that when the feverish languor of the opiate had been succeeded by healthful sensations, he heartily thanked us, for awakening him from his disturbed and enervating dreams.

Under the dominion of a temporary phrenzy, Lord Byron, as we think it fair to suppose, produced the last piece in the volume before us, the two former ones seem to have been the offspring of a lucid interval. Now, says the judicious Hooker, diseases that come of fulness, emptiness must remove. Pride is not cured but by abating the error which causeth the mind to swell. Then seeing that he swells by misconceit of his own excellency; for this cause, all that tends to the beating down of his pride, whether it be advertisement from men, or from God himself chastisement, it then maketh him cease to be proud, when it causeth him to see his error in overseeing the thing he was proud of. With the 'chastisement of God,' we have nothing to do; Lord Byron, as well as ourselves, must bend before dispensations that proceed from a cause which is uncontrollable by us; we prefer, and we rather wish that the other remedy might prove efficacious in our hands, and that his Lordship would for once listen in patience, and without anger to an 'advertisement from men.'

'Sardanapalus,' though it is not a tragedy (however its author may choose to call it) is yet in our opinion a very fine tragical poem. It was not written with any view to its being represented any more than was 'Marino Faliero;' and if Mr. Elliston should be judicious enough to repeat his experiment upon 'Sardanapalus,' he is likely to meet with the same, or even more distinguished encouragement. Lord B. has not yet written, nor do we think he can write, a single scene that would act with any great success upon any stage; certainly not upon the English; unfortunately for his Lordship, we Islanders, separated as we are, from the 'more civilized parts' of the world, are far gone in our barbarous prejudices; the corruption, which Shakspeare introduced, has been gradually extending itself since his time, and is

now become almost universal. Though the tourists tell us, that they order these matters better in France, yet so it is, the tourists are stared at, but are never believed. It is certainly very pitiable, that we should be so close to the fountain of perfection, and yet never the purer by the diffusion of its streams. But though Lord B. will not probably enjoy the hidden pleasure of seeing this play damned in spite of himself, yet one way still remains of bringing it successfully to the acquaintance of people who may not be inclined to purchase the work itself, and for which, when all the poetry and all the sense shall have been carefully extracted, it will be peculiarly fitted. We say no more; but let Messrs. Dymond and Terry look to it; if they do not convert 'Sardanapalus' into a splendid and most incendiary Melodrame, then are they worthy to have no new Scotch novel published for the space of one whole year.

The story of this tragedy, we are informed by Lord Byron, is to be found in Diodorus Siculus; and indeed, without reference to the account of that concise chronicler, we suppose most school-boys know pretty well that Sardanapalus was the last king of the Assyrian dynasty, that he was dethroned by a revolution of the Medes, and that he was (frustra reclamante Mr. Mitford) a very luxurious man, much given to good eating and drinking, and soft lying.

Et venere et cænis et pluma Sardanapali.

In order to 'approach the unities,' it is supposed that the whole affair of the rebellion, explodes and succeeds in one day by a sudden conspiracy; this being clearly the most probable and natural mode of overturning the government of an empire, nearly co-extensive with Asia itself, and accordingly the time, which the action takes up, may amount to about 23 hours, reckoning to 11 o'clock in the forenoon of the second day. We are thus particular, because Lord B. has laboured this point excessively, and considers it a great beauty in his performance, and we should be sorry to have any thing lost by our neglect. We might quote a great deal from this tragedy, for it contains much beautiful poetry; but we must content ourselves with what we think ought to justify our commendation alone, and then hasten on, for we have much work to come.

Sardanapalus at the end of a somewhat prolix soliloquy, which we could not perfectly understand, sends for a favorite mistress, the Ionian slave, Myrrha, who appears.

" SARD.

" Beautiful being!
Thou dost almost anticipate my heart;
It throbbed for thee, and here thou comest; let me
Deem that some unknown influence, some sweet oracle,
Communicates between us, though unseen,
In absence, and attracts us to each other.

" MYRRHA.

" There doth."

Myrrha is indeed an exquisite creature; she warns Sardanapalus of his imminent danger.

" SARD.

" What?—and dost thou fear?

" MYRRHA.

" Fear!—I'm a Greek, and how should I fear death?
A slave, and wherefore should I dread my freedom?

" SARD.

" Then wherefore dost thou turn so pale?

" MYRRHA.

" I love,"

and shortly afterwards,

" Frown not upon me: you have smiled
Too often on me, not to make those frowns
Bitterer to bear than any punishment
Which they may augur.—King, I am your subject!
Master, I am your slave! Man, I have loved you!—
Loved you, I know not by what fatal weakness,
Although a Greek, and born a foe to monarchs—
A slave, and hating fetters—an Ionian,
And therefore, when I love a stranger, more
Degraded by that passion than by chains!
Still I have loved you. If that love were strong
Enough to overcome all former nature,
Shall it not claim the privilege to save you?

" SARD.

" *Save* me, my beauty! Thou art very fair,
And what I seek of thee is love—not safety.

" MYRRHA.

" And without love where dwells security?

" SARD.

" I speak of woman's love.

" MYRRHA.

" The very first
Of human life must spring from woman's breast,
Your first small words are taught you from her lips,
Your first tears quench'd by her, and your last sighs
Too often breathed out in a woman's hearing,
When men have shrunk from the ignoble care
Of watching the last hour of him that led them.

" SARD.

" My eloquent Ionian! thou speak'st music,
The very chorus of the tragic song
I've heard thee talk of as the favorite pastime
Of thy far father-land. Nay weep not—calm thee.

" MYRRHA.

" I weep not.—But I pray thee, do not speak
About my fathers or their land.

" SARD.

" Yet oft
Thou speakest of them.

" MYRRHA.

" True—true: constant thought
Will overflow in words unconsciously;
But when another speaks of Greece, it wounds me."

These lines are exquisitely affecting, and if Lord Byron had always or often written thus, thus naturally and purely, this age need not have bowed before the glories of any other.

We recommend the following passage as a study to sculptors and painters. Sardanapalus is speaking of Myrrha's appearance in a night-engagement.

" I paused
To look upon her, and her kindled cheek;
Her large black eyes, that flash'd through her long hair
As it stream'd o'er her; her blue veins that rose
Along her most transparent brow; her nostril
Dilated from its symmetry; her lips
Apart; her voice that clove through all the din,
As a lute's pierceth through the cymbal's clash,
Jarr'd but not drown'd by the loud brattling; her
Waved arms, more dazzling with their own born whiteness
Than the steel her hand held, which she caught up
From a dead soldier's grasp; all these things made
Her seem unto the troops a prophetess
Of victory, or victory herself
Come down to hail us her's."

Although this poem instantly refers us to Antony and Cleopatra, and Salemenes in particular is so undisguisedly an old Roman, as somewhat to violate the integrity of what may be called the moral costume of the Drama, yet we make no charge of plagiarism, and can easily believe that some such strong contrast was necessary, and anachronisms of this description are so numerous in all writers as to defy the attacks of criticism. Besides, Sardanapalus is purely ideal in its conception: the characters are not individualized, and the dialogue is properly poetical. It is a morality, or peradventure an immorality, in which voluptuousness, female passion, and military virtue, under the vizards of Sardanapalus, Myrrha and Salemenes rant and love and chide according to the rules in that case made and provided. To that power which brings the feigned emotions of feigned characters home to our bosoms; which in the vivid existence we give to a fiction, makes us forget our own; which suggests answers which we could have made, and describes actions which we could have acted—to this power Lord Byron is a stranger. Scornful sarcasm, and voluptuous pathos he understands; his temper and habits have taught him them, and they are quite sufficient for his purpose. We believe he will never shine to more advantage, or do less mischief, than in writing such plays as Sardanapalus; his erudition will open to him a large field from which he may cull divers flowers, wherewith to weave such chaplets as he delights to hang on the door-posts of the temples of religion and purity; and if we may be allowed to speak from our school-boy recollections, we would recommend to his consideration the peculiar capabilities of Cambyses and Salmoneus. Lord Byron with his talents might say a great deal in their favour, and certainly his subject would not present more or greater obstacles to the liberal development of his opinions, than the book of Genesis. Let him make the Persian more wise or more mad than he was; or the Greek more devout or blasphemous. For to such trifling and paradox we might continue indifferent; but we entreat Lord Byron, we ask it as a favour at his hands, we adjure him solemnly, by and in the name of whatever yet remains respectable in his eyes; not of Christianity, but of natural piety; not of marriage, but of natural purity; not of the Levitical degrees, but of natural and instinctive innocence, to add no more cantos to Don Juan! Let him content himself; the powers of his pen are known and felt; their effects are even now visible; he has done that which we defy him, "not in any one given year," but during the remainder of his mortal existence, to efface. "The evil

that men do, does indeed live after them," in another sense than the poet's; and when Lord Byron shall long have ceased to be in this world, there will be thousands who may have cause to rue the day, that ever he was born.

We have but little room for 'The Two Foscari,' and its comparative importance requires but little. It is exactly so much better than 'Marino Faliero,' as it is shorter, and as the Doge in his play, does less indulge, than the Doge in that play, in those outrageous and most puerile declamations, which disgusted even a London audience. Lord Byron would do wisely to keep to his Diodorus Siculus; he may transfer the recklessness of Antony, the sternness of Brutus, or the histrionic emotions of Statira or Monimia; but the domestic energy of Othello, the household miseries of Lear, are beyond his grasp. We are glad they are so; they at least will be preserved from perversion and contamination.

It is amusing to see how far party feeling can carry this professed aristocrat, who, in a precious appendix to the last mentioned play, coquets through half a page with no less professed a democrat about the property of a phrase. It seems, that in Lady Morgan's 'fearless and excellent' work upon Italy, the portentous epithet of 'Ocean Rome,' as applied to Venice, is to be found; and the same occurs in the 'Two Foscari!' Is it possible? What may follow upon this ominous conjunction of Venus and Saturn? But Lord Byron is ready to take his corporal oath, and he vouches Mr. Murray to the truth of it, that his tragedy was written and sent to England some time (he should have specified the precise time in a matter of this importance) before he had seen Lady Morgan's work, which we are particularly informed, 'he only received on the 16th of August.' Come forth, O ye Wartons and Stevenses of this and the next generation; Come from your verse or prose! Write it down, now while you may, that Lord Byron, upon his own testimony, did not steal two words from Lady Morgan! Credite posteri!

But this valuable Appendix does not conclude as it begun, mulier formosa superne, Desinet in piscem. There are four pages upon Mr. Southey, which are really without example in modern literature. Seriously, we feel half ashamed to take advantage of Lord Byron's utter abandonment, of his self command; he has slipped in a desperate lunge, and his life is in our hands; he has rallied and rushed in, but been beaten off the ground, and we have him on the ropes. We throw up our hands, as the fashion prescribes; but we may be allowed to ask seriously, what reason Lord Byron has for being so excessively enraged against Mr. Southey, and how the

balance of unprovoked slander and personal abuse stands between them. His Lordship began with a poem, in which he ridiculed Mr. Southey's poetry; this was very well; no man could resent the satire of a boy, who abused the whole literary world. Indeed, the boy himself, when he had grown a year or two older, became ashamed of his work, and put a stop to its publication; and though he has since that time avowed it, and permitted it to be sent forth again, yet that inconsistency only concerns himself, and will scarcely be perceived in such a patchwork character. Afterwards, Lord Byron began his Don Juan! and in the course of that work, we believe, he has introduced Mr. Southey's name, not less than seven or eight times; first laughing at his literary pretensions, then calumniating his moral integrity, and lastly, descending into and falsifying the domestic concerns of his family. This is what Lord Byron has done. Has Mr. Southey returned any of these repeated insults, as he well and successfully might have done? Never. He has upon no occasion mentioned Lord Byron's name, or alluded to, or complained of, his unworthy malignity up to the time of the publication of the 'Vision of Judgment,' when he was impelled by opportunity, by conscience, by love for Christianity and the English Constitution, (and, who shall deny or be ashamed to own, by unjustly wounded feelings,) to write that paragraph which has rendered Lord Byron so infuriate. But what does even this provocation, if we may so call it, amount to? Is there any paltry, and, as we retort the epithet upon his Lordship, 'cowardly' allusion to private circumstances in it? Let it be examined. As far as we remember, Mr. Southey, in the passage in question, speaks of the unprecedented depravity of the lower London press, and bids 'the Legislature look to it,' as he is correctly quoted, and proceeds to denounce the works of a certain club of persons as being so many shameless insults to decency, government, and religion, declares his apprehensions of the consequences attending their unrestrained diffusion, and calls their authors by the collective name of the "Satanic School." What does Lord Byron complain of? that he has been yoked with Shelley, Morgan and Co.? He has yoked himself with them both in word and in deed. He says himself, Mr. Southey accuses US of attacking the religion of the country! US! whom does his Lordship mean by this plural pronoun? Or does he speak to us after the manner of kings, and look upon himself as a sole corporation of irreligion and misrule? Again, since Lord B. has

spontaneously appropriated the accusation to himself and his friends, does he find fault with the nature and terms of it? How should he do so? He has now for many years past never published any work in which he has not directly or indirectly denounced Christianity, "the religion of the country," as a system of delusion and superstition, and as the fruitful source of innumerable ills. Now if he be sincere, he must, as a good man and a patriot, fervently wish to see this incubus upon his country destroyed, and must be bounden by his conscience to do his utmost towards consummating the goodly work. Therefore in this case the accusation is no accusation, but rather the extorted acknowledgment from an adversary of his own honesty and patriotism; but if Lord Byron confesses that he never meant what he has so often and so very deliberately written and published, we have nothing more to say about the matter, except to wish him joy of his Italian or Greek notions of veracity and consistency. Again, perhaps he is offended at the title imposed upon him and his sect, the "Satanic School!" And yet why? Lord B. has of his own accord laboured through thick and thin to exculpate the character of Lucifer or Satan, from the imputations of Scripture; he has denied the charges of murder, lying, and rebellion; he has asserted, in no ambiguous terms, the co-eternal and the co-equal nature of that Being and of Jehovah; he expressly attributes the evil of this world to the latter, and *not* to the former; he calls God a tyrant, and Satan a Spirit, who dares to use his immortality in waging the eternal conflict of independence with oppression; he has notoriously ranged himself in the ranks, and under the banners of the "Prince of this world;" he is marked with his mark, and is content to be his worshipper. How is it then, we ask, that Lord B. is so nettled at his being designated by the name of one, whom yet he considers so noble and glorious? Why does he complain of being reckoned a disciple of the sect, party, school, or religion, of Satan, in whose defence he argues with vehemence, and in whose praise he enlarges to excess? How is this contradiction to be explained? Has Mr. Hobhouse no "Illustrations" for us on this point? Can he not pick in another "spear's head," wherewith to cleave the palpable obscure of his friend's lucubrations; Cum tacet, clamat. What then is the result? In the first place, Lord Byron, without any shadow of provocation, for many years together pursues Mr. Southey with the malignity of a common lampooner for hire, and at length, upon occasion of some general remarks upon the tendency of

writings of a certain description, he bursts out into an ungovernable fit of passion; forgets the manners and language of a gentleman; and all this ostensibly on account of imputations, every one of which this same irascible Peer, in a work directly following in the same volume, not only realizes and appropriates, but justifies also, with the addition of a thousand aggravations of time and place a thousand times multiplied.

It is this latter work which now finally demands our notice; and we hope we shall not seem to our readers to give an undue importance to it, when we set ourselves formally to expose the shallow sophistry, the gross ignorance, and the scandalous falsehoods contained in it. There are undoubtedly some wretched creatures, whose vulgar and disgusting slanders it is wise to pass by in silence; who are themselves beyond the reach of argument, and to whose debased understandings and affections the obligations of truth and morality are unintelligible terms. But Lord B., though we can hardly flatter ourselves that *he* will listen to argument, is yet certainly of a different class from these. It may perhaps be safe to despise Lady Morgan, Leigh Hunt, and Hazlitt, but the arch-offender must be answered as well as despised. His atrocities come in that questionable shape, that if we were stedfastly to refuse, he might peradventure vaunt that we were unable to answer them. We shall not analyse "Cain," that has been done in Chancery; neither shall we comment upon the sheer nonsense of many parts of it; with our good leave the nonsense may be nonsense still, and at all events absurdity may well escape reprobation, where it is preceded and followed by blasphemy and profaneness. But there are one or two confident assertions respecting important doctrines of Scripture made by the author of "Cain," which as they are utterly false, we shall spend a little time in telling him so, and in demonstrating to the world either his excessive ignorance or his excessive impudence.

Lord B. in his Preface enounces the following discovery:

"The reader will recollect that the book of Genesis does not state that Eve was tempted by a demon, but by the 'serpent;' and that only because he was 'the most subtil of all the beasts of the field.' Whatever interpretation the Rabbins and the Fathers may have put upon this, I must take the words as I find them, and reply with Bishop Watson upon similar occasions, when the Fathers were quoted to him as Moderator in the schools of Cambridge, 'Behold the Book!'—holding up the Scripture."

We beseech his Lordship to compose himself; we will not quote the Rabbins or the Fathers to him; we will quote no-

thing but the chapter which he quotes himself; we like Bishop Watson's practice, and say with him, "Behold the Book!"

CHAP. III.

"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, we may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: but of the fruit of the tree, which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not surely die. For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

"And the Lord God said unto the woman, what is this that thou hast done? and the woman said, the serpent beguiled me, and I did eat. And the Lord God said unto the serpent, because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; *it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*"

Now we have nothing to do at present with Lord B.'s scepticism, or deism, or atheism, or whatever else he chooses to call it; in this case we must consider him by his own confession as one who appeals to the text of the Bible in proof of a position, and who is therefore willing to be ruled by it. We say nothing about the positive declaratory interpretations which, it is to be remembered, rest upon the same authority as the book of Genesis, and consequently bind exactly as much as the text in question; we say nothing about the whole New Testament, which is founded on it, and whose words must be equal or superior in weight; but this we say, that there is no instance of verbal nonsense in the book of Genesis, or in any other book of Scripture; that when a miracle or interruption of the ordinary course of nature has at any time occurred, some one also there must have been to have caused it; and that it is no where recorded in the book of Genesis that brute animals had the gift of articulate speech, and not only that, but of reasoning, and not only that; but of *knowledge superior to man's.* But we read that the serpent did speak to the woman; that he reasoned with her, and imparted to her things the conception of which, whether they were true or false, was beyond the reach of the woman's thoughts, and that he did finally persuade her to the commission of actual rebellion. We know that God did not speak in the serpent, neither to the man, nor the woman; who did

then? the serpent, as a serpent only, could not speak or reason or communicate knowledge; who then caused the miracle, and "opened the month of the dumb beast?" In essential difference of nature there was but one being besides in the universe, and therefore by a consequence as inevitable as a conclusion of geometry it must have been that one, who being, as we are informed from equivalent authority, a liar, a slanderer, and an accuser from the beginning, uttered the lie, the slander, and the accusation recorded in the text.

But suppose the serpent to have been a mere serpent, and grant that it was natural to serpents in Paradise to speak, to reason, and to possess super-human knowledge, how then is the text held together? how could that particular serpent (for we must remark that this latter clause is to the individual) bruise the heel of the seed of the woman, and how could that seed or future descendant bruise the head of that particular serpent? how, but by supposing the words addressed to one, who would live after the extinction of that serpent, and who would be in a capacity, ages hence, to fulfil the prophecy in doing and suffering?

Thus therefore when Lord. B. says, that if he (Satan) disclaims having tempted Eve in the shape of the serpent, it is only because the book of Genesis has not the most distant allusion to any thing of the kind, but merely to the serpent in his serpentine capacity; he says that which every child of fourteen, who can read and is not an idiot, will tell him confidently is not the case, and which we dare to say his Lordship himself knows to be false.

Thus much for one of these precious specimens of ignorance and sophistry, which, though it might have passed current from the pen of Voltaire, will never do with the clumsy infidelity of Lord B. amongst the free and Protestant natives of England. Now for another.

"The reader will please to bear in mind (what few choose to recollect), that there is no allusion to a future state in any of the books of Moses, nor indeed in the Old Testament. For a reason for this extraordinary omission he may consult 'Warburton's Divine Legation;' whether satisfactory or not, no better has yet been assigned. I have therefore supposed it new to Cain without, I hope, any perversion of Holy Writ."

Whether Lord Byron *does* hope that he has not perverted the Scripture in this assertion, we know not, and, as he himself says, "care as little;" that he *has* done so, which is more to our purpose, we will prove to him directly. We see that it is utterly useless to point out the evident inference to be drawn from

the translation to heaven of the living Enoch, and from the frequent expressions of the Patriarchs, that they were pilgrims and strangers upon earth; these and many other arguments convincing to the calm observer of the whole dispensation would be lost upon him; nothing but a positive text will satisfy his doubts. He shall have one. It was quoted once before in answer to this very objection, and we are told that it had then the effect of putting the objectors to silence. It is written in Exodus a "book of Moses," c. iii. v. 6.

"I AM the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.' These persons were dead, yet God declares that at that very moment he was still their God; and the comment upon the above-mentioned occasion was, 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.'"

Lord B. may deny the force of this passage: so he may deny any thing or every thing, that black is black, or white white, yet they are not the less so on that account. But not content with making this hazardous assertion, he goes on to say, "nor indeed in the Old Testament." Indeed!

Job, in a book perhaps as ancient as, or more so than, the Pentateuch, c. xix. v. 28., says—"I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God," and the speaker wishes these words "were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" We wish so too.

We omit the numberless direct texts in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah, and will only add for its grandeur, beauty, and clearness, the great prophecy of Daniel, c. xii. v. 1, 2, 3.

"At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of the people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

Are these texts "allusions to a future state," or not?

Are they clear declarations or not?

Is Lord Byron's head or his heart to be called in question?

But it has been argued that Lord B. has done no more than Milton did before him with universal applause; and

upon one occasion *, a challenge was thrown out that every passage in "Cain" could be paralleled, line by line, from the "Paradise Lost." Now, excepting the Bible, we know no book for which we feel so profound a veneration as we do for this latter poem, and to be told all at once that nothing in this outlawed pamphlet of blasphemy is worse than many things that are to be found in what we are accustomed to call a Divine work, is somewhat startling. That any one should dare to make this assertion, and that any one should believe it is another proof of the lamentable neglect into which Milton's writings have generally fallen, and shows that this mighty Poet, like Lord Bacon †, though much talked of, is now little more than the shadow of a name.

We can hardly think that those who *have* read Milton will need the assistance of our remarks, but it is well known that there are multitudes of well meaning but ill informed persons who have been silenced in conversation and perplexed in their minds upon this very ground of the unanswerable authority of Paradise Lost. This is a serious consideration, and it certainly is incumbent upon every parent and guardian of youth to come to a right understanding upon it. The book which is to be found in every library, which not seldom occupies the devout attention of our wives and sisters alternately even with the word of God itself, is declared to be the prototype and the justifying authority for a work, the atrocious blasphemies of which must fill the most unthinking bosom with horror and dismay. The question, however, though very important, is a short one, and we believe a very few

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* Nothing is meant here disrespectful to Mr. Shadwell, for whom we entertain a high esteem; upon the occasion alluded to he acted but the part of an ingenious advocate.

† We will give a remarkable instance of a writer's presuming upon the general ignorance of Lord Bacon's works. Mr. Shelley in the Notes to "Queen Mab," at the end of a prolix declamation against the Christian Religion, prints a passage from Bacon's Essays descriptive of the evils of Superstition, in which that author says, that in comparison of the gross state of degradation caused by Superstition he should prefer even Atheism itself. This is so artfully dovetailed with what goes before, that we venture to say that no person, who was unacquainted with Lord Bacon's character and writings, could doubt that he was a professed apologist to Atheism. And yet Lord B. begins the Essay immediately preceding, and to which his comparison directly refers, with these words—

"I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity."

sentences will be enough to show both that Milton's Satan is not blasphemous, and what Lord Byron may think of more consequence, that he has himself been guilty of a gross dramatic impropriety in making Lucifer so.

"If Cain be blasphemous, then Paradise Lost is blasphemous," such is the argument, and it is artfully put by the adversary; for he imagines that in whichever way we take it, he must gain something; if we admit the hypothesis, he has the satisfaction (somewhat a kin to that which Satan felt in Paradise) of reducing a godlike work to his own level; if to avoid that we deny the conclusion, then we relieve his own work from the imputation which checks its sale, and prevents the diffusion of his opinions. The fallacy however is in assuming the connection between the hypothesis and the conclusion. Let us bring it to the intelligible test of rigid examination; let the characters, the actions, and the sayings of Satan and Lucifer be scrutinized. Does Satan in any instance openly or covertly accuse the Scriptural narrative of falsehood or duplicity? Does he hesitate to appear or act as the tempter of the woman? does he pretend to himself to have a good motive for so doing? does he in a single passage deny or doubt the goodness, the justice, the greatness, the infinite happiness, the essential unity of God? does he ever (and this is the main difference) impute the evil of this world to God, and by implication ascribe to himself the wish of diffusing good and happiness to mankind? It is almost wasting time to quote a few of the thousand passages which show that the direct contrary of all these is the truth.

"—pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in heaven against heaven's matchless King. IV.

—all his good proved ill in me,
And wrought but malice. IV.

—as God in heaven
Is center, yet extends to all. IX.

—all good to me becomes
Bane. IX.

For only in destroying I find ease
To my relentless thoughts. IX.

Thoughts, whither have ye led me! with what sweet
Compulsion thus transported, to forget
What hither brought us; hate, not love; nor hope
Of Paradise for hell, hope here to taste
Of pleasure; but all pleasure to destroy,
Save what is in destroying; other joy
To me is lost. IX.

So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
Farewell remorse: all good to me is lost;
Evil, be thou my good. iv.

And

To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight. iv."

But Lucifer *does* all this, and more than this; he is transformed into the semblance of an Angel of Light, and the Almighty Jehovah is made to be what Christians and Jews make Lucifer to be—a torturer because tortured, a creator of misery, because infinitely miserable himself. He says, that he

" —dares look the omnipotent tyrant in
His everlasting face, and tell him that
His evil is not good."

It is impossible to quote every speech of Satan to show that he never transgresses these prescribed bounds; we can only just say, what every one knows, that three parts of Paradise Lost are taken up with rapturous praises of the Deity in every shape of hymn, meditation, prayer, and narration; and we may hint, even to Lord B. the folly of supposing, that Milton should write a book, which, according to him, militates most directly against the very design and fondest wish of Milton's own heart. We have it on record in his own words, that his chief motive for undertaking that immortal poem, was to do something for the glory of God; or, as he sings, in the first page—

" —to assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men."

We challenge, in return, the production of a single passage, from the first line to the last of Paradise Lost, which will excite in the mind of any reasonable creature the most transient feeling of profaneness.

But independently of the criterion of Milton's example, it is quite manifest, that no dramatic conception can be more totally false and imperfect than this is of Satan's imaginable thoughts and words.

" —if he has made
As he saith—which I know not, nor believe—"

How is this doubt, uncertainty, or disbelief, consistent with that double portion of angelic knowledge which we conceive

this spirit to have possessed upon a subject on which the mortal before him could have returned him a decisive answer? For Cain, fresh from the hand of his Creator, and living in the more immediate neighbourhood of heaven, must surely have known a truth which even heathens, in after ages, held and propagated, that God made heaven and earth and all things that were therein. Milton, with admirable judgment, introduces Satan, in his address to the Sun, as master of this knowledge, and makes it the very spring of all the terrible passions which he blends together in that astonishing passage, which is the extremest verge of the audacity of the rebel's discourse.

> " Ah, wherefore; he deserv'd no such return
> From me, whom he created what I was
> In that bright eminence," &c.

Again, Lord B. will not deny, that in the New Testament at least Satan is declared to have been the tempter of our first parents to their fatal transgression; and yet he makes this Being of all infinite knowledge deny this fact, because he, Lord B. does not so interpret a chapter in the Book of Genesis.

Is the result then parallel or contrast? Is it Milton *and* Byron, or Milton *versus* Byron? Is the passage from which we quoted a few awfully blasphemous words in Cain, (which yet is by no means the most flagrant in the piece), that fair dramatic representation allowable in a free and Christian country, or is it an unprecedented effort of perverted and perverting profaneness? Did it become the judges of a nation, where Christianity is part of the common law of the land, to protect this work or not? Would it be tyranny or inquisitorial persecution to prosecute the author and publisher of this work, and to amerce them heavily?

But we shall be told that all this is prejudice; that although we might differ in our opinions 'materially upon the metaphysical portion of the work,' yet, if we were not 'blinded by baseness and bigotry,' we should highly admire the poetry of the publication. Blinded by baseness and bigotry! This is very well indeed; and from whom does this imputation proceed? From the pure and the liberal? Is it no bigotry to maintain theory against fact? Is it no bigotry to turn the back upon earnest inquiry, and to open the ears to sneering and sarcasm alone? Is it no bigotry to set up the restless and disturbed imaginations of man before the undoubted testimony of God Almighty? Is it no baseness to see the mighty

ocean ebbing and flowing by mysterious impulse, to watch the giant sun run his appointed course, to gaze upon the moving moon, or the deep majesty of an interlunar night, when the firmament is blazing with golden fires, and not venerate the one Causer and Preserver of all of them? Is it no baseness to possess the fairest gifts of life, and to curse the Giver of them; to have genius and intellectual power beyond the common rate, and to make no other use of them but to slander and blaspheme the merciful and gracious Creator of them with more distinguished atrocity? Are none of these baseness and bigotry? No! These are liberality and purity! But when one who has been born and bred in a religion which he loves and venerates, which he sees has, even as it is, converted the nations from darkness to light, and which, if it were allowed its due sway, would make men saints upon earth; a religion, which he knows must have come from God with the same certainty that he knows there is such a book as Cain; and that Lord Byron wrote it; a religion, in the cause of which he has been enlisted a soldier, and which he has sworn to maintain to his death; when such an one resents the insidious plottings and the open attacks of apostates, and does his utmost in a lawful way to expose the one and denounce the other; when he refuses to be gulled by a specious external, and scorns to barter cowardly praise for contemptuous forbearance; then the magazines of infidelity are exhausted to overwhelm him; then he may expect

"Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria—."

What is it to us that Lord B. pleads with mawkish inconsistency that he is an aristocrat and wishes not for a revolution? Are his attacks upon lawful authority counteracted by such imbecility? Are his arrows less sharp or less venomous on that account? Do not these kind of declarations even feather the shaft for a longer and a surer flight? It is a marvellous thing indeed, that a Peer of England, the first of nations upon earth, should wish for a revolution which would dash him into the dirt; so is it marvellous that he should hate his own native land, fly from the sight of his fellow countrymen, and permit the dregs of London only to call him friend. When these things are true of a man, any thing and every thing may be true of him. We cannot stand to weigh motives and circumstances when a thief is taken flagrante delicto. Lord B. may be the dupe or the tool of others for what we know; he may, upon cool calculation, intend no

such event as the erection of the brute force of the mob against the law; he may respect Christianity in his chamber; he may do all this; but he *has* written "Don Juan!" he *has* written "Marino Faliero!" and he *has* written "Cain!"

The people of England are an eminently sensible people; they may have their storms and their ebullitions; but these soon subside within the compass of their inimitable constitution, and leave the nation an accurate judge of its own interests. This nation was never in the wrong on that point for any great time; the machine may be disordered, but there is a self-adjusting spring in the heart of it, whose elasticity is invincible. The statesmen of this nation will not be fooled by the ravings and the rantings about Greek or American freedom out of their own experienced liberties; the fathers and mothers of this nation will not give up themselves and their children to the dominion of one or two persons, whose writings are the unmanly effusions of misanthropy and sensuality; who go a step beyond the atheists of former ages, throw down the mask, and advocate incest upon principles of universal love; whose voluptuousness is only to be defended as the legitimate consequence of a creed, if such can be, which is a monstrous compound of Manicheism and Epicureanism; whose God is the evil principle, and whose Bible is Lucretius. To turn from the perusal of these writers to Shakspeare, Spencer, and Milton, is like turning from night to day—from meteors and clouds to the light of the morning star and the blue heaven of a June sun-rising.

We now take our leave of Lord Byron, and one cannot refrain from doing it in language at once graver than our own and more poetical than his.

"The ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy: neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave. For we are born at all adventure: and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been: for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and a little spark in the moving of our heart: which being extinguished our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air. Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present: and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no flower of the spring pass by us: let us crown ourselves with rose-buds, before they be withered: let none of us go without his part of our voluptuousness: let us leave tokens of our joyfulness in every place; for this is our portion, and our lot is this. Let us

die in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings: he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressions of our education. He professeth to have the knowledge of God: and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits, he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: he pronounceth the way of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father.

"Such things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them. As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not: neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls. For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity. Nevertheless, through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it."

ART. X. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in a General Convention, held in St. James's Church in the City of Philadelphia, from the 16th to the 24th of May,* 1820. 8vo. 96 pp. Philadelphia. 1820.

ART. XI. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,* in a Special General Convention, *held in St. Peter's Church, in the City of Philadelphia, from the 30th of October to the 3d of November, A.D.* 1821. 8vo. 56 pp. Philadelphia. 1821.

ART. XII. *Sermon on the Manner in which the Gospel was established, and the Christian Church organized; preached before the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, on the 31st Day of October,* 1821. *By James Kemp, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocess of Maryland.* 8vo. 24 pp. Philadelphia. 1821.

ART. XIII. *Reasons in Favour of the General Theological Seminary, one of which were stated in the Episcopal Convention of South Carolina.* 8vo. 16 pp. Charleston. 1821.

ART. XIV. *Plan of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; together with an Address to the Friends of Religion and the Church.* Second Edition. 8vo. 24 pp. Hartford, (Connecticut). 1820.

ART. XV. *Introductory Discourse delivered at New-haven, at the Opening of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, September* 13, 1820. *By Samuel H. Turner, Professor of Theology in the Institution.* 8vo. 32 pp. Hartford. 1820.

ART. XVI. *An Address to the Biennial Convention of the Eastern Diocese, assembled in Newport Rhode Island, September 27th, A.D.* 1820. *By Alexander Viets Griswold, D.D. Bishop of the Diocese. (Gospel Advocate).*

ART. XVII. *A Pastoral Letter, addressed to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Eastern Diocese. By the Right Rev. A. A. Griswold, D.D. Bishop of the Diocese.* 8vo. 68 pp. Boston. 1821.

ART. XVIII. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Connecticut: delivered at the Convention of the Church in [the] said State, in St. John's Church at Waterbury, on Wednesday the 6th Day of June, A.D.* 1821. *By Thomas Church Brownell, D.D. LL.D. Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut. (Gospel Advocate, for September and October,* 1821, *Boston).*

IN a late volume of our Journal * we presented to our readers an account of the Constitution, &c. of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the American Union: we then adverted to the growing numbers and respectability of its members, and the publications at the head of this article have presented us with many additional particulars, an abstract of which we think will be perused with equal pleasure and satisfaction.

I. The *Eastern Diocese* comprises the Churches in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Rhode Island: over this Diocese the Right Rev. Dr. Griswold continues to preside.

1. The Church, in the State of *Maine*, which for many years had become generally depressed and almost extinct, has within a few years assumed a more flourishing aspect. It consists of two congregations, under the pastoral care of two Ministers, whose labours are stated to have succeeded to the

* See Brit. Crit. Vol. xiii. June 1820, pp 593—614.

extent of the rational expectations of the friends of the Church.

2. *New Hampshire.* There are nine Episcopal Churches in this State, the members of which continue to increase: in the vacant Churches, religious services are generally performed by *lay readers*, and occasionally they have been favoured with the labours of Missionaries.

3. *Massachusetts.* The Church in this State continues in as flourishing a situation as it was at the time of the meeting of the last general Convention: a very general attention is paid to the observance of the Canons and Rubrics, and (with but very few exceptions) to the established usages of the Church. A large and elegant stone church, of which the Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D.D. has been chosen Rector, has lately been completed in the town of Boston; besides which a few small congregations have been collected in other towns. It is in contemplation to establish missions to such small portions of the Protestant Episcopal Communion as are to be found in many parts of this State.

4. *Vermont.* From the parochial reports presented to the *Annual* Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State on the 27th of June, 1821, it appears that the Church, at no antecedent period, had been more flattering. Several new Churches were represented in Convention; and a society has been organised, the object of which is to employ Missionaries in the vacant churches of the Episcopal Communion within this State.

5. *Rhode Island.* Increased attachment to the Episcopal Communion, and an exemplary attention to moral and religious duties, indicate the prosperous and flourishing condition of the Church in this State. One new Church has been erected: Sunday Schools have been established in all the congregations, and the number of communicants has very considerably increased. "It is believed that in no one of the United States are the order, worship, and rules of the Episcopal Church, better, or more uniformly regarded."*

II. *Connecticut.* Since the General Convention of 1817, no material change has taken place. The *Notitiæ Parochiales* of the Annual Conventions, evince a manifest increase of the Church in this Diocese, to the Episcopate of which the Right Rev. Dr. T. C. Brownell has recently been consecrated. Under his Ministrations, the Church has progressively increased in piety, numbers, and respectability: since his consecration, a number of Churches has been visited; and

* See Brit. Crit. vol. xiii. p. 609.

in the year between June 1820 and 1821, the Bishop administered the apostolic rite of Confirmation to *eight hundred and thirty-six* persons; and consecrated two Churches. A Society has recently been instituted in this Diocese, for the promotion of Christian Knowledge; the great objects of which are to distribute the Bible gratuitously to the poor, to disseminate the Book of Common Prayer, and Religious Tracts, and also to support Missionaries. In his Charge to the Convention, held at Waterbury, June 6th and 7th, 1821, the Bishop bears the following testimony to the character of his Clergy.

"Brethren, I have now visited nearly all the parishes in this diocese. Every where I have been received with a kindness and an interest highly gratifying to my feelings. Concerning the general prosperity of the Church, it may be difficult to decide with confidence; but from the best observations and inquiries which I have been able to make, her friends have no reason to despond. She seems to be gradually enlarging her borders, and 'strengthening her stakes,' while, at the same time, there appears to be an increasing degree of piety and zeal among her members. Her clergy are every where zealous and faithful. I make this observation with the more satisfaction, as I have formerly heard them charged from abroad with coldness and indifference. Nothing but ignorance, or gross prejudice, could have suggested the imputation. It is my full conviction, that if there exists, in any part of our country, a body of clergy who, by their labours and privations, their industry and fidelity, approach to the model of the primitive ages of the church, such men are to be found among the episcopal clergy of Connecticut. To ensure the continued prosperity and advancement of the Church, nothing is wanting, with the blessing of Heaven, but the continued zeal and perseverance of her friends. There is nothing in the circumstances of the times, which can warrant a relaxation of either. On the contrary, the excitement with regard to religion, which seems to prevail through the greater part of the State, furnishes ground to the friends of the Church for the exercise of a more especial degree of vigilance. From the clergy, in a particular manner, it calls for increased watchfulness and zeal. The present is certainly a period when people, in general, are more disposed than usual, to attend to the concerns of religion. Not that we have reason to believe there is any special effusion of the Spirit of God, in any particular region: but the excitement which has been raised in the community, has led people to give more heed to those ordinary influences of the Holy Spirit, and to those ordinary means of grace, which are at all times dispensed in such measure as to enable all, who will co-operate with them, to work out their salvation, through the merits of the Redeemer. But if the people are disposed to hear, and to inquire, whatever may be the cause, it is the especial duty of the clergy to warn and to

struct. More especially is this their duty, at the present period, that they may guard their flocks from the delusions and errors of ignorant teachers, and lead the inquiring mind to just and rational views of that way of salvation revealed in the gospel."—*Gospel Advocate, October*, 1821, p. 314.

Upon the whole, the greatest harmony prevails among the clergy and laity of Connecticut, and this Diocese is at present more flourishing than at any former period.

III. *New York.* The report presented to the General Convention in 1820, states the progress of the Church in this Diocese. The number of organized congregations is 118 (an increase of *three* since the year 1817) and the number of the Clergy is *seventy-one*, twenty-four of whom had been ordained Deacons, and fourteen Priests. Five new Churches have been consecrated.

"No small share of the prosperity of this diocese is to be ascribed to missionary services. The number of labourers at present engaged in them is fifteen. The peculiar situation of the immense portion of the diocese, formed by the western district of the State, renders these services indispensable, and should excite our brethren in New York to increasing exertions in their support; while the similarity of cases between that section of their State and the new States and territories of our Union, should command for these services, as intimately connected with the duty of extending missionary labours to the latter, the approbation of the Church generally.

"It is proper that we here notice the efforts made by our brethren of this diocese, for the religious instruction of the Indians, within the borders of their State. The Oneida tribe have now a handsome and commodious church, and are still enjoying the faithful services of their licensed catechist and lay-reader, Mr. Eleazar Williams, who is himself of Indian extraction, and a candidate for holy orders. He leads their devotion in their church, by the use of a translation of our liturgy into the Mohawk language; in which they join with every appearance of devout attention, and with the full effect of proper participation. A young Indian of the Onondaga tribe, son of a chief, who was killed in the service of the United States, during the last war, is now making suitable preparation for devoting ardent piety, great zeal, and natural talents of a most respectable order, to the work of the ministry among his countrymen.

"The congregation of this diocese receive frequent visits from the bishop. The clergy are generally distinguished for conscientious observance of the canons and rubrics of the Church. The laity, in conjunction with their pastors, have formed numerous associations for distributing the Holy Bible, the book of Common Prayer, and other approved religious books and tracts; for aiding the ecclesiastical authority in the support of missionaries; and for the

interesting and inestimable charity of Sunday school instruction." *Journal of General Convention*, 1820, p. 30.

IV. New Jersey. From the Journal of the thirty-eighth Annual Convention, held August 21 and 22, 1821, it appears that there are now within this Diocese, fourteen Clergymen, viz. the Bishop, ten Presbyters, and three Deacons; and that there are Twenty-five congregations, (besides the few Episcopalians scattered in Amwell, Woodbury, and some other towns,) fifteen of whom enjoy the stated ministrations of Clergymen. The rest are kept alive by the occasional visits of Missionaries, and by the practice of having *the service of the Church*, and also a sermon, *read regularly every Sunday*, by some pious and respectable member of these little flocks. We notice this fact with peculiar pleasure, because it affords a striking proof that the *Liturgy constantly used will preserve the Church in the worst of times.* This indeed has been strikingly evinced in the State of New Jersey, originally settled by the Swedes and Dutch, and, when it became an English province, inhabited chiefly by Quakers and Baptists, it was not until the year 1704, that *any* congregation existed there in communion with the Church of England. When the revolutionary war commenced, a few scattered congregations had been formed under six or seven Missionaries, sent over by the venerable SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL. That event operated there as it did in every other part of America. The connexion of the Church of England with the State, led to the persecution of the flocks, and the dispersion of the shepherds. The destitute congregations, (like sickly hot-house plants) withered under the united and chilling influences of desertion, poverty, and reproach. In this condition they continued to preserve a faint and tremulous life, even till the present time. The first Bishop of New Jersey, was consecrated in 1815, at which time there were barely sufficient Clergymen in the Diocese, to constitute the canonical number of electors. Compared with this state of things, the progress of the Church has been rapid, though it has consisted principally in the revival of decayed and destitute congregations.

V. Pennsylvania. Over this Diocese presides the venerable Bishop White, the survivor of the two who were consecrated in 1787*, at Lambeth, and who is now the senior Bishop of the American Episcopal Church. Thirty Clergymen have the care of the Churches in this Diocese. Since

* See Brit. Crit. vol. xiii. p. 602. Old Series.

the Convention of 1817, five new Churches have been consecrated; the foundations of three others have been laid; and, between 1817 and 1820, the Bishop ordained sixteen Deacons and nine Priests; and, in the year, ending in May, 1821, one Deacon, and four Presbyters were ordained. The interest of religion is increasing in this State, where there is a Prayer Book Society in full operation, which however has been obliged to suspend its gratuitous distribution, and to limit its exertions to the sale of the book at a very low price. The Sunday Schools, and Female Tract Society, continue to flourish; the Missionary Society of this Diocese has been dormant, in the expectation of being merged in the General Missionary Society, which has recently been established under the authority of the General Convention: and, although the Society for the advancement of Christianity has suffered from the pressure of the times, yet it has exerted itself to the extent of its resources.

The Churches in the State of *Delaware* are under the superintendence of Bishop White, and are recovering from the low state in which they were at the General Convention of 1817. According to the Report, presented in 1820, there are four officiating Clergymen, fourteen Churches, and about 200 Communicants. Several of the congregations have made considerable exertions to repair their places of worship.

VI. *Maryland.* The Diocese of this State consists of the Bishop, thirty-eight Presbyters, ten Deacons, and sixty-one parishes, several of which contain one or more Chapels of Ease. In consequence of defective returns from many of the parishes, the reports of communicants, baptisms, marriages and funerals cannot be accurately ascertained: but our readers will learn with pleasure that in this State, the Church is upon the whole, improving in numbers of *intelligent* members, whose devout and exemplary conduct has not only caused the principles of the Church to be better understood than formerly, but has also removed prejudices which were once entertained against it.

VII. *Virginia.* Though an Annual Convention of this Diocese was held in 1821, yet as no particulars respecting the increase of the Church have been communicated to us, a notice of its actual state must be drawn from the Report made to the General Convention of 1820. A considerable number of new congregations has been formed, and the various religious societies formed in this State by the Members of the Church, are flourishing.

"The number of regular congregations is about fifty, and of officiating ministers thirty. The most delightful unity prevails

amongst the ministers. A strong attachment binds them and their congregations together. The conduct of communicants is becoming more and more serious and consistent; and very few are now to be found, who bring reproach upon Religion and the Church by immoralities, or an attendance upon the vain and sinful amusements of the world. The services of the Church are more punctually and zealously observed, and promise to be esteemed in proportion as they are duly understood. The ordinance of baptism especially, which has hitherto been so neglected, or lightly and profanely performed, begins to excite the more serious attention of the clergy and laity; whereas the directions of the rubric enjoin the most public and solemn performance of it, where the prayers of the whole congregation may be obtained, it has been too customary, either through a false modesty or irreligious indifference, to prevail upon ministers to disobey the rubric, and let down the ordinance to a mere private ceremony, which has often been accompanied with unbecoming frivolity and mirth. The impiety of such a proceeding now appears in its true colours; and a reformation has already begun and considerably advanced, which, it is hoped, will be aided and supported by the general voice of the Church."—*Journal of General Convention*, 1820, p. 35.

The state of *North Carolina* is placed under the episcopal care of Dr. Moore, the Bishop of Virginia. The favourable prospects which began to dawn in 1817, have been realized. A few years ago the number of persons in communion with the Church in this State did not exceed *fifty*; in 1821 it amounted to 332 (which is certainly not the total number, as some churches had not made a report.) There has been an increase of congregations, and the clergy of the diocese amount to ten. Six persons have in this state been ordained deacons, and two priests. A circumstance peculiarly gratifying to the Christian is, that the Lutheran Church in this State has made overtures of union with the Protestant Episcopal Church; a Lutheran minister has been ordained deacon and priest; and in all probability before this time the good work of union has been completed.

VIII. *South Carolina.* This diocese has been deeply afflicted since the general convention of 1817, by the loss (among other exemplary divines) of its Bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Dehon, two volumes of whose valuable sermons have lately been reprinted in this country, of which we hope ere long to present an account to our readers. The episcopal office, however, was not suffered to remain long vacant; but has happily been filled by the election of the Rev. Dr. Bowen, in February, 1818, who appears, from an address of his clergy, to possess their thorough confidence and affection. From the recent appointment of this eminent divine

to the episcopate, and from the great extent of his diocese, the official returns are necessarily incomplete; sufficient however is evident, to shew that pure and undefiled religion is evidently increasing in this State. Attention is here paid to a class of people who, in most of the American States, are but too much neglected by other communions—we mean *the people of colour*; and many useful, moral, and religious tracts (among which is a catechism explanatory of the admirable summary of Christian doctrines and duties in the Common Prayer, edited under the authority of the Bishop and his Clergy), have been published and distributed by the Protestant Episcopal Society for the advancement of Christianity in South Carolina; these tracts are stated to be calculated to excite attention, to instruct the people in practical religion, and to attach them to the doctrine, discipline, and liturgy of the Church. The ladies in this diocese have, much to their credit, opened a subscription to establish a scholarship in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which is to be called the *Dehon Scholarship*, in honour of the memory of their late revered and beloved bishop.

IX. The diocese of *Ohio* is of very recent formation, and comprizes the state of Ohio, together with the western states of Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Missouri. The Right Rev. Philander Chase is the Bishop of this diocese, whose *annual* convention was held on the 6th and 7th of June, 1821. It is only little more than two years since the bishop of this interesting portion of the Church was consecrated, and the convention just noticed was only the fourth which has been held; yet the evidence it exhibits, of increasing attachment to the primitive faith and order, is highly animating, notwithstanding all the difficulties they have to encounter. Thirteen parishes were represented in this convention, by sixteen lay delegates, and parochial reports were received from ten, which contain 257 communicants. At present there are only five clergymen in the state of Ohio, exclusive of the bishops, the whole of whose address to the convention of his diocese, is too long to admit of insertion. The following passages, however, will shew that the episcopal duties, in the American Union, are those of a *missionary*, and the very circumstances of the country, exhibit a picture of 'journeyings often,' and of 'labours' most 'abundant,' which will remind our readers of the state of the primitive Church, when the Apostles first conveyed to the world the tidings of the Gospel. That Bishop Chase *travelled* in the course of the year (1820) *on horseback*, which is the only way of visiting the infant settlements of that country, a distance of *twelve*

hundred and seventy-nine miles, confirmed one hundred and seventy-four persons, baptized upwards of sixty adults and children, administered the Lord's Supper to more than two hundred and fifty, performed divine service and preached *eighty-two times*, besides attending, in several instances, the sick, the dying, and the afflicted, will exhibit to our readers that the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America have succeeded not only to the office of the Apostles, but also to their labours and privations.

"'On Monday I rode to Portsmouth, 45 miles: here, from a very few, scarcely more than two or three families at first, the congregation has become comparatively large; and an unusual spirit of inquiry after truth, and fervour of devotion, seem to prevail among them. The evangelical doctrine and duties of Christianity, as set forth by our primitive Church, were the subject of conversations. On Wednesday, two o'clock, *p. m.* divine service was held, and a sermon delivered at the court-house; the same duty was also performed at early candle-lighting; the congregations were large and attentive.'

"'On Monday, after visiting and confirming a person on a sick bed (since deceased) I set off in company with the Rev. Mr. Morse, towards the south and east. We rode together about twelve or fifteen miles, and then separated; he going into Monroe county, to prepare the people for next Sunday's ministrations; and myself towards Marietta, a place which I had never before visited.'

"'I had it not in my power, consistently with my engagements, to spend a Sunday in Marietta. I, however, held divine service, and preached three times on Wednesday, the 8th of August, twice in the meeting-house in Marietta, and once on Point Harman, opposite the town. On Thursday morning I administered the apostolic rite of confirmation to seven persons, and the incipient steps were taken towards forming a parish, by the name of *St. Luke's church*. Nothing, under the divine blessing, seemed wanting to complete the fondest expectations of the progress of primitive Christianity in this place, but the labours of a pious, learned, and active missionary for a few years.'

"'Friday, 11th, I arrived, after a solitary ride across the almost entire wilderness, at Woodfield. Here, again, I met the Rev. Mr. Morse, and with him held divine service, he reading prayers, and myself delivering the sermon. As in the natural creation, since the earth was cursed for man's transgression, weeds, briars, and other noxious plants, first spring up and infest the soil, before salutary fruits can be cultivated, so in the settlement of new countries, few instances are found, especially where men are thrown suddenly together, as in the settlement of new county seats, in which licentiousness, immorality, and irreligion, do not prevail. The friends of virtue should not be discouraged, but rather animated to greater exertions by this. Every endeavour should be made, that the means of moral and religious cultivation should go as fast

and as far, as the field of usefulness extends. Of his ministers, our Lord requires this in particular. Would they could be assisted in this, by the means which God has committed to the Christian community, to that end! Then would the law of God and the Gospel ministry go, wherever man goes. Then would the weeds of sin be eradicated, ere they had taken such deep root as to defy cultivation.

" 'On the 12th of August we rode through a new formed settlement, called Malaga. Here they are endeavouring to erect a building for some public worship; and, although it is to be built after the manner of cabins, with logs or hewn timber, yet it will afford a convenient place for worship and for Sunday schools, to instruct the ignorant, of which there is great need in this part of the State. Many of the heads of families in this vicinity, were baptized in the Church, and are desirous to bring their children up in the same; but they have no means of instruction, no stated services to train them in her doctrines and discipline. Could even a lay reader, or a pious catechist, be placed and maintained for a few years among them, the effects would, to all human view, be very salutary. Malaga is eight miles from Woodfield. We dined at a Mr. Fogle's in the neighbourhood, were kindly treated, and passed on to Mr. Dement's, on Seneca Fork of Will's Creek, where the last year I held divine service; the evening was spent in exhortation and prayer. On the morning of the 13th of August, Sunday, according to the appointment previously made by the Rev. Mr. Morse, divine service was held in the woods, the congregation being too large to be otherwise accommodated. Here, my voice having failed me to a considerable degree, Mr. Morse read prayers and preached. I had, however, the ability to deliver a short address. In the intermission I did the same. The afternoon was spent in the same way, the sermon being delivered, though with much difficulty, by myself. Thus ended our labours at this place. Need I repeat here, what it is my duty so often to repeat, my deep impressions of the great need of missionaries! When will you come again? What hopes have we for public instruction? When will our children, and the rising generation, be rescued from the ignorance which pervades our infant settlements? When will Gospel ordinances be administered among us? These were the questions which met us every where. What answer could be returned? Pray constantly and fervently to the great, the heavenly Husbandman, that he would send forth labourers into the harvest.

" 'We rode, the same evening, to Mr. Bryan's, and next day to Mr. Wendall's, on Little Beaver. Here, Monday 14th, divine service was performed. Mr. Morse read prayers, and the sermon was delivered by myself. Measures are taking in this neighbourhood, by the pious zeal of Mr. Wendall's family and neighbours, to erect a church strictly devoted to the services of our primitive communion: and I have since heard they have made considerable progress in the good work. May the Lord's blessing attend their endeavours, and crown them with complete success!

"'Same day rode through Barnesville to Mr. Taylor's, in the neighbourhood of Morristown; and, as his family had not been baptized, I spent the evening in discoursing on the nature and necessity of that holy sacrament. August 15th, Tuesday afternoon, performed divine service in Morristown; the Rev. Mr. Morse preached. At candle lighting, the service was again performed by Mr. Morse, the sermon by myself, and four adults and seven children were baptized. August 16th, the Rev. Mr. Morse read prayers, and myself preached, explained the liturgy, and administered confirmation to six persons. On Friday divine service was performed, a sermon preached, and one child baptized, by myself. Saturday morning prayer was celebrated, and Mr. Morse preached a sermon. Same day, evening prayer and a sermon by myself. This day also were baptized four adults and four children. On Sunday, August 20, divine service was performed, confirmation administered to fourteen persons, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to eighteen persons; a discourse was delivered by myself, on the obligation and efficacy of Christian ordinances. Afternoon of the same day evening prayer, and a sermon preached by myself. At early candle lighting, a third service, and the Rev. Mr. Morse preached.

"'In all our services at St. Clairsville, I felt sensibly the blessings of divine grace, in disposing the hearts of the large congregations who attended, to apparent seriousness and great decorum of behaviour. Surely, thought I, the Lord is in this place, and will bless the ministration of his word and sacraments.'

"'From St. Clairsville we proceeded through Harrisville, to Mr. Finley's, the old man of whom I spake to you with so much interest, in a former communication. We found him yet alive in spirit, in faith, and good works; though in body, by reason of the palsy, almost a tenant of the grave. To attempt a full description of this second visitation to this venerable man and his numerous and affectionate family, would resemble romance rather than a grave discourse of useful facts. I cannot, therefore, indulge myself in it.

"'Though it was late in the day when we arrived, yet the family and neighbours, to a considerable distance, were quickly informed, and as quickly assembled. Divine service was performed, and a sermon and exhortation given the same evening. It must be recollected, that these pious families are situated in the woods, ten miles from St. James's church, to which they belong. This distance almost precludes a great portion of them from attending divine services at St. James's, were even those regularly and constantly performed there; but when it is remembered that this church is open but a small portion of the year, the neighbourhood of the Finleys may be considered as almost destitute. In their ardent desires for the means of grace, how lamentable that they cannot be supplied! How much good could a pious minister do here! But they lack the means, at present, of his support; consequently, their case is almost hopeless. Twenty communi-

[illegible] received the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on this day, the twenty-second, in Mr. Finley's cabin; all children were made on Christian duties, by myself; and the morning prayers were read, and a child baptized, by the Rev. Mr. Morse. How interesting these duties here, amid such a family! The venerable man, like Jacob, surrounded by his offspring, praying for blessings on their heads, exhorting to good works, and leading the way to the kingdom of glory. Craving the episcopal blessing, and with tears wishing prosperity to the Church of God, the good man bade us farewell.' " *Gospel Advocate, Oct.* 1821, p. 317.

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" 'Having mentioned Portsmouth, a flourishing place at the junction of the Sciota with the Ohio river, I should not obtrude any additional observations concerning it, were it not for the increased interest which that place excited, by a second visit during this last year. An unusual spirit of religious inquiry, as to the apostolic means of salvation, seems here to lead to very happy results. It needs but the divine blessing on the performance of our primitive services among them, even but a portion of the time, to ensure great success to the Church in this place. On this second visitation my services were almost incessant. On Sunday, the 10th of December, four adults and three children were baptized, eight persons were confirmed, and the holy communion was administered to an increased number. Amidst many inquiries, 'when will you come again to see us? and when are we to have the stated means of grace?'—I left this infant society, with many prayers in their behalf.' " *Ibid.* p. 319.

In performing this almost continual and fatiguing duty, it is no wonder (as this primitive bishop announced to his clergy and people) that he 'found his constitution much impaired and his voice almost gone.' In consequence of the view of the spiritual wants of the diocese thus presented by the bishop to the convention, they readily concurred in his various suggestions for the spread of religion, and authorized him to prepare, and transmit to the several bishops of the United States, an address, 'setting forth the great necessities of the Church within the diocese of Ohio, and soliciting their aid and assistance in procuring missionaries to reside therein.' The following passages from this apostolic 'address' (a copy of which is now before us) we cannot withhold from our readers.

" The map of Ohio will show you the extent of our charge. Our extreme parishes, as those of Cincinnati and Ashtabula, are distant, each from the other, rising of three hundred miles. In other directions their distance is not much less. On this vast surface our settlements are thinly scattered; and among these settlements are mingled the members of our primitive Church. Having emigrated from places where the pleasant things of our Zion were

freely and in abundance ministered, they remember their past enjoyments, as hungry persons think on their former feasts of plenty. They are, both from reading and experience, too well informed, to enjoy the crude things of modern date, which are offered them in place of their former delights; and they are too pious not to hope, trust, and believe, that they shall have the good things of the gospel kingdom extended to them. In this situation they sit, like the captive Israelites, by the muddy waters of Euphrates' stream, waiting, with sighs and tears, for redemption to the Church of God; for that blessed time when the word and sacraments can, with any thing like constancy, be ministered among them. Besides innumerable individuals dispersed throughout our State, there are forty-eight places containing our *little flocks*, mostly in circumstances similar to the above. These I have hitherto visited once a year. I have witnessed their joy at meeting, and their grief at parting. Their passionate inquiries, prompted by their love of Zion, and especially by the danger of the rising generation's being enticed every day from her order and beauty into the paths of sin, schism, and infidelity; their passionate inquiries for some prospects of relief in the enjoyment of faithful missionaries, almost every where repeated, have sunk deep into my heart, and caused my tears to mingle with theirs. 'While all others,' say they, 'enjoy these blessings, why are *we* deprived of them? Has that Church, which we deem emphatically *primitive*, no zeal to assist their distressed brethren in the wilderness; while all others, of modern date, compass sea and land to make proselytes?'

"Our parishes and places of holding divine service are mostly distant from each other from fifteen to sixty miles; and the amount of parochial services is hardly so much as of five clergymen to supply them all. Though these are faithful, I fear, beyond their strength; yet what are they among so many congregations, and at such distances? To keep from ecclesiastical extinction the little flocks already formed, they have, in many instances, encompassed so great a field of duty, that, before they have finished their circuit, their former labours are no more seen; their fences against error are thrown down, the weeds of sin are grown, and their whole ground is laid waste. Too often have I witnessed this with mine own eyes; too often have I seen the lambs of the fold devoured, because a shepherd was too far distant to hear their cries. What must be my feelings under such circumstances, the beatings of your own bosoms, as you read this, can best express.

"In doing the duty above alluded to, I have found the labours of a missionary inseparable from those of the episcopate; and, to a person of my age, this assemblage of fatigue is more than can be borne. Incessant speaking in private, as well as in public, in teaching the rudiments of Christianity to the young, in explaining and defending the first principles of our religion to the ignorant opposer, have already much impaired my voice and my general health; and should this state of things continue, to all human view my strength will *soon be brought down in my journey, and my da will be shortened.*

"So circumstanced, where can I, under divine Providence, look for aid in the arduous work assigned me, but to you, my brethren in the Lord? Think not, I intreat you, that I do this without due consideration. By what is in print I am apprized of your wants among your own flocks. I see the need you have to apply your own resources at home. But wants, as well as riches, are relative. They are small or great only by comparison. A family may be in want, and charity should begin at home: but, if a neighbour be dying for want of relief, who can refuse that relief and be innocent?

"This, in the eyes of all reflecting persons, is our case. Our parishes and people are too dismembered and too poor to maintain qualified ministers of the word and sacraments. They have made their efforts according to their utmost ability, and they find all is insufficient. Should they be suffered to fail in this diocese, what will remain of the Church in the west? They will soon disperse. No funds, no clergy, and soon no people. Thus, even should prosperous days return, there will be no foundation on which to build a future superstructure.

"Seeing so little hopes of fostering our little flocks which we had formed in the wilderness, even the clergy we had, some of them, began to think of removing to more flourishing regions, and leaving the rest to mourn out their days in useless efforts and hopeless solitude. But the Lord hitherto hath helped. Their faith in the expected relief, which this instrument implores, has as yet borne up their spirits. 'We will make this last effort, say we, and God of his mercy will smile upon us. This shall occupy our nightly dream and daily prayer. The fathers of our common church, the chief labourers in Christ's vineyard, will not suffer *this rose in the west*, which God's own right hand hath planted, to be blasted in its bud, its beauty to fade thus untimely, and its fragrance to cease from us for ever. They will, under God, send forth labourers, faithful ministers; they will incite their people to give liberally of their abundance; and we yet shall see the prosperity of our beloved Zion.

"Right-reverend brethren, I have now, surrounded by my manifold cares, finished my address to you on this, of all others dwelt upon through my whole life, the most important and momentous subject; and thus, according to my weak ability, have done my duty. With prayers the most sincere I commit the event of it to the wisdom, the goodness, and mercy of Him, who, to found and erect a kingdom here on earth, shed his precious blood for us. Whatever this event may be, whether prosperous or adverse, I humbly implore his divine grace to make me submissive to his holy will and pleasure." *Gospel Advocate, Dec.* 1821, p. 378.

If the foregoing extracts be read with half the feelings which they have excited in our minds, our readers (we are persuaded) will consider the address whence they are taken, as one of the most powerful and eloquent appeals, ever made

to the piety and sympathizing charity of the other members of the body of Christ. It is evidently written warm from the heart, with sentences artless and unstudied in their cadence; the venerable author, being full of his subject, thinks of no arts of persuasion, and relies solely on the goodness of the cause for which he is pleading, and the sanctity of his own motives.

We regret that our limits compel us to break off from a subject in which all our readers, we are confident, must feel a more than ordinary interest; but we shall take an opportunity of resuming the article in our next.

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR JUNE, 1822.

ART. I. *An Account of the Abiponēs, an Equestrian People of Paraguay. From the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer, Eighteen Years a Missionary in that Country.* 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s. Murray. 1822.

MARTIN DOBRIZHOFFER, as we are informed by the preface to this curious and interesting work, was a native of Styria, and born in 1717. At nineteen years of age he entered the order of Jesuits, and after a preparation of thirteen more he went as a Missionary to South America. The meridian of his life was passed in Paraguay, where he employed himself in the diffusion of Christian doctrines and the practice of Christian duties. Seven of the eighteen years which were dedicated to his Foreign ministry were passed among the Abipones, a tribe unreclaimed from savage habits. The work, of which a translation is now presented to the English public, is the result of his inquiries and observations while employed on his mission. It is written in a rambling and discursive manner; very much, we doubt not, resembling that in which the good old man used to tell his story to the Empress Maria Theresa, who was fond of listening to him. The garrulity of its style, and the tincture of superstition which occasionally marks it, are far from disagreeable; and they impart to it a life and animation, a personality and identity, as it were, which are too often wanting in the more fastidious and elaborate narratives of modern Travellers. Perhaps we cannot offer higher praise than by adding that, in many things, Martin Dobrizhoffer has forcibly reminded us of no less than Herodotus himself. On the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America he returned to Styria; and, on the extinction of his Order he continued to reside at Vienna, till his death, which occurred in 1791.

Much good, doubtless, was produced by the Romish Missionaries in Paraguay: and, whatever accusation of

worldliness may be adduced against the superiors of the Jesuits, we are inclined to bestow unqualified approbation on the spirituality, the patience, the learning, and the diligence of the numerous Clergy employed as their instruments. Be it remembered that the persons engaged in these difficult and dangerous services were not stung to the mighty work of planting the Cross by the gad-fly of fanaticism: that they were no dreamers rushing aside from the home circle of imperative and possible duties, to the boundless *impossible* of Ultra-Philanthropism: that they had one fixed and steady object; a creed, which, with all the faults that may be charged upon it, was openly avowed and strictly defined; and a scheme of action profoundly meditated and correctly organized. The labourers moreover were trained to their toil by a long course of probationary education: instructed in every science which the wit of man has compassed; apportioned to separate tasks best fitted to the peculiar bent of mind and extent of acquirement which each had shewn: and for their knowledge of Holy Writ not tossed loosely to the vague and individual fancies of latitudinarian interpretation, but taught implicitly to rely upon the guidance of a Church which, though in many things blind and corrupt, was neither self-created nor uncommissioned of God. The effects produced by a machine so composed, were of necessity commensurate to its magnitude, and the excellency of its materials. Religion and civilization advanced hand in hand; and the Guaranies and the Chiquitos learned their duties to God and to their Neighbour, without the aid of an Uncanonical Conspiracy of Enthusiasts, which threatened to wean the mother country in which it arose from its established worship, and to divert her numerous streams of unostentatious and useful Charity, into a single, ambitious, overwhelming and destructive torrent.

The territories of the missions of Paraguay comprehended not only the province of that name, but also a great part of those of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres. The Missionary's first volume embraces the general state of the whole settlement: and from this we must be permitted to cull the most striking facts, without any closer regard to order and arrangement than the writer himself has thought it necessary to display.

The forest of Mbaevèra abounds in trees from the leaves of which the herb Paraguay is made. Some Spaniards employed in gathering these leaves, which form a principal article of commerce, came upon an empty hovel evidently belonging to savages. Struck with terror they hastened to

the town of St. Joachim: and the missionaries on their representation, employed a band of natives to attempt the discovery of this unknown horde. The Indians failed in their search; and it was not till several years afterwards that Dobrizhoffer at the command of his superiors, prosecuted it successfully.

The difficulties which he encountered in penetrating the forest were sufficient to daunt an ordinary adventurer. Rivers and morasses every where intersected its solitude. It was wholly pathless; and its rocky soil was often to be trodden barefoot. On one occasion, for Father Martin made no less than three expeditions, torrents of rain deluged him for twenty days successively; but he still advanced, and at length arrived at the residence of three populous hordes under as many Caciques. The first hut which he entered was built of palms interwoven with dry grass, opening by eight doors, and containing sixty inhabitants. Here and there hung nets which are used both to sleep and sit in. The commentators have been puzzled to understand how the nets (ἀμφίβληστρα) in which the fen-Egyptians slept, could protect them from gnats. Each of them, says the Historian, who may invariably be believed when he speaks from himself, has a net, which he casts for fish by day, and uses also in his bed by night. Over this (his bed) he places the net, and sleeps under it when he has crept in. For the gnats, if he sleeps in his cloak or in linen, bite him soundly through these; but they never even try to bite him at all through the net*. Now, by the good leave of Messrs. Schweighaeuser and Schellershemius, we would say that the wild men of Mbaevèra could teach the practical value of a Mosquito net: which they seem to use very much after the fashion of the Egyptians and for the same reason.

Each separate family in this community of dwelling had its distinct fire. The males shave their heads leaving a circle of hair round the crown. At seven years old they pierce the under lip and insert a reed in the hole. Both sexes hang a triangular shell in their ears. The men wear only a narrow girdle round the loins. The women are entirely covered with a white garment manufactured from the bark of the Pinò. They live from day to day by the chace, using the bow with great dexterity: and they have a good custom of filling their fleshpots when they go to bed over night, that they may breakfast at their first waking in the morning.

* Herod. II. 95.

They worship neither an invisible God nor idols: nor, though they call the Spirit of Evil Añanga, do they pay him adoration. Magicians they have in plenty, who can inflict and cure diseases, raise floods and tempests, and transform themselves into tigers. Every stranger is regarded by them as an enemy having a design upon their freedom.

It does not appear from these premises that much hope was offered of communication with the strange hordes: and Father Martin's chief source of confidence in his early intercourse must have arisen from his belief that they did not eat human flesh. The first of the natives whom he discovered, was a young man holding an expiring bird, like a pheasant, which he had just shot; and the good Father with a deep knowledge of human nature, complimented him on his skill in archery, and gave him a piece of roast meat. Won both by the pudding and the praise, the youth informed his benefactor that his name was Arapotiyu (Ara day, poti the flower, yu golden: the golden flower of day, or the morning) and that his father, Roy, (the Sun) was chief Cacique of the neighbourhood. The credentials offered to this Cacique himself, when Father Martin found him, were of the same nature as those which had succeeded with his son. The old gentleman was surly enough at first; but the roast meat softened him and gained "an entrance to his heart." Snuff he could not endure better than James I; pushing it away from him with expressions of fear, and uttering a counterblast against it as some magical powder which would charm him.

After no little hesitation, under the pretexts of distance, bad roads, and the hostility of his countrymen, the Cacique led Father Martin to his horde. The men came boldly forward with bows and arrows, and crowns of parrots' feathers, the women retreated in alarm.

"'There is nothing at all to be afraid of, dear sisters,' said the eldest of my Indians. 'You see before you your relations, the descendants of your ancestors. Not one of us harbours an evil thought towards you. I am the chief and director of them all.' 'What the old man has told you,' said I, 'is perfectly true. No one present is evilly disposed towards you but myself. I am a terrible fellow; for' (putting on a fierce countenance and uttering a hiss) 'at one mouthful I intend to devour two or three children.' This pleasantry changed all their terror into laughter." Vol. I. p. 69.

After the first introduction had passed, Dobrizhoffer followed up the agreeable impression which he had made, by playing a few tunes on his *viol d'amour*. He then explained

the friendly motives of his visit; and as he found "that the boys laughed a little when he made mention of hell-fire," he dexterously turned his address to the advantages of civilization, contrasting the early deaths, the diseases, the houselessness and the famine of his hearers, with the long lives, the health, the comfortable dwellings, and the plenty, of the Indians who accompanied him: impressing upon them that a suitable portion of beef was served every day gratuitously to each; and summing up his speech by the practical argument of a distribution of petty presents.

So much had these winning manners delighted the Cacique that he offered his daughter in marriage to the good Father; and was not a little astonished and mortified to hear of the impediment opposed by his vow of celibacy. On the second day two other Caciques arrived with a great troop of armed savages. The one Tupanchichù, arrogant and crafty, "with a placid countenance and a perilous suavity of speech," under which he covered the bloody design of murdering the strangers. The other Veraripochiritù, remarkable for gentleness and docility. He was as much distinguished moreover for the height and fullness of his body as for the length of his name: and it is probable that the South Americans, like the Persians*, generally proportioned these to each other. Father Martin's proposition of founding a Colony was met with apparent approbation, and he returned to St. Joachim accompanied by eighteen distinguished natives.

But few months elapsed, however, before this benevolent plan was frustrated. News arrived that Cacique Roy had been poisoned by Tupanchichù who attempted the life of his widow also. Besides this, an opulent trader, hearing of the discovery of this horde, sought to employ its inhabitants instead of the negroes who worked upon his estate. The agents whom he engaged to persuade the Savages to this transfer were received with marks of the bitterest abhorrence: and the dread of slavery so far operated upon the Indians whom they solicited, that having burnt their hovels to ashes they retired without leaving a vestige of their route.

On another occasion, on the South Bank of the river Empalado, Father Martin discovered a native family consisting of three persons only. A mother with her son and daughter, each about eighteen years of age. It was a scene fit for Shakspeare's enchanted island. The youth had never seen a female except his mother and sister, nor any

* For thus we understand the somewhat ambiguous words τὰ οὐνόματα σφι, ἐόντα ὁμοῖα τῶισι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ. κ. τ. λ. Herod. I. 139.

male except his father. The maid had seen no woman but her mother, and no man but her brother, her father having been torn in pieces by a tiger before she was born. They willingly accompanied the Missionary to St. Joachim; but the change of habits to which their migration led, was soon fatal to them. The mother and daughter died rapidly in consumptions. The young man survived a few months longer, apparently in sound bodily health; but after the death of his only relations he represented himself as visited nightly by their spirits, in his sleep, urging him not to delay his baptism. Father Martin, assured of his conversion, baptized him on the morning of Hallowmass; and on the evening of the same day he quietly expired without any symptom of disease.

Paraguay is infested by numerous hostile tribes. Among them are the Payaguas, a race of pirates who intercept the Spanish vessels freighted for Buenos Ayres. Their costume is singularly ferocious: besides the customary paintings, and the tube in the under lip which hangs down upon the breast, they stain their hair with bull's blood, and tie the wing of a large vulture to the flap of one of their ears. The Guayagais wander in the forests on the banks of the Mondaŷ-guazù, destitute of clothes, and leaping from tree to tree, like monkeys, in search of honey, little birds, and other provisions. The Guaycuruti eat the horses of the Spaniards whenever they can kill them, and another tribe between the Parana and Uruguay eat the Spaniards themselves. The Yaros refuse conversion, very honestly assigning a reason which has some weight in it. "We don't like," they say, "to have a God who knows and sees all we do in secret. It is our fixed resolve and pleasure to enjoy our old liberty of thinking and acting as we like." The Puelches, Peguenches, Thuelchùs, Sanguelches, Muluches, and Aracaanos, the masters of the Chili Alps, are all equestrians: they drink melted horse-fat, and wash their heads in blood.

The river Paraguay abounds in wonders, which the Halicarnassean would have delighted to record. "I myself," says Dobrizhoffer, "never saw" the cataract called El Salto Grande: but Father Nicolas Duran, the grand Provincial, in his annals of Paraguay, dated Rome, 1626, speaks of it as precipitating itself with the utmost violence, down an immensely high rock, *twelve leagues in descent.* The equally veracious Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, declares that he *saw* (this is ὄψις not ἱστόρια) a fish as big as an ox, swimming on the river, with only half his body above water; and that an Indian who had been swallowed by another was afterwards ejected whole.

Pyebald horses in Paraguay are thought crafty and dangerous, and Father Martin has often found the supposition true to his cost. As in the days of Virgil, Sophocles, and Xenophon, those horses are held superior to all others which have a broad breast (*animosum pectus*), a small head (*caput arguturn*), short and pricking ears (*micat auribus*, ὀρθὸν ὦτα ἴσχειν), wide nostrils, (μυκτῆρες ἀναπεπταμένοι,) a bushy mane, (*densa juba*), and a wide, round back (*obesa terga*), and who like the ϛάτος ἵππος of the Mœonian "with playful alacrity, provoke the rest to fight on the plain, leap ditches without the least hesitation, cross marshes quickly, and, as soon as they are released from the saddle and bridle, joyfully roll themselves on the ground." Nature, it seems, is the same in her laws, at all times, and in all places, whether they regard men or horses.

Horse-shoes are unknown, for two good reasons; the country produces but little iron, and no blacksmiths. Mares kept for breeding are docked, "that they may fatten sooner." In riding horses the tail is considered its greatest ornament; and the meanest negro slave would deem it an indignity and a punishment if he were ordered to ride on a horse without a tail. To mutilate the tail of another person's horse is as bitter a revenge among the lower orders as *houghing* is in Ireland: and it is a deadly insult to call another person *un rabon*, a horse without a tail.

Tigers prefer putrid horses to such as are alive. If a Spaniard, an Indian, and a Negro sleep together in the same place, a tiger will invariably pounce upon the last; "for negroes flesh they reckon a dainty, because it is most stinking." Jews would have an ill chance in these cases, if we believe the theological authority of Campegius, and the medical avouchments of Hucherius and Alsarius Crucius; to say nothing of the poetical figments of Martial, and the grave history of Ammianus Marcellinus; each and all of which writers concur in affirming that an unsavoury odour is gentilitious and national to the Hebrews. Albeit, as an author observes who is worth the whole troop put together, (and we recommend him to the perusal of our brethren at Bethnal Green,) "Unto *converted* Jews who are of the same seed, no man imputeth this unsavoury odour; as though aromatized by their conversion, they lost their scent with their religion, and smelt no longer than they savoured of the Jew."

A Guarany, after fasting a few hours, "will eat a young calf." The Abipones love tigers' flesh, and drink the melted fat, "esteeming it nectar, and even believing it a means of producing valour." A wound from the claw of a tiger, even

when healed, occasions excessive burning. "The tigers themselves are tormented with the heat of their own claws, and in order to relieve the pain, they rub them against the tree *seibo*, and leave the mark of their nails in the bark." The South American lions are a cowardly breed, and their flesh is like veal. The saliva of the Huanaco occasions the mange: these beasts array themselves in herds upon high mountains, and as horses pass underneath, "neigh for a long time in a manner strongly resembling human laughter."

We must refer our readers to the work itself for an unlucky adventure between Father Martin and a little animal with sundry evil aliases: Lichera, Zorrino, Skunk, Bête Puante, Enfant du Diable. It is told with inimitable good humour. The ykipará, a species of mole, makes a noise under the earth like a long drum. The Caraya ape is left to himself, and few people attempt to tame him. Indeed, if he deserves the character which Father Martin gives him, he can be no very agreeable companion. He is described to be full of melancholy, always querulous, always morose, always snappish; and to howl incessantly day and night. Hundreds of them howl in concert, and the sound is like the creaking of many waggons with ungreased wheels; a sound to endure which, if we recollect right, required no less than all the valour of the brave knight of La Mancha, when Montesinos was approaching to the disenchantment of Dulcinea. "*Oyóse asimismo un espantoso ruido, al modo de aquel que si causa de las ruedas macizas que suelen traher los carros de bueyes, de cuyo chirrio áspero y continuado se dies que huyen los lobos, y los osos, si los hay por dondepasan.* The Cayi ape is somewhat mischievous. If he is left to walk about the house at large, he wants to touch and taste every thing; he throws down inkstands and other vessels, spills liquors, tears books, and breaks every thing made of glass. He puts his fingers into boxes, lamps, and jugs, smells them, and dirts the table and people's clothes. He steals every thing fit to eat, which he can put hands on, and eats, when he can get food, till he bursts. In the woods they are carried on the backs of their mothers, round whose necks they throw their arms. The Indians kill the mothers and roast them. The little ones "which are kept alive for diversion, know their mothers when roasted and blacker than a coal, and adhere so tenaciously to their shoulders that their running away is not in the least to be apprehended." Besides these there are "large melancholy apes with extremely long beards," called Barbudos: Caruguàs, or *diablos del monte*, whose nails are marvellously venomous: Quatìs, with the snout of a pig and

head of a fox: and Ay's, which are very slothful, detest the least drop of rain, and every now and then pronounce the letter *I*, like a person groaning. Many of the Americans believe that apes in general possess the power of speech, but feign themselves dumb that they may not be compelled to labour for the Spaniards.

The Abiponian women frequently tame wolves by suckling them when whelps; although no wife can suckle another person's child without greatly offending her husband, and running the risk of being divorced. The young emus are fed by the males, who break the eggs that are still full, and employ them in feeding the chickens already hatched. The Tuncà has a beak as long as the rest of its body: and a young Abipone, whom Dobrizhoffer knew, always tied the beak of this bird to his nose, when he was going out to battle, in order that he might look fierce. Parrots are almost innumerable in their kinds. Father Martin had one which might have rivalled Mahomet's pigeon.

"I had in my possession a bird of this kind, which I called Don Pedro, and which articulately pronounced many words, and even whole sentences, in the Spanish, Guarany, and Abiponian languages, and learnt to sing a little Spanish song admirably. Moreover he could imitate violent coughing, laughing, weeping, barking, and an hundred other things so dexterously that you would have sworn it was a man that you heard. Whenever I travelled on foot or on horseback, he sat upon my shoulder, always chatty, always playful. When tired of his noise or his weight, I gave him to one of the Indians to carry—he angrily bit the man's ear, and flew back to me. He laughed very loud for a long time at an old Indian woman, whom we met riding on an ass. Though he reposed all day long on my shoulder, yet about sun-set, like fowls, he felt a desire for rest, began to grow angry, and, by clapping his wings, and repeatedly biting my ear, admonished me to stop the journey. Next day, when I mounted my horse again, he was extremely delighted, and did nothing but sing and laugh. When I stayed in the town, he sometimes walked up and down a very long rope suspended from two pillars outside the house. When I entered the dining-room he would fly after me, and whilst we were dining, ran about the table, and always flew angrily to bite the Indian who came to take away the rest of the food with the dishes. He tasted, snatched, and swallowed any food that he could lay hold of. He sometimes walked about the court-yard, rubbing and sharpening his beak in the sand, which he often swallowed by way of medicine. Seeing me caress a smaller parrot of another species, filled with envy he attempted to pierce the bird with his beak; but softened by a little coaxing, he not only suffered it to sleep under his wings, but ever afterwards treated it as a pupil, or rather as a son." Vol. I. P. 320.

He knew of another, a female, which could repeat the Lord's Prayer in the Guarany tongue: and which doubtless, had it lived in our days, would have graced many an anniversary of Branch and Auxiliary societies.

The King of the Abiponian crows, like the Phœnix, is seldom seen abroad. His plumage is milk-white: and whenever he shews himself he is always attended by a long train of satellites. A species of small ducks, called Ruililiè, flit about together at night, making a loud hissing, and are believed by the Abipones to be spirits of the dead.

The Abipones eat the flesh of a male shark, but reject the female with loathing: on the contrary, they eat female locusts and reject the male. The very large fat worms which breed in the incisions made in palm-trees, "they fry, and eat with much satisfaction." Of the quabȳra guazi, a sort of plum, they are also fond. Father Martin thought it smelt like a bug, and could not abide it. The guembè is a very grateful fruit to a man bathed in perspiration. A liquor is extracted from the fruit of the molle which "imparts a sort of ferocity to the eyes of persons intoxicated with it, which continues two days." The ȳçapȳ drops enough water in the night to make the ground round about it muddy.

In the second volume we come more particularly to the Abipones, whose abode is in the province of Chaco, in the centre of Paraguay; if a people which are constantly moving can be said to have an abode. Their various hordes are scattered over a great extent of country, bounded from north to south by the Rio Grande, and the territories of Santa Fe; and from east to west, by the shores of Paraguay, and the district of St. Iago. Almost every spot in it is distinguished by a name referring to some memorable occurrence or peculiarity of the neighbourhood. *Netagranàc Lpátage*, the bird's nest; for birds, resembling storks, annually build there. *Paët Latetà*, the bruised teats. *Lalegraicavalca*, the little white things, from hail of an enormous size which once fell there and killed much cattle.

Those among them who aspire to the office of *Keebèt*, or "devilish worker," must sit upon an aged willow, overhanging some lake till they begin to see into futurity. After a probation of this sort they are enabled to consult evil spirits, and call up the shades of the dead. A meteor, or a thunder-storm, is the sign of the decease of a *Keebèt*, and these heavenly prodigies are considered part of his funeral obsequies. They go out to battle with the armies, and upon their prophecies depends the place and time of combat. As a reward of divination the best part of the spoil is set aside for them: and

their houses and domestic furniture are superior to those of the uninitiated. Well and wisely singeth that ancient bard of Attica, when he styles the soothsayers Φλάργυρον γένος. Sometimes if they are ill-disposed to any man they summon him to their house, and declare their intention of punishing him in the name of their grandfather (of whom more presently). They then tear the breast and shoulders of the victim with the jaw of a fish: and the poor wretch, who unresistingly submits, holds himself fortunate to escape with life. Another of their most fearful menaces is, that they will change themselves into tigers: and, as soon as they begin their imitative roaring, the bystanders persuade themselves that the tigranthropous bodies become covered with spots, and that their nails are elongated and curved.

The grandfather whom we have just mentioned, from whom the equestrians of Chaco derive their origin, is no other than the devil himself, whose visible representative is found in the Pleiades. Here the learned father nods a little in his mythology. The seven heavenly young ladies to whom he refers, were the daughters of *Atlas*, not of *Lycurgus*; and the feud between that royal personage and the jolly god would have made them most unfitting nurses for the latter in his infancy. The *Hyades* performed this office; children we believe of the same father but by a different mother; though we are aware that this genealogy is disputed in the Classical Herald's-Office.

The Abipones are divided into three classes; the Riikahès, inhabitants of the plain; the Nakaigetergehes, of the woods; and the Yuaucanigas, once a separate nation, who being reduced by an inroad and massacre of the Spaniards, incorporated themselves with their neighbours. Each horde is governed by a separate Cacique, who possesses little power except in the day of batttle. War is the chief object of the life of the Abipones, and is conducted with equal prudence and courage. In their tactics, however, if they can be called such, they depend more upon personal valour than upon any impression to be made by large bodies. Each rushes singly upon his enemy, strikes a blow, and that he may not receive one in return, leaps back as quick as he came, on the true Homeric principle, ἄψ δ' ἑτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο. They keep their horses under the nicest command; and with the agility of a tumbler, in order to avoid a shot, they can twist themselves round, and lie in entire concealment under the belly of their charger. They cut off their enemies' heads and suspend them to the girths of their saddles: or, if the burden be too heavy, they scalp the amputated head, and stuff the skin with

straw. The Scythians, according to Herodotus *, went one step further; and, with a regard to personal cleanliness which appears superfluous to the Abipones, they used these pericranial pellicles as so many napkins (χειρομακτρα). The Abipones, in common with Lord Byron, these same Scythians, the Issedones †, and the Boii ‡, are fond of skulls as drinking cups. A liquor prepared from a fermentation of alfaroba, or honeycomb, is their favourite beverage. Father Martin liked to chew the materials of which it is composed for himself; the Abipones prefer those chewed by others, and generally commit the duty to old women, rather than the younger ones, who they say, abound in bad humours.

Whoever among them gives proof of a warlike disposition is inaugurated as a chieftain. The name which he bore in youth is dropped; he is invested with some other, terminating in the syllable *In;* and henceforward he uses a dialect peculiar to the nobles called Höcheri. His fortitude is severely tried before his admission to these dignities. A black bead being placed on his tongue he is ordered to sit at home for three days, and during that time to abstain from speaking, eating and drinking.

"On the evening preceding this military function all the women flock to the threshold of his tent. Pulling off their clothes from the shoulder to the middle, and dishevelling their hair, they stand in a long row, and with confused shouts, accompanied with the sound of gourds, and with the continual agitation of their arms and legs, lament for the ancestors of him who is, next day, to be adorned with a military dignity. These lamentations continue till it is dark. As soon as morning dawns, our candidate, elegantly dressed in the fashion of his nation, and holding a spear in his hand, leaps upon a horse laden with feathers, small bells, and trappings, and gallops northward, followed by a great troop of Abipones. Presently, returning with equal speed, he approaches the tent, where sits an old female juggler, the priestess of the ceremonies, who is afterwards to inaugurate the candidate with solemn rites. Some woman of noble birth officiously holds his spear and the bridles of his horse, while he dismounts, the rest of the matrons continuing to strike their lips, and applaud; when the candidate listens to a short address from the old woman seated on a hide, with as much veneration as if it was an oracle from a Delphic tripod. Then mounting fresh horses, he rides out in the same manner as before, first to the South, then to the East, and then to the West, and after each journey alights at the same tent, where that Pythian, like a female Apollo, pours forth her eloquence. The four excursions being performed, and the horses dismissed, they all be-

* Herod. iv. 65. † Ibid. iv. 27. ‡ Livy, xxiii. 24.

take themselves to that sacred tent, to witness the usual ceremony of the inauguration. This ceremony consists of three things; first the hair of the candidate is shaven by an old woman, so that from the forehead to the back part of the head she leaves a baldness or streak, three inches wide, which they call *Nalemra*. The business of the hair being finished, the old woman pronounces a panegyric, setting forth the noble actions of the candidate, his warlike disposition, knowledge of arms and horses, intrepidity in difficulties, the enemies he has slaughtered, the spoils that he has taken, the military fame of his ancestors, and so on; in order that he may appear, on many accounts, worthy to be declared a captain and a noble warrior, and to enjoy the rights and privileges of the Höcheri. His new name is immediately promulgated, and festively pronounced by a band of women striking their lips with their hands. The male spectators do not like dry ceremonies to be protracted to a great length, but joyfully fly to skins full of honeyed liquor, and conclude the business with a famous drinking match.

"It is remarkable that many of the women arrive at this degree of honour, and nobility, enjoy the privileges of the Höcheri, and use their dialect. The names of these females end in *En*, as those of the men in *In*." Vol. II. P. 442.

Of the state of medical science in these countries we learn the following particulars. After severe fatigue they complain sometimes that "their blood is angry;" and relieve themselves by plunging a knife deep into their leg, and allowing the blood to flow till they chuse to stop it by the application of a clod of earth. A powder of tiger's claws and alum, is a specific for the tooth-ache. A cataplasm of crocodile's fat, heals bruises. The stomach of the crocodile dried, ground to powder, and drank with water relieves the pain of the stone. The tooth of the crocodile scraped to dust and swallowed, cures the bite of a serpent; and tiger's fat is an admirable vermifuge. Many diseases admit of remedies which would kill an European. One of Father Martin's catechumens, just before the eruption of the small pox made its appearance, got drunk with brandy, and swam across a river. The disease broke out on the same night, and in a few days afterwards the patient was on horseback. The Chiquito physicians suck the bodies of the sick, and now and then put the wife to death to secure the husband's recovery: the good lady seldom playing the part of Alcestis, but resisting with all her might. The Abipones Nakaiketergehes are affected by a disease which the natives attribute to magic. The patient, about sunset, runs with incredible speed to the burying place of his family; and then snatches up any weapon which he can seize: indiscriminately attacking every one whom he encounters. In the day time he paces about, fasting and melan-

choly; and it is only at night that the furious paroxysm attacks him. The madness lasts sometimes for a fortnight; and at one time the numbers suffering under it were so large, that the chief Cacique found it necessary to threaten death to all who were seized with it. The disease is more under controul than might be imagined, for on this edict sanity was presently restored. When the Abipones meet each other, it is an act of ill breeding not to ask, mutually, "where are you going." In a visit, when tired of conversation, each man says to his neighbour, "have we not talked enough?" And on being answered in the affirmative the *Conversazione* breaks up. The Shibboleth of their language is the guttural pronunciation of R, which when given rightly, has the mixed sound of R and G. In words that express numbers they are extremely deficient, not going beyond *three*, without a periphrasis. *Geyenk nate*, the fingers of an emu, signifies four. *Mecnhalek* a skin spotted with five colours, five. *Lanám ritregem cat gracherhake anamichirihegem*, the fingers of both hands and both feet, twenty. But frequently if the number exceeds three, in order to save trouble they cry *Pop!* They cannot express *every where* in any formula shorter than the following, "God is in heaven, in earth, and there is not a place in which he is not." *Yes* is pronounced variously according to the age and sex of the speaker. Men and youth say *Héé*; all women *Hàà*; and old men affirm by a loud snort; so that the louder this snort the stronger is the affirmation. They have no names either for days or months: and it is considered ill omened for any person to utter his own name, and criminal to speak that of the dead.

In their funeral rites the reader will be abundantly reminded of those which Herodotus has detailed of the Scythians.

"The Abipones think it a great happiness to be buried in a wood under the shade of trees, and grieve for the fate of those that are interred in a chapel, calling them captives of the Father. In the dread of such sepulture, they at first shunned baptism. They dig a very shallow pit to place the body in, that it may not be pressed by too great a weight of earth heaped over it. They fill the surface of the grave with thorney boughs, to keep off tigers, which delight in carcasses. On the top of the sepulchre, they place an inverted pan, that if the dead man should stand in need of water, he may not want a vessel to hold it in. They hang a garment from a tree near the place of interment, for him to put on if he chooses to come out of the grave. They also fix a spear near the graves of men, that an instrument of war and the chase may be in readiness for them. For the same purpose, beside the

graves of their Caciques, and men distinguished for military fame, they place horses, slain with many ceremonies; a custom common to most of the equestrian savages in Paraguay. The best horses, those which the deceased used and delighted in most, are generally slain at the grave." Vol. II. p. 268.

The third volume contains a history of the four settlements which the Jesuits endeavoured to establish among the Abipones, St. Jeronymo, Concepcion, St. Ferdinand, and the Rosary; and it is so perplexed and confused that we must spare ourselves the unavailing trouble of attempting to unravel it circumstantially. The frequent incursions of the natives made the Spaniards hopeless of securing peace till they could in some degree civilize their barbarous enemies; and the Governor of Sta. Fè having won over some of the Caciques, who visited his city in an interval of tranquillity, was permitted to found a colony on a condition which sufficiently shows the temper of the savages. "That the youth alone should be taught the elements of religion: but that older persons should by no means be compelled to study it." The situation of the Colony was left to the natives, and they chose a spot on the bank of the river Rey, seventy leagues north of Sta. Fè. Concepcion, the second Colony, is on the river Inespen, sixty leagues from Sta. Fè, and Father Martin shall describe the comforts of his own residence in this settlement.

"A hut, built of stakes plastered over with mud, was given me for a habitation, straw or hay for a roof, wooden shutters for a window, a rough board without a lock for a door, a piece of wood scarcely plained for a table, a bull's hide suspended on four posts for a bed, and the grassy ground, all perforated by ants, for a floor. Immense gaps in the walls and roof afforded ready admission to wind, dust, rain, and sun, as well as to serpents, gnats, and toads. The decaying palms which supported the roof distressed my ears exceedingly with the hiss of gnawing worms, and my eyes with the yellow dust that fell from them both by day and night. Great pieces of plaster, often weighing thirty pounds, broke all at once from the wall, and were more than enough to crush me had they touched any part of my body. What shall I say of my fare? Beef, either boiled or roasted, was my daily dinner and supper, and if to this some maize, or a melon were added, we thought we had fared sumptuously; for we had not yet time to cultivate our fields or garden, to which however, afterwards, we diligently applied ourselves. Bread was never even dreamt of. The river supplied us with our only beverage, and wine could seldom be obtained even for mass. This scarcity of all necessaries will not be attributed to our own improvidence when it is recollected that the city of St.

Iago, where we had to procure every thing, was a hundred and seventy leagues from our town, that of Sta. Fè sixty, and that we were often prevented from attempting the journey by the inconvenience and danger which marshes and wandering savages occasioned. Such was the face of affairs for two years in that town, which may be called my apprenticeship amongst the savages, and the trial of my patience." Vol. III. p. 225.

The perpetual disturbances of the natives rendered it necessary that some personal communication should be held with the Governor of Tucuman at St. Iago, and Father Martin undertook this long and perilous journey in company with three converted Indians, and a Mulatto who had been condemned to imprisonment in chains for a robbery, and on his escape from prison was appointed, in commutation, chief of the cattle guards. Roads there were none; lakes, marshes, deep holes, and ant-hills in plenty; and rain without ceasing. The beef which the travellers carried with them swarmed with worms; and when, on the first fine day, they hung it up to dry, the stench was insufferable; but the good father was compelled to eat it; for though his companions caught an immense fish, they gave him not a morsel. It is very unpleasant, adds the excellent author, to have one's clothes wet both day and night, so that they cling to the skin—yet notwithstanding this inconvenience, his sense of propriety was so refined, that he could not bring himself even in this pathless solitude, to "violate the laws of decency," by stripping while his clothes could get dry. After sixteen days he arrived at St. Iago, having been carried across the river Dulce by two expert swimmers.

The Governor promised him forty soldiers who were to meet him at an appointed rendezvous. Nine only were found there; and these not eminent for valour. Every smoke which they saw was interpreted as the sign of an ambuscade; and when evening set in, and they heard the distant howl of the savages, nothing could exceed their panic. One of them "a fat but very handsome man, dissolved into tears, dolefully exclaiming every minute, then we must die this night," When morning dawned they insisted on returning, and set off home full speed. A second band was ordered to attend the father; and this time he got five and twenty out of the forty to obey. One of them, it is true, deserted the first night, and carried off with him some of the captain's horses. As the party advanced, they found the woods which lay before them had been set on fire by some straggling savages. The wind increased the conflagration till it surrounded Dobrizhoffer and his soldiers. They had no resource but to leap on their

horses and ride at the flame, which it was impossible either to extinguish or avoid.

After five months absence Father Martin returned to Concepcion. The danger of the Colony induced the governor soon afterwards to remove it to the banks of the Salado, eighty leagues from its former situation, sorely to the discontent of its inhabitants. Father Martin and his friends travelled for three weeks, "on horseback, with the water touching the legs, and often reaching up to our knees:" and passed the nights in the open air covered with hoar frost. On their arrival at the new site its miseries were found greater even than that which had been quitted; Dobrizhoffer was soon called to Jeronymo, the station which we have formerly mentioned; but the unhappy colony of Concepcion underwent fourteen changes before it was at length permanently fixed on the banks of the Dulce, fifty leagues from St. Iago.

The colony of St. Ferdinand stands two leagues from the western bank of the Parana, a little below its junction with the Paraguay. It is surrounded on every side by woods and pools, all destitute of fresh water, but swarming with leeches, crocodiles, snakes, and tigers. The climate is excessively hot, abounds with whirlwinds, lightning, and rain; and the air is pregnant with noxious vapours, and almost alive with gnats.

To this paradise also, in its turn, Father Martin was "honourably conducted" by the Vice-Governor; and here he was soon brought to the verge of the grave; and, but for a seasonable recall, most probably would have deposited his bones. In 1763, he accompanied the Governor to the last new Colony of San Carlos and the Rosary, seventy leagues south of Assumpcion, and four from the western bank of the Paraguay. On his first view of the settlement, he pronounced it fitter for frogs than men: but nevertheless he contentedly took possession of his hut of stakes and withies, fastened with thongs and filled up with mud and cow-dung. The thongs having been cut from raw hides soon putrified, and the mud and cow-dung fell off, leaving the stakes bare. The worthy Father was housed, as himself describes it, in a dwelling which wore the appearance of a bird-coop. His own hands repaired the damages, and consolidated the walls which looked toward the stormy south, by a plaister composed of mud and the blood of oxen, which repels water like pitch. The historian Fitzstephen little expected to meet with this corroboration of his statement, when he affirmed that the cement which was employed in the ramparts

of the tower of London was "*temperatus cum sanguine animalium.*"

Provisions soon became scarce in the Rosary. The superintendant of cattle who was left behind by the governor used to kill the fattest cows for his own use, while the colonists were starving. His successor was very honest, but not quite sane: being agitated by constant terrors, and always imagining that an unknown hand was throwing stones at him. Between the two purveyors, Father Martin lived on short allowance of beef. He suffered greatly, moreover from the incursions of the Mocobios and Tobas: and saw his flock thinned by the ravages of small pox and tertian ague. At length in a night encounter with the savages, 600 of whom surrounded the Colony, and were beat off chiefly by Dobrizhoffer's intrepidity, he received a severe wound.

"I, therefore, walked straight towards the paling, intending to take a more certain aim at the savages with four pistols, and a gun, to which a bayonet was prefixed. But an unlucky accident disconcerted this fine scheme; for when I was about ten steps off the palisade, and was just going to fire, an arrow an ell and a half long, made of the hardest wood, and barbed with five hooks, pierced the shoulder of my right arm, wounded a muscle by which the middle finger is moved, and stuck fixed in my side. On receiving this wound, I took hold of my musket with my left hand, and entered the house, that the captain, who was lying hid there, might pull out the arrow; and in order to do this, he twisted it quickly round and round with his hands, just as you mill chocolate, by which the flesh was sufficiently torn to open a way for the hooks to be taken out. What torture this caused me, no one that has not felt the same himself can possibly imagine." Vol. III. p. 367.

With this honourable scar father Martin terminated his mission. The simplicity and good humour with which he recounts his perils and difficulties convinces us that they are by no means exaggerated; and we know not whether most to admire his fortitude, or to congratulate him on his good luck, in having escaped with life, from the privations and sufferings under which so many of his brethren had fallen victims. He concludes with a catalogue of those fathers who have laid down their lives in Paraguay. We read of three and thirty put to death in various ways by the savages—some shot with poisoned arrows, some dispatched with clubs, some cloven with axes, some pierced with spears, some starved, some burned—and we may on this account pardon the innocent vanity of the circumstantial paragraph with which the list is wound up.

"Father Martin Dobrizhoffer, whilst defending his own house and the chapel against six hundred savages in the town of the Rosary, had his right arm pierced with a barbed arrow, the muscle of his middle finger hurt, and one rib wounded by a savage Toba, at four o'clock in the morning, on the 2d of August, in the year 1765." Vol. III. p. 414.

Of the fidelity of this translation we are wholly incompetent to speak: for the original has never fallen in our way; nor is it very likely that the English reader, with the fluent and agreeable version now before him, will take much trouble to procure the Latin. In point of style it is not possible that he can be a loser by perusing it in his own language in preference to one which is equally dead both to the writer and to himself: and he will be glad to be spared the trouble of looking out the hard names of beasts, birds, fish, and vegetables; which, as far as ourselves are concerned, are selected from a dictionary with pain of fingers and grief of brain only —to be forgotten when once found.

ART. II. *State of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. (Continued from Page 555.)*

WE now resume our remarks, or more properly our extracts, from the various interesting publications prefixed to this article; and we hope our readers will not be sorry to read some specimens of the theology of our Transatlantic brethren in America, after the account which we gave in our last of the flourishing state of their Church.

Among various matters of comparatively minor importance, the general convention of 1820, and the *special* general convention, held in 1821, particularly directed their attention to the establishment of a theological seminary for the general benefit of the American Episcopal Church, and the formation of a domestic and foreign Missionary Society. As these measures were only in contemplation, when our former article on the state of this very interesting branch of the Apostolic Church was written, we shall now offer to our readers a few particulars concerning them.

The importance of some better provision for the theological education of candidates for holy orders, had long been felt by the friends of the Church throughout the American Union. It had been made a subject of remark by most of

the bishops in their addresses to their respective conventions; and the general convention of 1817, resolved that a Theological Seminary should be instituted. The seminary was accordingly established at New York, and subsequently removed to New Haven, on account of economy in living, and certain other local advantages. On the 13th of September, 1820, it was opened at the latter place, with an eloquent introductory discourse by the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Turner, Professor of Historic Theology in the Institution; in which the necessity of theological learning, in addition to personal piety, is ably delineated and enforced. We extract by way of specimen, a passage on this subject, which is particularly worthy of the attention of all who are either candidates for holy orders, or who are commencing the preparatory course of study for that purpose.

"Divine revelation embraces subjects, which, while they are important to our interests, are vast and unbounded in their nature, and not to be perfectly comprehended by human intellect, even when all its energies are brought into action. They are these; the nature, attributes, and character of the Supreme Being—man's present unhappy condition, and the means of deliverance through the atonement of Christ, and the aid of the Spirit—human responsibility,—future judgment—everlasting rewards and punishments. On these subjects the Almighty, if he pleased, could have communicated whatever is necessary to man's welfare, by a direct revelation to his mind, and thus indeed have superseded the necessity of any human exertion. But this he has not thought proper to do. Nor, as far as we can judge, would such a measure have comported with the wisdom of the Creator; since by preventing all exertion on the part of man to examine, comprehend, and embrace divine truth, it would necessarily destroy that progressive improvement which is so admirably suited to lead the soul to the perfection of its nature. Now the fact that such a direct communication is not made, is a proof of the necessity of studying that which has been made. And is this a trifling study? No: to be 'mighty in the scriptures,' calls for an attention somewhat proportioned to the profound and invaluable lessons there to be learned. All Christians should of course have a general knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; but I speak now more particularly of those who have expressed their determination, 'out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to their charge.' Their's should be a critical and extensive knowledge. This comprehends, in the first place, an acquaintance with the languages in which the Scriptures were written; and these are not without their difficulties, arising from their genius and antiquity. It comprehends also an ability to explain the sacred text, which frequently requires a degree of learning of a much higher character than that which qualifies the stu-

dent to translate it. He meets with other difficulties, springing from the character and circumstances of the writer. These are to be removed, by a comparison of the text with ancient versions—by an acquaintance with ancient customs, laws, history, and chronology, systems of philosophy and of religion, to all which there is a constant allusion. It is further to be remarked, that although the whole of the sacred books do indeed most wonderfully exhibit and illustrate *one* system of religious truth; yet being written by different persons, at different times, and under different circumstances, they contain apparent discrepancies, which, while they shew that there was no concert among the writers, and thus afford a strong presumption to the truth of their statements, are often satisfactorily reconciled by reference to extraneous sources. With these sources, therefore, must the student form an acquaintance, if he would silence the infidel caviller. Natural science also has been found to illustrate divine truth, and to confirm its evidence. In a word, there is no department of literature which may not be made subservient to theology, and thus become useful to a clergyman.

"Sincerity in the investigation of truth, and steadfastness in adhering to it when found, are properties but rarely to be met with. The prejudices of education will not permit an impartial examination—the obstinacy of error will not look steadily at the truth—defect in the powers of vision will not permit ignorance to see it—the frenzy of the passions distorts the object, and the view is confused and incorrect. From these and other sources proceed error, heresy, and schism. The Christian minister must be able to guard against their noxious effects. And this is not to be done without learning. The deist must be refuted, and the truth of revelation proved from the analogy of things, by the rules of moral evidence, and from historical testimony. The errors of those 'who profess and call themselves Christians,' must be met differently. The theologian must be able to trace their origin, which in many cases will sufficiently disprove them: here his knowledge of history is put in requisition. He must follow them up to the corrupt tempers from which in general they have originated: and here acquaintance with the human heart is necessary. But chiefly must he be able to wield against them 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God;' and by a bold and dexterous use of this holy weapon, be competent to 'contend for the faith.' And is all this to be done without learning? On the contrary, so indispensible is it, that the Holy Spirit himself, before the complete establishment of his church, thought proper to communicate, by miracle, the gift of tongues and of knowledge *. Will it be said, that he who was 'in nothing behind the very chief apostles,' acknowledged that he was 'rude in speech,' and that he had not 'declared the testimony of God with excellency of speech or of wisdom?' The meaning is,

* Acts ii. 1—9. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 10.

that he had not accommodated the Gospel to the fastidious ears of a Greek auditory; not that the great St. Paul was incompetent to display with appropriate perspicuity, elegance, and dignity, the wisdom that distinguishes the Gospel. 'Let no one,' says the eloquent Chrysostom, 'rob the blessed Paul of those most eminent honours which belong to him, for the sake of sanctioning his own idleness.' Were it required to equal the smoothness of Isocrates, the weight and energy of Demosthenes, the grave and majestic language of Thucydides, together with the sublimity of Plato, I would adduce the writings of St. Paul. How did he 'confound the Jews that dwelt at Damascus,' and triumph in 'dispute against the Grecians,' before he wrought his miracles? Was not the Areopagite induced to embrace the Gospel, simply from hearing him discourse? What did this great man in Thessalonica, and in Corinth? What in Ephesus, and in Rome? Why should I spend my time in narrating the disputations that he held with the Epicureans and the Stoicks? Since it is evident that this apostle displayed his eloquence before he wrought his miracles, and at the very time that he was working them, who will dare to call him ignorant? Him, who is held in universal admiration for his splendid abilities both of reasoning and of eloquence; whose writings, like a wall of adamant, will for ever inclose and defend all the churches of the world*.'" *Professor Turner's Introductory Discourse*, p. 8.

While the friends of the Episcopal Church were exerting themselves in different parts of the American Union to raise funds for the support of the General Theological Seminary, Mr. Jacob Sherred, an opulent citizen of New York, bequeathed the residue of his estate, which is expected to amount to 60,000 or 70,000 dollars (upwards of 16,000*l.* sterling,) for the instruction of candidates for holy orders in the Episcopal Theological Seminary, established *in the state of New York*. As this seminary had been removed from that city to New Haven during the latter part of the testator's life, a question arose whether *this general Seminary* was to have the benefit of the bequest, or whether it should go to the Protestant Episcopal Theological *School*, then existing in New York. It was finally agreed to refer the decision to a general convention of the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was *specially* held for this purpose at Philadelphia, between Oct. 30, and Nov. 3, 1821. Before this convention the Right Rev. Bishop Kemp delivered his sermon on the manner in which the Gospel was established, and the Christian Church organised: it is a concise and well written discourse, excellently adapted to the occasion which had caused the convention to be held.

* Chrys. de Sacerd. lib. iv. § 6.

We transcribe a few concluding sentences, which will shew our readers the high views entertained by the Bishop of the importance of the sacred office.

"With regard to us, my Right Rev. and Rev. Brethren, in what a responsible situation are we placed! As men, we must feel terrified at the very thought of our being intrusted with such a dispensation! As ambassadors for Christ, our sufficiency is of God. Our high commission, we must zealously and conscientiously execute. The duties of our office, we must faithfully discharge; and while we are engaged in the work of our Divine Master, the *man* with all his little turbulent passions must disappear, and *the minister of Jesus Christ*, animated by his spirit, must stand conspicuous.

"Then will our Church continue to be a *model* and a *light* to the world; and thus shall we be the happy instruments of extending the kingdom of Christ; of fixing it permanently upon the ruins of that of Satan, and of saving many a soul: and when our ministry shall be ended, we shall receive a crown of glory." *Bishop Kemp's Sermon*, p. 24.

Much apprehension was entertained by the friends of the Church in America for the result of the deliberations of this convention; the event proved that their apprehensions were groundless. The convention, desirous of promoting the welfare of the Church, throughout the Union agreed that the General Theological Seminary should be permanently fixed in the city of New York, and framed the following constitution for its general government.

"I. The Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States of America, shall be permanently established in the state of New York. The trustees of the said seminary shall have power, from time to time, to establish one or more branch schools in the state of New York, or elsewhere, to be under the superintendance and control of the said trustees.

"II. The management of the said seminary shall be vested in a board of trustees, who shall have power to constitute professorships, and to appoint the professors, and to prescribe the course of study in the respective schools, and to make rules and regulations and statutes for the government thereof; and generally to take such measures as they may deem necessary to its prosperity; provided, that such rules and regulations, and course of study, and measures be not repugnant to the constitution and canons of the church, and to the course of study for candidates for orders which is or may be established by the house of bishops. The bishops in their individual and collective capacity, shall be visitors of the seminary, and shall see that the course of instruction and discipline be conducted agreeably to the foregoing provision. The trustees shall

make report to every general convention of their proceedings, and of the state of the seminary.

"III. The board of trustees shall be permanently constituted as follows:—The bishops of the church shall be ex-officio members of the board. Every diocese shall be entitled to one trustee, and one additional trustee for every eight clergymen in the same; and to one additional trustee for every two thousand dollars of monies in any way given or contributed in the same to the funds of the seminary, until the sum amounts to 10,000 dollars; and one additional trustee for every 10,000 dollars of contributions and donations, as aforesaid, exceeding that sum. The trustees shall be resident in the dioceses for which they are appointed. They shall be nominated by the diocesan conventions respectively, to every stated general convention, who may confirm or reject such nominations. The senior bishop present shall preside at every meeting of the board of trustees; and whenever demanded by a majority of the bishops present, or a majority of the clerical and lay trustees present, the concurrence of a majority of the bishops present, and a majority of clerical and lay trustees present, shall be necessary to any act of the board. Eleven trustees shall constitute a quorum. The trustees shall continue in office until their successors are appointed. In the interval between the stated meetings of the general convention, the board shall have power to supply all vacancies, from the dioceses respectively in which they may have occurred.

"IV. For the present, and until the next stated general convention, the board of trustees shall consist of the bishops of the church, and of the twenty-four trustees of the general Theological Seminary, heretofore established by the General Convention, and of fourteen trustees chosen by the managers of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Education Society in the state of New York. These trustees shall exercise the powers of the permanent board, as detailed in the foregoing article, and agreeably to the provisions thereof.

"The board of trustees shall always meet in the diocese where the seminary is established, at such stated periods as they may determine; and special meetings may be called by the bishop of the said diocese, and shall be called by him at the requisition of a majority of the bishops.

"V. The professors of the General Theological Seminary heretofore established by the General Convention, and the professors in the Theological Seminary in the diocese of New York, shall be professors in the General Theological Seminary hereby established in that diocese.

"The board of trustees shall have power to remove professors and other officers; but no professor shall be removed from office, except at a special meeting of the board called to consider the same; nor unless notice of an intended motion for such removal, and of the grounds thereof shall have been given at a previous

meeting of the board. The nomination of professors shall be made at one meeting of the board of trustees, and acted upon at a subsequent meeting; due notice being given of the object of the said meeting to every member of the board.

"VI. The funds and other property and claims to funds or property of the General Theological Seminary, heretofore established by the General Convention, shall be vested in and transferred to the General Seminary hereby established, as soon as an act of the board of managers of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Education Society, in the state of New York, shall vest in and transfer to the same Seminary, all their funds, and other property and claims to funds and property—and all engagements and responsibilities entered into, or assumed by either of the said institutions, for the purpose of their foundation, consistent with the other provisions of this constitution, shall be considered as binding upon the General Seminary, so established within the state of New York.

"VII. This constitution shall be unalterable, except by a concurrent vote of the board of trustees, and of the General Convention." *Journal of General Convention*, p. 11.

The other object which claimed the attention of this convention was the settling of the constitution of the "Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." Societies, we believe, are established in most of the North American dioceses, for the promoting of Christian knowledge therein, as well as in the neighbouring states, particularly in those which have been newly settled. The convention of 1820 having authorized the formation of a General Society for domestic and foreign missions, the managers proceeded to organize it accordingly, and announced its formation to the venerable Societies (in this country) for promoting Christian Knowledge, and for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and also to the Church Missionary Society. The correspondence between the secretaries of these Societies is printed in the Journal of the Convention.

"*The Constitution of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America.*

"Art. I. This institution shall be denominated the *Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America.*

"Art. II. It shall be composed of the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and of the members of the house of clerical and lay deputies of the General Convention of said church, for the time being; and of such other persons as shall contribute, by subscription, three dollars, or more, annually to the objects of the in-

stitution, during the continuance of such contributions; and of such as shall contribute at once thirty dollars, which contribution shall constitute them members for life.

"Members who pay fifty dollars, on subscribing, shall be denominated patrons of the society.

"It shall be the privilege of the subscribers to designate, on their subscriptions, to which of the objects domestic, or foreign, they desire their contributions to be applied. If no specification be made, the board of directors may apply them to either, or both, at their discretion.

"Art. III. The society shall meet triennially, at the place in which the General Convention shall hold its session. The time of meeting shall be on the first day of the session, at five o'clock, *p. m.*

"A sermon shall be preached, and a collection made in aid of the funds of the society, at such time, during the session of the Convention, as may be determined at the annual meeting: the preacher to be appointed by the house of bishops.

"Art. IV. The presiding bishop of this church shall be president of the society; the other bishops, according to seniority, vice-presidents. There shall be two secretaries, and twenty-four directors, who shall be chosen by ballot at each meeting.

"Art. V. The directors, together with the president, vice-presidents, and patrons of the society—who shall, ex-officio, be directors—shall compose a body to be denominated the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America. They shall meet annually in the city of Philadelphia, except in the year of the meeting of the General Convention, when they shall assemble at the place of the meeting thereof. *Nine* members of the board of directors shall be necessary to constitute a quorum to do business.

"The meetings of the board of directors shall always be opened with using a form of prayer to be set forth by the house of bishops for that purpose, or one or more suitable prayers selected from the liturgy.

"Art. VI. At the annual meetings all missionary stations, appointments of missionaries, and appropriations of money, and all bye-laws necessary for their own government, and for conducting the affairs of the missions, shall be made; provided, that all appointments of missionaries shall be with the approbation of the bishops present. Special meetings may be called by the president, or by one of the vice-presidents, as often as may be necessary to carry into effect the resolutions adopted at the annual meetings of the board; at which special meetings *seven* members, including the president, or one of the vice-presidents, shall be a quorum to transact business.

"The board of directors, whether at their annual or special

meetings, may appoint such committees as may be necessary or useful.

"Art. VII. There shall be annually appointed a treasurer and two members of the society, who together shall be termed trustees of the permanent fund.

"The treasurer shall receive all contributions which shall be made to the society, and enter them in detail, distinguishing between what may be contributed for domestic, and what for foreign purposes, if any such distinction should be made; and present a statement of his accounts annually, or oftener, if required, to the board of directors. He shall not pay monies unless on an order from the board, signed by the president, or in his absence by the senior vice-president, who may attend the meeting, when such order is given.

"Twenty per cent. of all monies which shall be contributed, to carry into effect the objects of the institution, shall be vested by the trustees, in their own name, as officers of the society, in some safe and productive stock, to constitute a permanent fund. The residue of the contributions, with the interest arising from the permanent fund, shall be appropriated to the objects for which the society was formed.

"Art. VIII. The board of directors, at their annual meetings, shall take such measures as they may deem proper, to establish auxiliary societies in any diocese, with the advice and consent of the bishop of the same; to secure patronage, and to enlarge the funds of the institution. The bishop of every diocese shall be president of the auxiliary societies organized within it.

"Art. IX. In any diocese or district where there is a bishop or an ecclesiastical body duly constituted under the authority of the convention of the same for missionary purposes, aid may be given in money; but the appointment of the missionary shall rest with the bishop or ecclesiastical body aforesaid. He shall act under their direction; and shall render to them a report of his proceedings, copies of which shall be forwarded to this society.

"Art. X. The board of directors shall, at every meeting of the society, present a detailed report of their proceedings, which, if approved and adopted by the society, shall, on the next day, be presented by their president, to the General Convention, as the report of the society.

"Art. XI. The present convention shall elect, by ballot, the twenty-four directors and the two secretaries, provided for by the 4th article, to act till the first stated meeting of the society; and the first meeting of the board of directors shall take place at Philadelphia, on the third Wednesday in November instant.

"Art. XII. It is recommended to every member of this society to pray to Almighty God, for his blessing upon its designs, under the full conviction, that unless he direct us in all our doings, with his most gracious favour, and further us with his continual help, we cannot reasonably hope, either to procure suitable persons to act

as missionaries, or expect that their endeavours will be successful." —*Journal of General Convention*, 1821, p. 51.

From the wisdom and piety which characterize the present house of Bishops, and the other Clergy of the United States, we are warranted to expect the most beneficial moral and spiritual results. Though they have hitherto laboured under every possible disadvantage for want of a college, they have honourably distinguished themselves in the defence of the Christian faith, particularly against the Socinians. We have endeavoured to procure an accurate account of the total number of the Clergy of this branch of the Apostolic Church, by a collation of the list annexed to the Journal of the Convention held in 1820, with the journals of several of the state conventions, as they are termed. The following table contains the result of our researches, which we do not offer as absolutely perfect; but we believe it will be found to *approximate* pretty nearly to the truth; and we are sure that our readers will rejoice to find that the number of able and learned ministers of that Church is so considerable.

		Bishops.	Clergy.
1.	*Eastern Diocese*	1	0
	Maine	2	
	New Hampshire	4	
	Massachussetts	13	
	Vermont	6	
	Rhode Island	7	32
2.	*Connecticut*	1	42
3.	*New York*	1	76
4.	*New Jersey*	1	13
5.	*Pennsylvania*	1	30
	Delaware	0	4
6.	*Maryland*	1	48
7.	*Virginia*	1	30
	North Carolina	0	10
8.	*South Carolina*	1	28
9.	*Ohio*		
	Ohio	1	5
	Georgia	0	3
	Kentucky	0	5
	Louisiana	0	1
	Missouri	0	1
		9	328

In our former article on the state of the Church in the

United States, we adverted to the excellent spirit, evinced in the pastoral letters of her Bishops. We have now to introduce to our readers the " Pastoral Letter, addressed to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Eastern Diocese, by the Right Rev. A. V. Griswold, D.D. Bishop of the Diocese." This letter embraces a subject of very great importance. In opposition to the loose and indefinite ideas which are too generally entertained at the present day on the subject of baptism, the nature and obligation of this sacrament are stated with becoming earnestness.

The remarkable fact, that this principle is admitted and put in practice in all human governments, is very properly alleged to shew the reasonableness of such a constitution of things.

" In a temporal kingdom or state, every child is born subject to its constitution and laws, no less than if he had given his free assent to every institution. He owes the same allegiance to the constituted authorities, is under the same obligation to regard the laws, and to serve and defend his country, as though he had made that country his voluntary choice. Should he be accused of treason, or of any infraction of the supposed civil compact, to no purpose would he plead in justification that the laws are not according to his mind and will. Whatever dislike he may conceive, or disapprobation he may express, of the administration of the government, would not release him from its authority. Now if this be reasonable, and tends to general happiness under human laws, which are always imperfect, and sometimes unjust; how infinitely more so, when applied to the divine government, which is perfectly righteous, and calculated to produce the greatest possible good, both publick and individual.

" If we extend our view to the dispensations of God's providence, the same economy evidently pervades the whole. What one of all the descendants of Adam gave his previous assent to that state of probation in which the first man was placed? And yet the ' death' which his transgression incurred, ' has passed upon all men.' Though we cannot see the reason, or though we should presumptuously deny the equity, of this dealing, the *fact* is evident and incontrovertible, that ' in Adam all die:' that pains and mortality are the portion of infants, not less than of those ' who have sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression.' We may deny the fall of man, but the miseries of life will continue; to whatever cause we ascribe them, they certainly exist; and notwithstanding all that we can say of the *innocence* of children, many of them will suffer, and many die.

" And not judgments only, but blessings also, are thus dispensed. The whole work of *redemption* is wrought by the sovereign power of God; not by man's wisdom; and wholly without

our previous consent. Did men devise those doctrines of life and salvation, which they cannot even believe without the aid of the Holy Ghost? Or did they first petition that God would send them that Saviour, whom, when sent, but few can be persuaded to receive? Yet not adults only, but infants are redeemed: and to the Saviour's praise be it said, 'Of such is the kingdom of God.' Is there any one who is not justly bound to love and praise the Redeemer? It is in perfect accordance with this economy of nature and grace, that children may be taken into God's kingdom or church, and that they are bound, no less than adults, as soon as they understand, to obey its laws, and observe its ordinances." *Ibid.* p. 16.

The leading consideration which he impresses on his Clergy is, "*to keep constantly in view the great object and end of their ministerial profession, to induce sinful men to embrace the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, and to build up his Church in the most holy faith.*" In enforcing this consideration, the Bishop dwells particularly on the necessity of holy example, and personal piety, and of cultivating professional learning, and also on the manner in which the public and private duties of a minister of the Church may be most successfully performed.

Where every part is excellent, it is difficult to make selections: but we can not pass in silence the Bishop's firm and manly, yet liberal and temperate observations on the *duty of holding up to view the distinctive principles of the Church.* To the firm and temperate vindication of her principles, both in doctrine, morals, and discipline, together with the piety and learning of her ministers, and the exemplary conduct of her private members, we may, under God, ascribe the hitherto gradual but certain increase (and without incurring the charge of being too sanguine, may we not anticipate the still further prosperity) of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the American Union. The passage, with which we shall conclude, is rather long; but it is in many respects so applicable to the state of our own Church, and it breathes throughout a spirit so truly amiable, that our readers (we feel assured) will thank us for it, especially as we have reason to think that ours is the only copy of the Bishop's Charge which is at present in this country.

"In your publick ministrations, it will become your duty to defend the faith of the Church against 'all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word.' It is a delicate duty, and will require no less of prudence than of Christian charity, for its successful performance. There are some errors so gross that it may be best to confront and attack them openly and directly; but, in

general, errors are most successfully refuted by the establishment of the truth. It is difficult to persuade men, when you publickly and professedly set out to confute them. The moment you declare war against their doctrine, they place themselves on their guard, and feel themselves engaged by their pride and self-love to defend it. But when you 'give a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear;' when men see that you are 'contending for the truth,' rather than for victory; they will hear you without hostility, if not without prejudice. While, then, you bear in mind that a proselyting spirit is not the spirit of the Church, and are careful that the temper of the world mix not itself with your zeal for sound doctrine; while you refrain from usurping the prerogative of God, in judging your brethren, and attempt not to prescribe to the divine justice, whom it shall exclude from divine mercy, you are bound by your vows of ordination, as well as by your regard for 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' to contend zealously for this truth, and to use all proper means to reclaim men from errour, and lead them into those paths where they may meet together 'in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.'

"In this spirit, my brethren, and on these principles, it will be your duty, on all proper occasions, to hold up to view the *distinctive principles of your Church*. This is a privilege freely exercised by other denominations of Christians; and one which we freely concede to them. It is not unreasonable, then, that we require the like privilege in return. Indeed it is only by a free declaration of the truth, and a zealous defence of it, that it can ever be propagated, or even maintained.

"It is by these means that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut has acquired her growth. A century ago, she numbered not more than eighty families within the state. She can now count as many regularly organized congregations. And during this time, she has had almost every thing to retard her prosperity, and no single circumstance to advance it, except the excellency of her principles, and the frank avowal, and firm support of them. Were she to cease from this course, situated as she is in the midst of a respectable, and much larger denomination of Christians, she would soon cease to exist. Her clergy, as well as the laity, would soon become ignorant of her peculiar doctrines, and then indifferent to her distinctive character. Under these circumstances, there would be nothing to counteract that universal law of nature by which smaller bodies gravitate towards larger ones, and the Church would soon be merged in those religious communities with which she is surrounded.

"Loving your Church, then, my brethren, and attached to her distinctive principles, from a conscientious conviction of their excellency and importance, you will not think you have faithfully discharged your duties to your flocks, unless they are fully instructed in them. Nor will you be deterred, by any false delicacy,

from publicly avowing, and firmly defending, these distinctive principles, whenever it may be done with propriety and advantage. In pursuing this course, you will not be led of necessity to make any direct and gross attack upon the sentiments of other religious denominations: the simple display of truth is generally the best antidote to errour. Much less will you feel yourselves called upon to impugn the motives, the sincerity, or the piety, of those who may conscientiously differ from you. By the manifestation of a Christian temper, and the exercise of a judicious moderation, you will evince to the world that you are not merely contending for the dogmas of a sect, but for essential doctrines of that 'faith once delivered to the saints.'

"Liberality of sentiment, upon religious subjects, is amiable and commendable in the sight of all men; and is moreover a high Christian duty. But there is an erroneous principle which usurps its name, and which would confound all distinction between truth and errour. This spurious liberality pretends to consider as of no importance all those varieties of opinion which prevail among different religious denominations, and seems to demand that we should regard with equal estimation the widely differing creeds of all who profess the Christian name. Such a latitudinarian principle, if carried to its full extent, would go to the utter destruction of Christianity itself. There is one denomination which rejects its external ordinances; and another which obliterates its most distinctive features—the divinity and atonement of the Saviour. Deprive Christianity of these characteristicks, and there is but little to distinguish it from modern deism.

"This false liberality arises, in a great degree, from a mistaken application of Christian charity; from extending to *errours themselves*, that indulgence which belongs of right only to the *persons* who have unwarily and honestly fallen into them. Some very pious men have leaned too much towards this mistaken charity, from a vain desire of abolishing sectarian distinctions, and producing a greater harmony among the various denominations, who profess a common Christianity. But many of those who declaim most loudly in praise of liberality, and are the most zealous advocates of union, entertain no thought of giving up their own peculiar sentiments;—they merely wish others to adopt them. When brought to the test, it will appear that they expect all the concession from others, and consider the ground on which they stand themselves, as the only proper basis for a union.

"It were much to be wished, indeed, that there might be no diversity in the faith of Christians; since there is but one Gospel, and one Saviour. But while men remain fallible and erring, as they are at present, such a consummation is not to be expected. An enlightened charity, therefore, will not exhaust itself in futile attempts to abolish the differences of opinion which prevail among the different denominations of Christians, but will rather direct its efforts to the promotion of a true and legitimate liberality of sen-

timent. It will seek to make them 'kindly affectioned one towards another,' and incite them to a mutual toleration of each others' peculiar opinions. In the spirit of that law which requires us to 'do unto others whatsoever we would that they should do to us,' it will call upon every man, freely to concede to others, all that liberty of conscience which he requires for himself. Such 'long-suffering and forbearing one another in love,' will have a surer tendency to unite Christians together 'in the bond of peace,' than any hasty combinations of discordant elements. In this temper, we shall not be disposed to magnify trivial distinctions among Christians; and earnestly endeavouring ourselves 'to keep the unity of the Spirit,' shall 'grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.'

"With regard, then, to our union with other religious denominations, we may cordially associate and co-operate with them in all secular affairs;—in all humane, literary, and charitable objects: nor should differences of faith create any difficulties in the way of social intercourse and good neighbourhood; but in objects *purely religious*, we can form no union with other denominations with which we are surrounded, without either abandoning important principles, or incurring, if we adhere to them, the imputation of sectarian bigotry. While, therefore, we concede to others the same right, let us pursue our religious and ecclesiastical affairs according to the regulations and institutions of our Church; without any mistaken attempts to compromise, in matters of conscience. Nor let us think that we are violating any principle of Christian charity when we freely avow and firmly maintain our distinctive principles.

"The first and most essential of these distinctive principles is, *that there were instituted in the Church, by Christ and the apostles, three distinct grades of ministers*, with the exclusive power of ordination in the first grade; that the ministry thus constituted has been continued, by succession, to the present day; and that no man or body of men possesses the right to alter what was thus established. With regard to this principle, there can be no compromise. It must be inscribed on the banners under which you are enrolled, and maintained by an appeal to those passages of Scripture, and a reference to those historical authorities by which it is so fully established. The support of this principle is at all times important, but you are more especially called upon to maintain it at the present period, when the errours and extravagances of ignorant and self-appointed teachers, threaten to destroy all reverence and regard for the sanctity of the ministerial office.

"The circumstances of the times, also, call upon you to be faithful in explaining and inculcating just ideas of *the nature of the*

Christian Church. The fashionable liberality of the day would require us to regard every self-constituted society, or every assembly professing itself to be Christian, as *a regularly and duly organized* Church of Christ. Such, however, is not the language of Scripture. The Church is there styled the 'body of Christ,' and 'Christ is not divided.' 'There is but one body, and one spirit; one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.'—Christians are required 'to speak the same thing,' and to 'be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.' Divisions were not regarded by the apostles as matters of little moment, and when the Corinthian converts, in their dissentions, began to arrange themselves under the party names of Paul, of Apollos, or of Cephas, they were severely rebuked by the great apostle of the Gentiles, and warned 'that there should be no schism in the body.' The sin of schism is no less heinous now, than it was in the days of the apostles; and it will be your duty, as occasion may offer, to unfold and display the true character of the Christian Church, as a divinely constituted society;—a body of which all men are required to be members, and which no man may rend asunder;—and to explain the true principle of *Church unity*, by the essential bond of a regularly constituted ministry.

"At a period too, when very crude and erroneous ideas prevail, concerning *direct, perceptible,* and *irresistible* operations of the spirit of God upon the hearts of men, it becomes your duty, not only to declare the necessity of this grace to enable men to work out their salvation, but to explain what are the *true means* which God has provided for conveying the gracious influences of his Spirit. You will explain the nature and efficacy of the solemn sacrament of baptism, by which we are first brought into a state of regeneration, and dedicated to the divine Spirit—by which we are incorporated into that spiritual body, the church, of which Christ is the head, to which the Holy Spirit is freely communicated, and to which all the promises of the Gospel are tendered. You will teach the obligation and the utility of the rite of Confirmation, as a sign of God's grace and goodness to his youthful disciples. In an especial manner, you will inculcate the efficacy of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as a gracious mean by which he conveys to his Church the renewing influences of the Holy Ghost. And you will also enforce the duty of prayer, and pious reflection; of reading, hearing, and meditating on the Word of God, as appointed and salutary means of grace.

"He only who lives in the diligent and faithful use of these *appointed means of grace,* conforms to the plan of salvation laid down in the Gospel; these are the only revealed modes of communication (since miracles have ceased) between earth and heaven; and he who thus seeks God, in the services of his Church, and seeks him in sincerity, will find that his 'labour will not be in vain in the Lord.'

"Brethren, I have yet much to say, but I fear that I have

already trespassed upon your patience. I would therefore close, by once more pressing upon you the consideration with which I commenced this discourse:—*keep constantly in view the great object and end of your ministry—to persuade sinful men to embrace the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, and to build up his Church in the most holy faith.*

"You are 'stewards of the mysteries of God:'—see then that you be 'found faithful.' You are ministers of a true and apostolick Church:—'Keep that which is committed to your charge.'—Do you ask, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' 'You know in whom you have believed'—his strength will be sufficient for you.'—What though your labours be arduous and manifold?—'They that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars, for ever and ever!'—'Nothing,' says St. Austin, 'can be more laborious, more difficult, or more awfully responsible, than the ministry of the Gospel; but nothing can be more blessed, if we do our duty according to the commandment of the Lord.'" *Ibid.* p. 305.

While this article was preparing for the press, we received intelligence that Bishop Brownell has announced his intention of publishing "A Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer; accompanying the text with copious annotations, partly historical and explanatory, but chiefly of a practical nature, to make it a useful family prayer book." Bishop White (the senior bishop of the Anglo-American Episcopal Church) has promised his assistance in noticing all the alterations which have been made from the Liturgy of the Church of England, together with the considerations on which they were founded. In this country, the very valuable edition of the Common Prayer Book, with Annotations by the Bishop of Killaloe, renders such a work as this is unnecessary: but in the United States of America it must be of the greatest value, and the known learning and piety of Bishops Brownell and White, afford a pledge for the respectability of the work. We shall seize the earliest opportunity of presenting an account of it to our readers.

ART. III. *Memoir of the Life and Trial of James Mackcoull, or Moffat, who died in the County Jail of Edinburgh, on the 22d December,* 1820; *containing a full Account of his Trial before the Jury Court, and High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh, for Robbing the Branch of the Paisley Union Bank at Glasgow of Twenty Thousand*

Pounds. Illustrated with Notes, Anecdotes, and a Portrait. With an Appendix, containing Mr. Donovan's Journal from Glasgow to London in Trace of the Robbery, and other Curious Papers. 8vo. pp. 328. 8s. 6d. Longman & Co. 1822.

If the memory of the arch-rogue, of whom these pages contain the history, had been at all likely to be "interred with his bones," we should perhaps, have been unwilling to disturb its repose: but the single paragraph which has fallen from the pen of the author of the *Fortunes of Nigel*, having sufficiently secured an immortality of remembrance to "Jim Mackcoull," there can be no harm in permitting ourselves to touch upon some of that evil which henceforward is sure to "live after him." The volume before us is confusedly put together; and occasionally, is not quite in the best taste: but it contains much curious matter. Its interest arises less from the peculiar adventures of the hero, whose villainy, at best, was but of a vulgar stamp, than from the singular legal proceedings to which his case gave birth: and it is to these, and to his effrontery, which it must be confessed was of no common nature, rather than to any such ingenuity as distinguished Guzman d'Alfarache and Hardy Vaux, that Mackcoull owes his biographical elevation.

James Mackcoull was born in London, in the parish of St. Sepulchre; and such was his instinctive attachment to the place of his nativity, that the entire labours of an active life seem to have been dedicated to the single purpose of endeavouring to secure his decease also in the parish which gave him birth. He first drew breath in the year 1763. His father was a pocket-book maker, and a marshal's man; not fortunate in his business, but of unblemished character. It was from his mother that the peculiar tastes which marked all the children were more immediately derived.

Three sons and one daughter were the issue of this alliance; and the dispositions and pursuits of each were thoroughly german to the other. The eldest, John, was bred a law stationer; but instinct soon led him to a more liberal profession. In 1807 he was tried at Stafford for stealing a parcel from the Edinburgh mail, and forging indorsations on and negotiating four bills of exchange. In 1810 he published a book, entitled *Abuses of Justice*, in which he announced that he had "relinquished all criminal pursuits." This frank declaration was not received at Bow-street with the credit which its author expected; and he was so frequently repulsed in his attempts to enter places of public amusement, that he was compelled

in self-defence, on one occasion, to address the following *Bill of Health* to the sitting Magistrates.

"GENTLEMEN—I beg leave to inform you, that I am, with my wife, gone to the theatre, Covent Garden. I take this step in order to prevent any ill-founded, malicious construction. Trusting that I am within the pale of safety, and that my conduct will ever insure me the protection of the magistracy, I remain, Gentlemen, with all due respect,

Your most obedient very humble servant,
JOHN MACKCOULL."

The career of a *family* man is very like that of a courtezan, and, in middle life the thief, for the most part, finds it his interest to become informer. In this honourable calling John spent some of his meridian years; and, having acquired sufficient funds to open a public-house, first at Lewisham, and afterwards at Hayes, he played the tapster, till the numerous daring burglaries which were committed in the neighbourhood deprived him of his licence. In this difficulty he resorted to the no less profitable trade of *letting lodgings* in London; and the occupation of three houses, all of which, he says, "were conducted in the most discreet and orderly manner," soon enabled him to establish the *Apollo Library*, which he still keeps at Worthing, in conjunction with a widely different institution in the purlieus of Fleet-market.

The youngest brother, Benjamin, was a youth of infinite promise, but less fortunate than the elder scions of the house of Mackcoull. In his boyhood he was the darling hope of his mother, and among his professional competitors was acknowledged to be *facile princeps*. A robbery at the theatres in 1786 occasioned his early removal; and the Judge before whom he was convicted, when applied to to extend mercy to Brace, the companion of Benjamin's final achievement, delivered a sufficient testimony in favour of the latter's just claim to the honours which he reaped at the debtor's door—"Brace," said the learned Judge, "deserves to be hanged, were it for no other crime than that of being in company with Ben Mackcoull."

Nor did the blood of the Mackcoulls degenerate when it rolled in female veins. Mrs. Ann Wheeler, the daughter, was a frequent visitor of the several houses of correction: and it was not an unusual sight to see two generations of this distinguished family employed on the same block at the same moment. The robbery of Messrs. Foulden and Stratton led Mrs. Wheeler (or Mrs. Green as she was then called) to two years imprisonment: and after her enlargement she did no

long outlive her venerable dam. The old lady, (or, as she was playfully designated by her son James, *old Gunpowder*) was noted for her dexterity in shoplifting: and, as she approached the term of ninety years, employed herself in a branch of business more adapted to the slowness of foot which resulted from her advanced age, but which still required no little quickness of eye, and niceness of fingering—the *kitten rig*, or stealing pots from public houses.

Peculiar interest always attaches to the early acts of those who in after times are to be trumpeted by fame: and we are glad to present our readers with the first recorded success of the immediate subject of this volume, to whom we now approach. A canvass bag of halfpence attached to a cat's meat barrow, attracted James Mackcoull's notice while yet a boy, and, by blowing snuff in the owner's eyes, he effected a transfer of the property. This *snuff racket* with *clicking* and *twitching* (stealing hats from gentlemen's heads and shawls from ladies shoulders) continued for some years to form the chief amusements of Jim's pubescence, and perfected him in the minor branches of Newgate education. The robbery of an undertaker in St. James's Park, which was executed with more daring than prudence, compelled him to retire from London. His father, in order to secrete him from the pursuit of the police, gladly placed him on board the tender; and he served in the navy for nine years, if not without offence at least without detection.

On his return to England he renewed his youthful pursuits with great success: and at twenty-eight years of age he entered into the bands of marriage with a lady who kept a lodging-house. This house soon became a celebrated depôt for stolen goods; and its notoriety at length induced its proprietor to try a temporary retreat. The *minor clergy* (as the juvenile thieves were then called) used to bring all their booty to Mackcoull; and the property thus obtained was disposed of in a recess, formed by shutting up a window, (hence, in allusion to the tax, facetiously denominated *Pitt's picture*) so curiously covered in, pannelled over, and papered, that it long defied the Argus-eyed officers. Hamburgh was the spot selected for Mackcoull's delegation; and there in the spring of 1802, having assumed the name of Moffat, he contrived not only to support himself by the gaming table, but to remit large bills to his wife in London. After twelve months residence he took out a *burger brief*, or burgess ticket, and nominally established himself as an agent for goods intended for Leipzig fair. In 1804 he decamped from Hamburgh, being suspected of a robbery at the theatre. At Rotterdam he spent

nine months, but with unusual ill fortune: losing his money at play, and incurring a load of debt, which obliged him, after a second passing visit to Hamburgh, to embark again for England. London was too *hot* a residence for more than a few days; and he resolved to enter upon untried ground in the northern districts of the kingdom.

In Edinburgh he lived in retirement till he was detected, in 1806, in picking pockets at the theatre. He escaped, but bore about him for life the mark of a blow on his head received in the scuffle. Some suspicion seems to attach to him as the murderer of William Begbie, porter to the Belfast Linen Company, who was stabbed in the winter of this year, in the streets of Edinburgh, and robbed of bank notes to the amount of nearly 5000*l.* As far as we can determine, the charge has little to support it; and rests chiefly on Mackcoull's disappearance (his *taking a voyage to the West Indies*, as he termed it) immediately after the murder. Dublin was his next residence for a year. There he lived in plenty, and without attracting attention, though it is evident he was diligently employed; till he was again discovered in picking a pocket in the theatre, of a bag containing ninety-six guineas. The prosecutor died before the commencement of the sessions, and *Captain Moffat* accordingly was discharged.

On his return to Edinburgh he gave out that he had discovered a new process for staining leather: but in a short time he was apprehended once more for his old offence of picking pockets in the theatre, committed to prison for six months, and at length, strange to say, discharged without prosecution. We next find him in Stirling jail for *smashing* forged notes; and soon after in custody, with the notorious Huffey White, for having in his possession instruments of housebreaking which were to have been employed in entering the Chester bank.

White was restored to the hulks from which he had broken loose; and Mackcoull, after six months confinement, having assisted him in a second escape, set off with him, and another friend, Mr. Harry French, to *do business* with the Paisley bank. By the assistance of Scoltock, a blacksmith in London, who furnished them with proper implements, they succeeded in breaking into the strong closet, and carrying off a booty of 20,000*l.* Out of this sum Mackcoull thought it necessary in the first instance to account to his comrades for only 16,000*l.*; and on depositing the notes with a celebrated pugilist, Bill Gibbons, who keeps a banking firm on such occasions, he subtracted more than 2000*l.* in addition. White was almost instantly apprehended, and, in order to save his

life, a negociation was entered into for the return of the notes. The conditions were a free pardon for breaking from the hulks and no notice of the late robbery. On this agreement the sum of 11,941*l.* was restored to the agent of the bank, who had felt confident that he should recover the whole.

Mackcoull was now possessed of 8000*l.* out of which he had cheated his companions in iniquity. They, though pardoned for their escape from the hulks which subjected them to capital punishment, were still under sentence of transportation: White was soon placed in his former abode: French, who was yet at large, meditated revenge against Mackcoull; and in consequence of information given by the latter was sent off in a few months for New South Wales.

Mackcoull's retreat was at length discovered, and he was forwarded to Glasgow in April, 1812. The declaration which he there made before the magistrates, is given at length. When asked if he was in Scotland at the time of the robbery, he replied, that *he did not keep a diary*; and therefore he could not answer as to any precise time. Having admitted that he had been two or three times in Glasgow in the course of the last summer, he was interrogated as to his business; and answered, that his commercial concerns and connexions had nothing to do with any persons present; and that he would not hurt or wound *the feelings* of any gentleman with whom he might have commercial transactions, and therefore he declined mentioning their names. One of his friends in Edinburgh, he said, had gone to the *West Indies*; but he did not wish to mention either his name or the names of many gentlemen in Edinburgh whose acquaintance he enjoyed, for *the reasons of delicacy* formerly alluded to. He was fully committed for trial; and, while in Glasgow jail, he pretended to be ready to account with the bank for the balance due to it, as far as was in his power, and instructed Mr. Harmer, his solicitor, to pay £1000 in Scotch paper to the bank agent.

The statutory period for bringing him to trial having elapsed, and it being supposed that there was no sufficient proof against him, he was discharged on the 11th of July, 1812, and immediately returned to London. Here

" He actually sued Mr. Harmer for the £1000, alleging that the money had merely been lodged in his hands by his mother, who was since dead, and that Mr. Harmer had no authority whatever *from him*, to pay it away. When interrogated as to this, during his judicial examination, before Lord Gillies, he declared, 'that he was *successful* in the said action, and had costs awarded him; that a reference was made as to the amount of the sum which he was en-

titled to receive, Mr. Harmer having brought forward counter-claims, and the balance found due, on the reference to the declarant, was between two and three hundred pounds, including costs; which sum the declarant actually recovered!!!" P. 121.

In March, 1813, he made a trip to Edinburgh, to vend some of his stolen notes; and was observed and apprehended by Mr. Denovan, of the Leith Police. He had at that time purchased bills upon London nearly to the amount of £1000, payable to Mr. James Martin; these were detained; but the prisoner himself, after three weeks confinement, was once more discharged.

An affray with his wife, from whom he lived separate, on his return to London, gave him six months lodging in Newgate. During this imprisonment, Huffey White escaped a third time from the Hulks; and soon afterwards, to Mackcoull's great joy, was executed for robbing the Leeds mail. The Paisley bank, upon giving bonds of indemnity to the British Linen Company, and the Commercial bank, from whom our hero had purchased the bills, recovered this part of their property; and Mackcoull, upon his enlargement, set off for Edinburgh, in the hope of regaining possession of it.

"He commenced operations by calling at the British Linen Company and Commercial Bank, and *demanding*, in the most imperious manner, restitution of the bills he had purchased from them *for his friend Mr. Martin*, or other bills in lieu of them. He then wrote a fair statement of his whole case, which he laid before the then Lord Advocate (Colquhoun of Kellermont): but, as that learned officer did not feel himself bound to interfere, he went in person to the Council Chamber of Edinburgh, and, to use his own words, 'expressed the utmost indignation and surprise at the proceedings that had taken place; and there, in presence of all the persons assembled, demanded restitution of the bills which had been most illegally taken from his person.' The manner in which he conducted himself on this occasion, and the unparalleled effrontery he displayed, is said to have struck every one dumb with astonishment. He went on at such a rate, and became so very insolent, that the city officers were directed to turn him out of the chamber, which they did." P. 137.

We cannot be expected to detail the tedious quiddities of Scotch law. It will suffice to say, that Mackcoull brought an action before the sheriff of the county of Edinburgh against Mr. Callander, the City Clerk; Mr. Ponton, the Procurator Fiscal; and Mr. Smyth, the agent of the Paisley Union bank, which was dismissed. Next he brought a second action against Mr. Ponton and Baillie Johnston, in which the

was assoilzied, and farther proceedings were required as to the second; thirdly, he raised actions against Mr. Cockburn, who had granted the warrant for delivering the draft, and the cashier who had received them; and fourthly, he instituted a suit, by the magnanimous name of a Multiplepounding, to determine the right of parties to the bills in question.

The forms of the Scotch courts, sorely against his will, brought on the necessity of a judicial examination, notwithstanding the forcible objection urged by his Counsel, against a proceeding which appears to us, in every view of it, to be most inequitable. It was well said of the defenders (the Paisley bank) that though the process had now lasted three years,

" '*They had not, up to that hour, been able to procure the slightest evidence of any one of the numerous allegations they had presumed to make against him;* but were compelled at last *to refer to him, whom they had designated a thief and a robber,* to determine, by his judicial declaration, WHETHER THEY THEMSELVES HAD NOT BEEN GUILTY OF THEFT AND ROBBERY!!!' " P. 146.

The examination occupied three days, during which, though frequently hard pressed, he fenced most dexterously with the interrogatories of the defenders counsel. He stated, among other things, that his fictitious friend, James Martin, had lodgings in Swallow-street, London; but that he had forgotten the number of the house. This answer was truly artful, for the greater part of Swallow-street had already been pulled down to make way for Mr. Nash's alterations. He complained that some of the questions " might lead to rude enquiries, disagreeable to the feelings of those at whom they were addressed:" he spoke of the *injustice* which he had suffered from the Paisley bank: and at length refused, without hearing the opinion of the Lord Ordinary (which was given in his favour) to answer any other question, after " an examination *so tedious and so little to the purpose.*" The Session rose on the day after his final examination; and he returned to London in high spirits, confident of gaining his cause, quite assured that he had said nothing to criminate himself, and that, at so great a distance of time, the bank could never establish his guilt.

In 1819, he addressed a letter to Lord Sidmouth, which Mr. Grey Bennet might take as a general model for all the petitions which he is in the habit of presenting from injured individuals, and oppressed innocence. It speaks of the inordinate and dangerous power of the Procurator Fiscal, *an Officer of the Crown.* It complains of the torture of unex-

employed persecution, to which the writer, though an Englishman, had been exposed by this officer. That by a prostitution of his public duties, he (Mackcoull) had been illegally imprisoned, stripped of his property, and subjected to a six year's litigation of abuse, irrelevancy, and calumny. Then follow some remarks on the saleable nature of the Procurator's Office, and his unconstitutional nomination.

"The high and extravagant price given, almost monthly, by *culprit offenders*, and *Scottish bankers*, to the Police of Bow-street, for furnishing and sending down into Scotland some ill-fated *Englishman*, whose supposed guilt shall, with the operation and abuse of Scottish law, prevent detection in their more legitimate channels, has, I suspect, rather generated than suppressed these crimes. No crime has, of late, become so frequent as that of robbery of the *Scottish banks*; and while the stale averment, that the crime has been committed by *Englishmen* entering *their Banks* with *false keys*, is pleaded *to Scottish judges*, it excludes the more legitimate presumption that the pretended *theft* may have been committed by *Scotchmen* entering their banks with their own keys." P. 288.

The letter concludes with the customary fifth-act, drum-and-trumpet flourish of Magna Charta, and the Habeas Corpus Act; earnestly imploring redress and justice, and demanding relief from the operation of an odious and corrupt authority, &c. &c. &c.

The situation of the bank at this time was curious.

"Unless they proved Mackcoull's participation in the robbery, and that *the notes with which the bills were purchased were part of those stolen from their bank* they behoved to deliver up to Mackcoull the said bills, amounting to £991 odd, and interest at 5 per cent., from May 1813—to lose all the expense they had been at *in claiming their own property*, and pay all Mackcoull's expenses (amounting to nearly £1000) in prosecuting them, besides the disgrace of losing the action—an action, we believe, without a parallel in the annals of any court in Europe;—a public depredator—a convicted rogue and vagabond—going at large in the metropolis of Scotland, *without any lawful trade or employment*, denouncing courts, magistrates, and private individuals, and prosecuting, *with their own money*, in the supreme court of that country, a respectable banking company, for attempting to keep a part of their property of which he had robbed them, and which was actually found in his possession. But this was not all: Mackcoull's intentions were, if he succeeded in the Jury Court, *to follow up the decision with an action of damages*, in which, it is the opinion of many, he would also have been successful!" P. 185.

On the 11th of May, 1820, the three following issues were tried.

"'1st. Was the defendant guilty of stealing, or carrying away from the premises of the said Banking Company the property charged?

"'2d. Whether he received the money, or any part of it?

"'3d. Whether the notes found on his person, or traced to his possession, are the same that were stolen from the said banking-house?'" P. 202.

Mackcoull, to the astonishment of all present, took his place in Court. The trial deserves to be read at length. By the most indefatigable exertion, Mr. Denovan, whom we have before mentioned, had succeeded in bringing up a train of witnesses, who identified Mackcoull as one of three persons travelling from Glasgow to London two days after the robbery; and detailed a variety of collateral circumstances, amounting, in the aggregate, to the strongest proof of his guilt. To complete the evidence, Scoltock, the blacksmith, upon whose absence Mackcoull implicitly relied, was placed in the box.

"On hearing his name, Mackcoull rose from his seat, and attempted to get out of court; but the crowd was so great, that he found it impossible to reach the door before Scoltock appeared. The instant he saw him he changed colour, and sunk by the side of the wall in a kind of faint. He was assisted out of court, and did not again make his appearance for some time." P. 249.

The Jury found for the prosecutor on all three issues, and Mackcoull was tried for the robbery before the High Court of Justiciary on the 19th of June. The same facts were proved by the same witnesses, with one or two additions, and a verdict of guilty was recorded without hesitation.

"On being carried back to the jail, his whole stock of fortitude and resolution left him. He appeared to be overwhelmed with despair, and observed to the governor, with much emotion, that 'had the eye of God not been upon him, such a connected chain of evidence never could have been brought forward.'" P. 274.

A respite for a month was received for him on the XIVth of July, and three weeks afterwards a reprieve during pleasure.

"After the month of August, Mackcoull fell into a natural decline, which affected his mental faculties so much that he became altogether silly and childish. He was haunted in his sleep by frightful dreams and visions, and frequently started up with such dreadful cries, and horrible expressions and imprecations, that none of the other felons could remain in the cell with him. He was visited occasionally, not only by the regular Ordinary of the jail, but also

by several eminent divines, to all of whom he behaved with becoming respect, but generally refused or declined to enter with them on religious subjects. Sometimes, however, it is said he attributed this obduracy to the want of a religious education, and the very slight acquaintance he had with the Bible. Previous to his death, he was so much emaciated, that those who saw him at the trial could not again recognize him; while, from the time of his conviction, it was remarked, that his hair began to change colour:—At that period it was jet black, but, in the course of three months, it became silver grey. He died in the County Jail of Edinburgh, on the 22d day of December, 1820, and was decently interred, at the expense of his wife, in the Calton Burying-ground." P. 279.

Mr. Denovan's journal of his expedition to London, in order to obtain evidence, as given in the Appendix, is a most curious document: and we know not whether most to be struck by the sagacity of the inquirer, or the many singular accidents (if we must so call them) by which he was enabled to connect the links of his chain of evidence. Mackcoull indeed, in the course of his journey, appears to have behaved with extraordinary want of caution, displaying the notes with a degree of hardihood, which is only to be accounted for by the flush of triumph which he must have felt at his recent success. At Bow-street, Mr. Denovan's first care was to get possession of the false keys which had been already found in Scoltock's shop; and, by the assistance of Lavender, the officer, they were at length discovered in a back closet, which is the customary receptacle of the implements of crime. In this blue chamber of horrors, the wished-for box was placed in most appropriate company, covered by the bloody jacket and the maul of the assassin of the Marrs and Williamsons, and the poker from which Mr. and Mrs. Bonar met their death. An account, exceeding £2000 had been opened by Mackcoull, under the name of James Ibell, with Messrs. Marsh and Sibbald, the bankers. The extract, which Mr. Denovan obtained from the books of these gentlemen, presented some well known names. Among them were Mackcoull's brother, sister, and two mistresses; Sutton, a man who lives by melting silver plate, and altering the names and numbers of watches, (*christening* and *bishoping*); Goodman, a noted coach robber, and Ings, the ferocious butcher, who suffered with Thistlewood.

We need not draw the moral which the life of this unhappy man suggests. It is given in a few words, at the conclusion of the memoir.

"His whole life may thus be considered as one uninterrupted

career of villany almost without a parallel. That he did not expiate his crimes on a gibbet, was merely owing to circumstances which are not worth explaining;—but, during the period of his imprisonment, he suffered many deaths. Of the fatal tree he spoke without fear; but the dread of a future tribunal paralized his understanding:—He saw and trembled at the approach of that unerring shaft which no earthly ruler could control; while the horrors of his mind, by affecting the nervous system, accelerated his dissolution:—the retrospect of his life often obtruded itself with new modifications of insupportable reflection—the prospect of futurity he could only contemplate with fearful apprehension:—He felt the wakening of a seared conscience, from which there was no retreat—He crawled about, grinding his teeth—his intervals of slumber were broken and interrupted with the most frightful visions; and he saw the hairs of his head become grey with anguish! The picture is too horrible to finish——To religion he was a stranger—a total stranger in this hour of need: he felt not her soothing influence—he cherished not the hope of forgiveness or mercy—Unhappy man! he looked to God as to a cruel and vindictive ruler, at whose hands he could only expect the full punishment of his crimes—his resignation was despair!" P. 280.

ART. IV. *Sermons. By Edward Maltby, D.D.* Vol. 2. 8vo. 596 pp. Cadell. 1822.

THE first volume of Dr. Maltby's Sermons has already fallen under our notice*; and we then endeavoured to convey to our readers a fair and candid opinion of its contents; neither passing over in silence those passages which seemed to us to require animadversion, nor expressing our sentiments in terms at which the learned author could justly take offence. We remarked, that Dr. Maltby had not touched upon many important points of doctrine, which the subjects he had undertaken to discuss seemed almost of necessity to involve; and that opportunities which might have been usefully employed in clearing the sacred text from difficulty, or illustrating it by the skilful use of those stores of theological learning to which his classical attainments afforded him easy access, appeared to us to have been neglected. We are sorry to say that the present volume does not supply these deficiencies.

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* British Critic, Vol. xiv. Nov. 1820.

Dr. Maltby has here presented us with a second selection from his sermons, consisting of twenty-four discourses, composed on many different occasions, and delivered to congregations of various characters and attainments. Seven of them were preached before the University of Cambridge, others were composed to serve the interests of charitable or religious institutions, and the greater part were probably intended for the edification of a country parish. But, strange as it may appear, the reader would be disappointed who should consult these volumes for evidence of the reverend Preacher's sentiments, not merely on those controverted questions which have agitated the peace of the Church in our own times, but on some most important points of doctrine which at all times the Church is bound to maintain, and has maintained steadily, and, as we believe, triumphantly. Dr. Maltby declares himself to be an enemy to controversy; and we have already said all that we consider necessary to be observed on the choice which he has thus made, of leaving to others that earnest contention for the Faith, which some of the mildest as well as the ablest Divines of our Church have considered it to be their indispensable duty to maintain. But surely, controversy may be avoided, without passing over in guarded, and sometimes injurious silence, every doctrine which the perversity of some, or the prejudices of others have made the subject of controversial discussion. The great characteristic truths of Christianity may be plainly inculcated, without adverting to the doubts of the sceptic, or the misconceptions of the heretic. It is not necessary to shrink from the delivery of the whole council of God to those for whose spiritual instruction we are bound to provide, because that counsel has, in some important branches of it, been made the subject of perverse disputings, by men of corrupt minds, or insufficient attainments. We now complain of what Dr. Maltby has omitted, not of what he has done. We are bound to receive these volumes as examples of his labours as a Christian teacher; and we lament to say that, from such teaching, the hungry soul would sometimes depart unsatisfied. Of moral instruction there is indeed no lack; but if the morals of Dr. Maltby's parishioners are built upon those great principles of the faith of Jesus Christ, which, in our estimation, afford the only sure foundation on which Christian obedience can rest; we regret that he should have deemed it expedient to withhold from the world every specimen of the manner in which these principles have been taught. We have read this volume with patient attention; nay, we will add with an anxious desire to find in it some explicit

clusion of the Preacher's opinions on those great and interesting doctrines, on which he did not touch in his former publication; but we have looked in vain. We have observed with surprise and sorrow, that when the occasion on which the Sermon was delivered, and the text which was chosen for consideration, seemed to promise, and to require a clear statement of a fundamental doctrine, the discourse has been either entirely devoted to the examination of some question of inferior importance, or wasted in unprofitable generalities.

In the line of teaching which he has thus adopted, Dr. Maltby has exercised his own discretion: and we have certainly no right to call him to account for the mode in which he has chosen to employ the opportunities afforded him as a Minister of the Church of Christ, of setting forth the glory of God, and the mercies of redemption. But, regarding him as an author, we should ill discharge our duty to our readers and the public, if we abstained from the temperate expression of those feelings which the present volume has awakened in our minds. The omissions of the former volume are not supplied: on some of the most important questions which the enemies of Christianity have ever raised to perplex the weak or delude the ignorant, we must still wait for an unequivocal expression of Dr. Maltby's opinions. On others, which, though not perhaps so immediately affecting the stability of the foundations of Christianity, are yet highly important, he has spoken with less reserve; and, as we proceed to the review of the contents of his volume, we shall be obliged to enter our unqualified protest against more than one of his positions, and to point out some unfortunate deviations from the received opinions of our best Divines. In discharging this disagreeable part our duty, it will be our endeavour to avoid every expression which may irritate or wound. We hope Dr. Maltby will believe, that we have no personal feelings on the subject. We feel a high respect for him as a scholar, and are fully aware of the value of his labours in that capacity; and it is with concern that we are obliged to record our opinion, that his exertions as a Divine, as far as they may be estimated by the contents of these two volumes of Sermons, and thus far only are we acquainted with them, do not appear to us to have been equally useful.

The first Sermon to which we deem it necessary to direct the attention of our readers, stands third in the volume, and was preached on Good Friday. The text which Dr. Maltby has chosen is John xv. 12, 13, 14. *This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater*

love hath no man than this, That a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you. After some introductory remarks, he thus states the topics on which he intends to dilate. They are first, "the happy results that would ensue, if our blessed Lord's injunction to mutual love were more generally and more implicitly obeyed;" and secondly, "the prevailing and effectual motive which the text supplies, for obedience to our Lord's commandments," pp. 43. No person will deny, that much practical instruction may be conveyed by a careful discussion of these subjects; but few perhaps will be satisfied with a Good Friday Sermon which is entirely devoted to their consideration. It may fairly be expected, that the great doctrine of the atonement will occupy a prominent place in every Sermon preached on that day; and that then at least, if not at all times, the preacher will be animated by the sentiments of the Apostle, and desire "to know nothing," and to speak of nothing, "but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified*." The members of the Church of England, if they are well instructed in the faith, will, on this solemn fast, return disappointed from her services, unless their minds are led to dwell on the love of God as manifested in sending his Son, in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, to lay down his life for sinful man. They will desire to meditate on the blessings of the atonement; they will hope to hear their spiritual instructor stating them explicitly, and drawing all his motives for love to God, and holiness of life and conduct, from the expectations which they excite, and the gratitude they inspire. Such however is not the line of teaching which Dr. Maltby has chosen to adopt. After some general observations on the first head of his discourse, he introduces the second to his hearers with the following observations:

"Whatsoever difference of opinion may unhappily prevail among Christians upon the subject of our Saviour's death, all surely must agree in this important point, that he died for the good of mankind. This indeed is a point that could not be disputed by any one, who attended to the general course of Scripture history, to the declarations of our Lord himself, and to the concurring attestations of holy Prophets in the Old Testament, and of Evangelists and Apostles in the New." P. 48.

In support of this position, that Christ died for the good of mankind, he cites Matt. xxvi. 28. John vi. 51. Mark x.

* 1 Cor. ii. 2.

45. Romans v. 6. 1 John iii. 16, 23.—iv. 7. And he then proceeds thus:

"The argument insisted upon in the text, and so earnestly repeated by the beloved Apostle, is briefly this, 'If I, your Lord and Master, for your sake and for the sake of all mankind, am about to die in order to show my love for you, and to do you good; you are surely bound to keep my commandments. But my commandments are not grievous. I desire you for instance to do, what surely you might perform without any injunction from me, and for no other reason, but because it is both becoming and profitable to yourselves. I desire you to show, in every reasonable and practicable way, as much love to your fellow-creatures, as I have shown towards you. *Greater love* (indeed he very justly observes,) *hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.* It is impossible that a greater proof of kindness, of love, can be shown by any one or at any time, than that he be ready to suffer death for the sake of his friends. Yet this extraordinary, this amazing proof of affection, I am ready to give for you. Therefore you, my disciples, in all ages of the world, ought to exhibit proofs of affection, approaching to this, for one another.'" P. 51.

It certainly appears to us a little singular, that such passages as those to which we have above referred should be cited on such an occasion, merely to establish a point on which all Christians are said to agree, namely "that our Saviour died for the good of mankind." Even the modern Socinians, whose belief is comprehended within narrower boundaries than that of any other body of religionists who have ever assumed the name of Christians, will admit this, and will probably appeal to these very texts of Scripture to justify their belief. But the members of the Church of England have been accustomed hitherto to derive from them a much higher lesson, and a much more important doctrine: and that clergyman of the established Church, who ever permits this lesson and this doctrine to be lost sight of, or neglects any proper opportunity of clearly stating and strongly enforcing them, will, in our estimation, but inefficiently perform the solemn duty he undertook when he was "put in trust with the Gospel of Christ." *

If the following passage may be deemed a sufficient declaration of the doctrine which the day was set apart by the Church to inculcate, we would not willingly deprive Dr. Maltby of any advantage which he may derive from its being brought under the notice of our readers.

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* 1 Thess. ii. 4.

"Jesus, the Son of the Most High God, came down from heaven, condescended to our infirmities, took upon him the form of a servant, spent a laborious life in teaching truth and doing good; and finally submitted to a painful and ignominious death, in order to work out the salvation of man, to achieve his deliverance from the bondage of sin, and to *redeem his soul from the power of the grave* *. *He gave himself* (in the energetic language of the Apostle) *for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father* †. At the close of his glorious and beneficent career, this great and admirable Friend of all mankind points out to his followers the benefits they were to derive from the death, which was then hanging over him: 'Yet,' added he, 'I, who have so many claims to your attention, I, who have such an irresistible right to your obedience, only lay this simple injunction upon you, *That ye love one another, as I have loved you.*' How beautiful, how affecting is this language from such a divine Teacher, under such extraordinary circumstances! 'Touched with compassion for your infirmities; anxious to remove your transgressions; after living a life of poverty and toil, in order to show you the paths of life and immortality, I, the Son of God, am now going to prepare the way for you by the last and greatest act of kindness that I can possibly perform, even by dying on your account. What I ask in return is, that ye love one another; that, so far from ever thinking to do evil, ye be eager to do good; that ye be not only not inactive and cold in the service of your earthly brethren, but that you imitate my example of constant good-will and unwearied activity in showing it, whensoever an opportunity of doing good to another presents itself before you." P. 52.

We hope we shall not be considered as severe or partial judges if we say, that such a passage as this, though some of its expressions can convey to the mind of a sincere and orthodox believer nothing but the truth which he so carefully cherishes as the foundation of his hopes, and the fountain of his consolation, still wants something more to render it a full and satisfactory exposition of the doctrine to those who are insufficiently instructed in the faith, or have unhappily fallen in the way of seducers. They will perhaps continue to be satisfied with the bare notion, that "Christ died for the good of mankind;" and will derive no higher instruction than this from all the Scriptures which, speaking of the things concerning him to those under better guidance represent him as God incarnate, paying with his own blood the price of man's redemption from sin and punishment. But, it may perhaps be thought, that, in other parts of his volume, Dr. Maltby has been more explicit; and there is certainly

* Psalm xlix. 15. † Galat. i. 4.

one sermon, the thirteenth, the text of which would lead us to expect a clear and satisfactory exposition of his sentiments on a point which cannot be too often or too plainly stated.

The text which Dr. Maltby has chosen is John x. 24. 25. *Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, how long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believed not: The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.*

In the beginning of the sermon it is remarked, that

"There were many during the life of Jesus Christ, as there have also been in subsequent times, who were inclined to dispute the truth of his pretensions, and doubted whether he really had a commission from Almighty God to instruct, to reform, and to save mankind." P. 222.

And we are told that

"It was natural and reasonable that such doubts should exist, till there was a fair opportunity of satisfying them; and that no one ought at that or at any other time to be censured for hesitating to believe such an extraordinary fact, till sufficient evidence of the truth should be afforded him." P. 222.

Dr. Maltby seems to have overlooked the fact, that the better informed Jews did not doubt that our Saviour really "had a commission from Almighty God;" but whether, in the language of the text, he were "the Christ" the expected Messiah, or not. The arrival of Nicodemus, *Rabbi we know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him* *, probably expressed the conviction which had been wrought in the minds of that class of his countrymen with whom he ranked, and the evidence which had produced it. It was in his character of the predicted Redeemer of Israel, that they rejected him; and it is in his character as the predicted Redeemer of the World, that subsequent heresy has refused to acknowledge him. The great question then which it is of the utmost importance to every man to determine, is whether Jesus was the Christ or not: "that is," says Dr. Maltby, "whether he was the Son of God, sent into the world for the peculiar benefit of mankind;" p. 223. but, as we would rather express it, whether he is God the Son, who came into the world to save mankind, by suffering the penalty of death for our offences. We shall rejoice to know, that

* John iii. 2.

Dr. Maltby considers his language and our own to be synonymous. We are perfectly ready to believe, that he means all which we would express by it. But we know that there is a busy sect risen up, and always at work among us, whose great aim it is verbis decoris obvolvere vitium; and who will use all the words which Dr. Maltby employs, without conveying by them to their disciples one tittle of the truth upon this important question. We are anxious therefore that the language employed by the Clergy of the Church of England when stating that truth, should not be open to their misrepresentations; or susceptible of the colouring which they will not fail to give it, if the interests of their heresy can be advanced by the fraud. For the same reason, we are sorry to find, as we proceed in the perusal of this sermon, that the purpose for which our Saviour appealed in the text to his miracles is not more fully explained. "He declares," we are told, "that the miracles which he wrought among the Jews, were alone a full and sufficient proof that he had come from God, and was acting under his especial direction." P. 226. "Upon this plain simple argument our Saviour," we afterwards read, "rests the proof of his divine authority." P. 227. "If miracles were performed Jesus must have been sent from God." P. 238. Such are the premises on which Dr. Maltby wields his argument: and having proceeded to shew, "for what reasons the miracles performed by Jesus Christ are in themselves alone a complete testimony for the truth of our holy religion;" in the concluding portion of his discourse he uses the following language, which we state at length, because on these momentous points we wish to let him speak for himself; and are desirous that our readers should form their own judgment rather from the evidence which we produce, than from the impression which that evidence may have left upon our minds, and marked in our observations.

"To redeem mankind from sin and its fatal consequences; to announce to them pardon upon sincere repentance; to instruct them in every important truth of morality and religion; to guard them from vice and error; to point out the way to an happy eternity; were the avowed and undeniable ends for which Jesus was sent into the world: and in subservience to these ends, every way conformable to the wisdom and benevolence of God, were these astonishing acts of Almighty power displayed." P. 239.

And again,

"The conclusion, which alone ought or could be drawn from

these mighty *signs and wonders* *, namely, that Jesus was *the Christ*.

"When, therefore, the works performed by Jesus were incontestible proofs of a power superior to human; when they were wrought in aid of a design completely consonant with the Divine benevolence; when the manner of Him, who performed them, was in all respects such as became the Son of God; when they were exposed to the inspection, and even extorted the assent, of his inveterate enemies; it is worse than folly—it is the height of impiety—to doubt any longer his pretensions. The Gospel must be true. We are bound to *believe it for the very works' sake.*" P. 241.

We have been the more particular in extracting every passage and expression from this Sermon which bears at all upon the great doctrine now more immediately under our consideration; because, in no other part of the volume do we find the subject treated of, nor scarcely indeed, as far as we recollect, alluded to. The phrases which we have cited, may be sufficient perhaps to satisfy those who have other means of being acquainted with the learned preacher's sentiments. Such means are not within our reach; nor are we at all solicitous to possess them. We only know him as an author; our only concern is to enquire whether as a preacher, judging of his general manner of teaching from the specimen which he has given us in these volumes, we can, with propriety, recommend his labours, as containing just and complete views of the doctrines of Christianity, as well as useful exhortions to the practice of its duties. And we should rejoice, if we could fairly and honestly state our opinion, that the praise which may be rightly conceded to him in the latter character, has been equally merited in the former. But the result of our enquiry, as far as it has yet proceeded, does not justify such an admission; and we have yet other reasons to produce, which we trust will be thought sufficient to support us in the sentence which, however unwillingly, we feel bound to pronounce.

The twelfth sermon was preached for the benefit of the Lunatic Asylum at Lincoln; and in the commencement of it Dr. Maltby delivers his sentiments on the subject of Demoniacal possession in the following unqualified terms.

"Among the diseases, which seem to have excited the peculiar sympathy of our Lord, are those disorders of the mind which are classed under the names of Lunacy or Insanity. The circumstances attending the cure of this class of disorders, are recorded with

* Rom. xv. 19.

unusual minuteness in the books of the New Testament; and, in truth, there are no maladies of which the mention occurs so often, as those of the lunatic and epileptic, *or possessed with demons;* for so the word should always be translated when it refers to any supposed possession, and not *devils*. It is not the business of the present discourse to enter upon the examination of any disputed point respecting the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. I shall therefore merely mark, that it can hardly be doubted, but all the cases of supposed possession by demons refer to a class of diseases, unhappily as well known among us as they were among the Jews. They are no less to be considered the natural effects of natural causes, than any of those unfortunate cases, to which I am enjoined to call your benevolent attention this day.

"The lamentable ignorance, which prevailed in the heathen world, entailed upon them many wild and mischievous superstitions. Among other fatal follies they were led to ascribe all disorders of intellect to the agency of evil beings, formed from the spirits of dead men. The Jews residing among nations infected with such superstitions during the captivity, seem to have imbibed these, as well as other, opinions with which they polluted the pure current of Divine Revelation. It is not, however, to be supposed that our Lord, when he used the popular language, either adopted or sanctioned the popular opinions. He spoke of things in the manner they were usually spoken of—just as we continually use phrases according to the general acceptation, without any regard to philosophical precision. No one imagines, because we say that the sun rises, or the dew falls, that we intend to countenance the sentiments of those who once maintained, that the earth was at rest while the sun moved round it; and that dew, like rain, fell from the clouds, whereas it is a vapour rising from the earth." P. 205.

Dr. Maltby has not informed us why he prefers the word demons to devils, as the proper translation of δαιμονιζομενοις in the passage which he has taken for his text (Matt. iv. 23, 24.) Had he been preaching to a learned congregation, it would have been unnecessary to inform his hearers, that the former is the more *literal* translation. But he can scarcely fail to know, that, in the common acceptation of the words, there is but little difference between demons and devils: and his hearers understanding by both evil and malignant spirits, would doubtless be a little puzzled by an unnecessary display of learning, which, without conveying any new idea to their minds, seemed to throw a shade of doubt and obscurity over a sentence which had before appeared perfectly intelligible. Dr. Maltby has not given us any precise account of his own belief in the existence either of demons or devils, or whether there is any difference between them: but he has distinctly stated his disbelief in the agency

of either, on the occasions under consideration: and he has chosen rather to suppose, that, on such a subject, our blessed Lord would adopt or sanction the popular opinions, knowing them to be false. Conceiving, however, that the clear statement of his opinion on this subject, though we believe it to be erroneous, will scarcely be so injurious to the truth of Christianity, as his cautious silence, or at least guarded and ambiguous language on the important doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, and the atonement; we should perhaps have contented ourselves with merely pointing them out to notice, if he had not so boldly assumed that they could scarcely be rejected by any.

"It can hardly be doubted," he says, "but all cases of supposed possessions by demons refer to a class of diseases, unhappily as well known among us as they were among the Jews." That such a notion has prevailed among other able divines is certainly true: it is also, we believe, acknowledged, that one sect at least among us, deny the existence of an evil spirit altogether; and are therefore driven of necessity to consider the demoniacal possessions spoken of in the Scriptures as mere natural diseases. But, we are surprised to find that Dr. Maltby does not know, that this notion has never *prevailed* in the Church of England; and we are more surprised that he should speak of it as scarcely admitting of a doubt, when so many of the ablest and most celebrated Divines which have adorned our Church, have deemed it right to acquiesce in what he conceives to be no more than "a popular opinion," and to accept the language of the evangelists in its literal meaning.

It may be difficult to understand, why the spirit of evil was permitted at that time to take possession of the bodies of men: but it is much more difficult to believe, that our Lord would encourage a belief in such possessions, if that belief was erroneous: and we can scarcely think it possible, that any such unprejudiced person can seriously consider the Evangelist's narrative of the healing of the possessed at Gennesaret, and the permission given by our Lord to the expelled devils, or demons, if Dr. Maltby prefers the word, to enter into the herd of swine, with the consequences that followed that permission, and still scruple to admit, that, in this instance at least, something more was done than the mere healing of a natural disease. In the fifteenth Sermon, the subject of which is Micaiah's vision, 1 Kings xxii. 23. Dr. Maltby has entered into a farther statement of his opinions respecting the existence and employment of spirits. As "the hand and arm of God are used to signify the par-

ticular manner of exerting power or strength which man employs;" as "the eyes of the Lord is a phrase by which his all-seeing Providence is denoted;" so "he is said to send a spirit to execute his intentions, because the designs of monarchs here are performed by attendants, ministers, or ambassadors." P. 271, 272. To such language, and to such an extension of the argument from analogy we decidedly object. It is thus that the labours of wise men are rashly or inadvertently perverted, until they become the instruments of evil. Whether the vision of Micaiah was or was not a parabolic representation; whether it is to be regarded as an embellishment employed, not only for the purpose of rendering the substance of the prophetic communication intelligible, but also of impressing it more forcibly upon the mind of the hearer; or as a narrative of facts, is a question into which we do not mean to enter. Our objection lies against the unguarded language which Dr. Maltby has used in stating his view of it: language which may be employed, however innocent he may be of any such intention, to strengthen the error of those modern Sadducees, who deny the existence both of angels and spirits.

Nor can we agree with the learned preacher in his notion, that the temptation of our Saviour was a mere vision: still less can we approve of the manner in which this notion is conveyed, as it were incidentally; and by ranking the whole of that awful transaction, which is so particularly and minutely related, with the history of the miraculous events which occurred during Balaam's progress to Moab, which Dr. Maltby chuses to consider also as a mere imaginary scene. Thus he says, "that in these visionary scenes we are not under the necessity of supposing, either that a dumb beast spoke and reasoned; or that a bad being carried our Saviour through the air." P. 276. But here we cannot refrain from employing his own language with the alteration of a single word, to express our idea of such interpretations. It appears to us to be "equally *hostile* to the principles of sacred criticism, and to the reverential care with which every part of Holy Writ should be examined," to explain away what is therein plainly related as a matter of fact, into a mere visionary representation. If such liberties are to be allowed, no part of Scripture is safe: and we may be led on step by step into the error of those ancient heretics, who believed the crucifixion of our Lord to be a mere deceptio visus. It seems, indeed, to be his belief, that the enemies of revelation cannot be better resisted than by thus evading a supposed difficulty by tamely surrendering the plain meaning of

Scripture. In this we cannot agree with him: the remedy, as *he* would apply it, appears to us to be far more dangerous than the wound which they would inflict. A pious and cautious reader, while he knows how to distinguish between the poetic imagery of prophetic denunciation, and the plain narrative of the historian, will avoid the interpreter who thus confounds them, as the most dangerous guide to whom the direction of his faith can be entrusted.

In the seventeenth sermon we meet with more objectionable matter of the same kind. It seems that some ignorant or wicked persons in a neighbouring parish, had brought against an helpless and innocent female the charge of witchcraft; and had proceeded to acts of outrage against the unfortunate object of their persecuting spirit. On this occasion Dr. Maltby thought it right to exhort his parishioners from the pulpit, and to point out to them the folly and sinfulness of such conduct. In this undoubtedly he acted rightly: but though we think that he could not have stated the sinfulness of indulging such unfounded and mischievous notions too strongly; or shewn the extreme folly of the apprehensions they produced more forcibly than the occasion required; still there are many observations in his Sermon, which, in our judgment, had been far better omitted, and many positions to which we cannot subscribe. His text is John vii. 19, 20.; and after pointing out the horrible guilt attaching to those blind persons, who accused our blessed Saviour of leaguing with infernal spirits to perform his miracles, he proceeds thus:

"It is not necessary to the purpose which I have in view, and therefore no one will mistake me as attempting to argue, that any one can now be guilty of that horrid and inexpressible extent of crime, which the Jews committed when they villified the Son of God as acting in concert with infernal spirits. So far as Jesus Christ was superior to common men by the divinity of his character and office, by his consummate wisdom and goodness, by the matchless perfection of his virtues, so far must the guilt of uttering such a calumny against him, exceed the guilt of fixing a similar suspicion upon any of our fellow-creatures. But still the wickedness of uttering such a calumny against any human being in our own days, is enormous; and for the reasons which are stated above. Because it virtually imputes to them principles of action, not merely at variance with the dictates of common sense, but repulsive to every tender, every pious feeling; such, therefore, as it is the most outrageous want of charity to believe any one capable of adopting." P. 311.

This is well stated; but when Dr. Maltby goes on to

point out the extreme folly of those apprehensions which have grown out of the belief in witchcraft, he adopts language, in more than one instance, not only unnecessary for the illustration of his subject, but in our estimation liable to very mischievous interpretation. Thus, when shewing the origin of the belief in witchcraft, after tracing the worship of the creature by heathen nations up to the gratitude which mankind felt for the benefits conferred upon them by the instrumentality of the heavenly bodies, or the talents or courage of their fellow mortals; he adds,

"It was not long, however, before men found out that they were subject to evil as well as susceptible of good. Reasoning very ignorantly upon this fact, they concluded that, as good beings must be authors of the *blessings* they enjoyed, so wicked and malignant beings must contrive the *evils* under which they suffered." P. 315.

If such was, indeed, ignorant reasoning, it is at least but justice to the benighted heathen to allow, that it was not peculiar to them. Their advocates, if such should be found to stand up in their favour, might plead higher authority for their opinions in this particular instance, than Dr. Maltby chuses to remember. The apostle, when he pressed this reproving question home to the conscience of Ananias, "why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost *," acknowledged not only the existence, but the agency of a wicked and malignant being; and when, in the maturity of his age and apostleship, he left his solemn warning with the members of the various churches which had then been formed to be "sober and vigilant; because their adversary the devil as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour †;" he proved that age and experience had confirmed the opinion, which, under the guidance of divine inspiration, he had before expressed, that wicked and malignant beings do contrive the evils under which men suffer. Will Dr. Maltby contend that the inspired apostle "reasoned very ignorantly" upon these occasions? or will he say, that he used "popular language," and "confirmed his teaching to popular opinions?" We presume, from the manner in which on a former occasion we have found him venturing to explain away the words of our Saviour himself, that the latter will be his course. But we solemnly protest against any such tampering with the Word of God. Dr. Maltby may perhaps conceive, that he thus promotes the honour of its divine Au-

* Acts v. 3. † 1 Pet. v. 8.

fear, and provides against the objections of the deist by removing their foundation. But we greatly fear, that such a mode of defence against deism will tend rather to the growth of heresy, than the confirmation of the truth. We know not with what expressions of approbation his labours may be hailed by some of the many sects which prevail around us; but we are much mistaken if the orthodox members of the Church of England will not exclaim with us, *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis, tempus eget.*

Let not Dr. Maltby misunderstand us: we are ready to admit, that "there never was nor ever could be, any preternatural power exercised by the pretenders to witchcraft, but that the whole must have ever been artifice and delusion; cunning on the one hand, and folly on the other." P. 313. But, to establish this position which we allow at once, he deems it necessary to require an assent to others which we cannot concede, because they militate against the testimony of inspiration. We believe in the existence of a wicked and malignant spirit; we believe that he does exercise himself in contriving the means of our destruction, that he does lead and tempt men to sin. Dr. Maltby conceives, that such an idea can prevail only in that "hopeless state of ignorance which made the heathen believe that the sun and moon were divinities." P. 319. But we do not attribute to this malicious being the power to suspend or alter the laws of nature; nor do we think that he either possesses or exercises *any* power but by God's permission. We think, however, considering all the information which the Scriptures have afforded us on this subject, and being unable to conceive that their testimony to a plain fact may be explained away to suit the fancies of any learned man,—we think that there is reason for believing that, in our Saviour's time, for some reasons inscrutable by us, the devil was permitted to operate upon the bodies of men in a preternatural and invisible manner. And we do not hesitate to confess, this our belief, notwithstanding Dr. Maltby has issued his anathema against it; and declared that "the mere imagination of reality in the effects, attributed to the agency of evil spirits, is contradictory to every principle of true religion." P. 338. If Dr. Maltby cannot shew the folly of believing in witchcraft, without wholly denying the agency, and throwing at least a doubt upon the existence of an evil spirit, we are sorry for it. The school of divinity in which we have studied, points out no difficulty in the case: but it enables us to see, that the Dr. has confounded the power assumed by the pretenders to witchcraft over evil spirits, with the agency and

existence of such beings; and that he has thence been led to imagine that the denial of the latter is necessary to the effectual refutation of the former. We pass on to other subjects. The object of the eighteenth Sermon on Isaiah xxxi. 11, 12. is to point out the various difficulties which oppose themselves to a right understanding of the sacred text.

"So far," says the author, "from holding out a direct and unqualified assurance that they are in every part easy of comprehension to all men, the Sacred Writings expressly inform us, that some things were hidden from persons, living in the same age and country and speaking in the same language with those, through whom the Divine Oracles were dispensed. It is therefore, to say the least, a disingenuous task for those, who wish to undermine our belief in Revelation, to point out some apparent, or even real difficulties, amidst the very copious contents of the Bible; and to argue that the whole must be untrue, because a part is not intelligible. Although the fallacy of such reasoning is easily detected by men, who have employed themselves in the acquirement of knowledge, and have leisure for indulging habits of reflection; yet it is to be feared that it *has been* productive, and still *is* productive, of bad effects with many who have neither means of knowledge, nor time for thinking. Such as these will startle when they are told that a certain passage is inexplicable, or at variance with a passage in another part of Scripture; that certain doctrines, or parts of the Divine counsels, exceed the bounds of our finite comprehension; and that there are some opinions, seriously entertained by believers in a Divine Revelation, which are not consistent with the honour of God, nor conducive to the benefit of man.

"It appears to me therefore of a high importance, that the readers of Holy Scripture, particularly such as have not had the opportunity of acquiring much human learning, should be put in mind, that there are difficulties both in the dispensations of the Almighty, and in the books through which his will has been revealed. And some of you perhaps will do me the justice to remember that, at various times, and long before the renewal of the fierce opposition which has lately been carried on against the Old and New Testaments, I had expressly stated to you that they do contain some difficulties, which the learned cannot always obviate; and necessarily more, which must perplex the unlearned. I have also told you that your faith ought not to be shaken by reason of such objections, because they may be shown to belong to other parts of God's dispensations, and to the particular manner, in which his will has been made known. Moreover, I have told you that in no part of Scripture is there any difficulty in discovering how you *must act* in order to please God: and if you will live according to those plain directions of the Bible, you will soon find yourselves less annoyed

by doubt, and less endangered by ignorance, on points of real difficulty. *If any man will* do his will, *he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God**." P. 327.

It may be useful on some occasions to enlarge on this topic; but at all times it should be treated with great caution, and more particularly when addressing an unlearned congregation. We fear that the manner in which Dr. Maltby has discussed it, will be open to many serious objections. For he has drawn a picture of the difficulties attendant upon the interpretation of Scripture, so highly coloured; he has so strongly represented the injuries to which the sacred text has been liable through the long series of ages in which it has been preserved; he has dwelt so forcibly upon the accidents to which ancient writings are exposed from the effects of time, haste, carelessness, and involuntary error; from the ignorance of some transcribers, and the injudicious zeal of others; as well as the state in which all old manuscripts are handed down to us, that the unlearned hearer, when he is told that the oracles of God have been exposed to *all* these accidents, and that the difficulties which are met with in all ancient authors, may be expected to be *more numerous* in the Bible, will be exposed to the utmost peril of having his faith unsettled, and the whole ground of his confidence in Holy Writ removed. Considering this Sermon as preached to a congregation of unlettered persons, we scarcely ever met with one which shewed less judgment on the part of the preacher. Far better, in our opinion, would it have been, if he had taken the other side of the question; and dwelt, as he might have done with at least equal truth, and much more advantage, upon the astonishing care with which the Scriptures of the Old Testament were preserved by the Jews; and upon the unimpeachable testimony to their general purity afforded by our Saviour and his Apostles in their day. He might also have observed, that similar care has been taken of this part of the sacred volume, both by Jews and Christians to the present day; and that the Church has proved in all ages the faithful depository of both Testaments. For this has been clearly and incontrovertibly established by the labours of those learned men who have devoted themselves to the examination of the text; and more particularly by the scrupulous and sifting researches of modern times, which have shewn that the errors of transcribers are far from being as numerous as might have been reasonable ex-

* John vii. 17.

pected, and that in no instance do these errors affect the language of Scripture, in a manner injurious to the clearness with which it records every fundamental doctrine of our holy faith. In the next Sermon, which was preached before the University of Cambridge, we have much of the same strong and unmeasured language upon the difficulties attendant on the interpretation of the Scriptures, as introductory to an examination into the right meaning of the words "repentance" and "faith."

"In our endeavours," he observes, "to arrive at the exact meaning of phrases, which have been used with manifest impropriety, a material step is to consider the causes which may have occasioned the abuse. By such a process, we may strip them of adjuncts which have no connection with the original meaning; and if we cannot fix with precision every notion that does belong to them, we may, at least, detect and take away such as do not.

"Let us apply these remarks to many words which are found in the New Testament, and which have become still more familiar to our ears from their frequent occurrence in theological writings. Besides the general causes, which produce obscurity by the revolution of time and the fluctuation of language, some of a very peculiar kind have assisted in distorting scriptural terms from their primary, and often simple, signification. Not only is the language in which these phrases first appeared become *to us* a dead language, but it was foreign even to *those* who wrote in it. This peculiarity also belongs to a circumstance, of itself likely to produce obscurity, that the writers gained their knowledge of this foreign tongue, not by critical research and patient study, but by personal communication and oral intercourse;—not to mention that the idioms of the Greek and the Syro-Chaldaic, which the Apostles used, are widely dissimilar. The diction too is highly figurative; and the difficulty of interpretation is increased not only by the quaintness of colloquial allusion but by the continual reference which is made to modes of reasoning in use with the Jewish controversialists. Besides all this, the subjects discussed in these books have, nearly from the earliest ages, occasioned incessant and vehement contention. Whatsoever simplicity and plainness there might have been in many terms, when first employed, they have since been obscured by the eagerness of interested advocates, by the fury of ignorant bigots, by the strange conceits of barbarous monks, and the wily subtleties of lettered schoolmen." P. 348.

We are ready to admit that the same objections do not lie against this passage, as against the general tendency of the eighteenth Sermon; because the congregation to which it was addressed, were better able to separate the chaff of Dr. Maltby's eloquence from the truth contained in his statements. But still we cannot see the advantage which the cause of reli-

gion can receive from such writing; nor do we imagine, that the reputation of the preacher will be much advanced by expressions which the senior part of his learned congregation could scarcely hear with approbation, and his junior auditors might very possibly misinterpret to their own injury. If we were inclined to pursue the investigation, it would not be very difficult to shew, that the Preacher's keen perception of the obscurities in which the language of the Bible is involved, has not assisted him in giving a better explanation of its language, than that which more cautious men, who were perhaps as mighty in the Scriptures as himself, were contented to rest. We will only say, that, after having toiled through many very injudicious attempts to explain away the words of the New Testament on the subject of Repentance and Faith, we were right glad to meet with the following passage at the conclusion of the Sermon, which seemed to land us once more on the safe ground of scriptural truth, after a toilsome, and indeed a perilous voyage, amidst the rocks and quicksands, through which it seems to be our venturous pilot's delight to navigate.

"As there may be a transient and inefficacious, so there may be a sincere and effectual repentance, ultimately availing in the sight of God to the pardon of transgressions. In like manner, there may be a spurious, as well as genuine, faith. But in one age opportunities may be afforded for distinguishing between the pretence and the reality. When they are instantly *known by their fruits*, the quality and value of the things themselves are discerned by their appellations. In another age the same opportunities may not occur for ascertaining the existence of the things by the names which they bear: consequently the ideas affixed to the names undergo alteration; and it becomes necessary to mark the change by strict and accurate definitions. Such has been the fate of the words which we have been considering, and, therefore, it is the duty of those who use them, to weigh with caution the vicissitudes of time and things. Most careful should they be in the application of terms, which in Scripture have an extensive signification; when, by the operation of causes incident to all languages, their meaning may have become more confined.

"There would be little danger that any of us should interpret passages concerning repentance so as to confirm the errors of the Church of Rome, or sanction the extravagancies of Simeon Stylites. But without a sober and critical inquiry into their meaning, we might encourage the presumptuous hopes of a sinner, born and educated a Christian, and lead him to expect pardon of his frequent relapses upon easier terms than those which are authorized by the Gospel; we might tempt him to rely too much upon the efficacy of a death-bed repentance.

"On the other hand, divines of the Church of England will abstain from affixing any meaning to the declarations of Scripture, which would produce implicit belief in the decrees of councils, or in the infallibility of an individual. But they may, perhaps, incautiously lead their hearers, particularly if they be of an enthusiastic turn, to attribute such virtue to a supposed faith in the Gospel, as to supersede the necessity of moral performances. Thus, the religion of Christ, instead of being what it really is calculated to be, a blessed instrument to reform the morals, and to amend the lives of its professors, may, in the hands of unskilful and incautious teachers, be converted into a plea for active immorality; or what is almost as dangerous, an indifference to the duties, which, as men and as brethren, we are bound by the law of God to fulfil." P. 369.

We have similar objections to make to the next sermon in the volume, the twentieth, in which Dr. Maltby seems to us to take great pains to explain the language of our Saviour, Mark xvi. 16. and to labour after the refutation of false doctrine, until he has almost lost sight of the truth. His hearers are taught to believe, that they have little or no concern in our Saviour's declaration; that it applies more immediately, if not exclusively, to the persons to whom it was originally addressed; and that

"It is plain from the manner in which the offer of salvation and the threat of damnation are expressed, that they refer to the immediate admission or rejection of the Gospel."

"I think it highly probable," says the preacher, "not only from the circumstances under which the words are recorded to have been uttered, but also from the manner in which the reward and the punishment are severally assigned, that the text referred to the acceptance or rejection of the Gospel, when it was preached by the Apostles themselves, endued with *power from on high* to preach it. Signs were to follow, or attend, believers; and they who beheld these signs, but were not converted by them, were necessarily and justly excluded from the privileges of Christianity." P. 383.

He then proceeds, at some length, to combat a notion which scarcely requires so formal a refutation; namely, that by the word *damned* in the text, eternal punishments are to be understood. We wish that he had bestowed equal pains in shewing the general necessity of baptism; its efficacy as a means of grace, and as the seal of the covenant by which that grace is made over to us. But it is Dr. Maltby's misfortune to be more successful in pulling down than in building up; and such is sometimes the vehemence and zeal with which he pursues the work of demolition, that he undermines foun-

dations, when perhaps he only means to remove unsightly or injudicious incumbrances; and endangers the safety of the building, by his rash attempts to restore what he conceives to be the primitive simplicity of its proportions.

We must now take our leave of Dr. Maltby, and we would willingly not part in anger. We have felt it to be our duty to speak of these volumes without reserve, because the reputation of their author will probably give weight and currency to his opinions; and therefore his mistakes or inaccuracies cannot fail to be more injurious to the truth of Christianity, than those of a more obscure writer. We have pointed out what appear to us to be the defects of his volume, with no wish to exaggerate them, or to offend him. It is far more agreeable to us to bestow the meed of well merited praise, than to adopt the language of disapprobation: but our office would be worse than useless, if any consideration could tempt us to withhold the expression of an honest opinion, or any feeling induce us to desert the cause of truth.

ART. V. *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and present State of the Highlanders of Scotland: with Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments. By Colonel David Stewart.* 2 Vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 8*s.* Longman and Co. 1822.

FOR ourselves, as reviewers, we should have been better pleased if this work had been confined to a single volume instead of extending to two. Those who happen to be born south of the Grampians, and not to have the honourable præfix of Mac as an *avant courier* to their names, may be permitted to think nearly a thousand pages, exclusive of Appendix, &c. &c. a greater proportion of paper than even Fingal himself can be justly entitled to. But we are willing to make every fair allowance for local attachments and national predilections; and the gallant soldier who has put together these volumes has the honour of his countrymen so thoroughly at heart, and tells his tale so much *con amore*, that we should be sorry to convey to him even a suspicion of the possibility that any southern ear can hear too much of Highland achievement. Moreoever, the great mass of information which Col. David Stewart has collected, is given to the public so simply, and so unobtrusively, and is in itself, for the most part, so interesting, that we are well content to obtain it even at the expense of reading twice as much as we

absolutely want. Every body knows that the great value of a county history depends upon its noticing the exact date of the church clock, and the erection of the stocks in the very village in which we ourselves happen to live: and we are well assured that there is many an old gentleman between the Mull of Cantire and Dunness Bay, who, if he had read five hundred folios *de omnibus rebus ad monticolas pertinentibus*, would still look with avidity for a dozen supplements *de quibusdam aliis*.

The very title of the work before us speaks its nature. It is desultory and excursive: and we must be content to present our readers with a few of its *plums*, picked out here and there, as accident directs us; always assuring them that such as are left behind are equally sweet with those which we purloin for our own use; and that if they are pleased with the flavour, they had better contract for the whole pudding at once.

One of the blackest acts recorded in our history is the massacre of Glenco; and all the whitewash with which King William is annually bespattered in College declamations, is too little to remove the foul stain from his memory. That the Highlanders should think so is indeed no wonder: and we are by no means surprised at the strong feeling which Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon expresses in the following anecdote.

"He was grandson of the Laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco, and who lived in the Laird of Glenco's house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the marines, and in 1762 was Major, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and commanded 800 of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with in-

tense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

"The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's fingers, and clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, 'The curse of God and of Glenco is here; I am an unfortunate ruined man.' He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Vol. I. p. 100."

The well known 42d regiment was originally embodied in the year 1739, under the title of *Reicudan Du*, or Black Watch: a name used to distinguish the independent companies of which it was formed from the *Seidar Dearag*, or Red Soldiers, as the regular troops were called. The coats, waistcoats, and breeches of the latter, at that time, were of scarlet cloth; and the sombre appearance of the Tartan worn by the 42d, confirmed their appellation. The penalties which prohibited the Highlanders from carrying arms were severely felt, and many young men of birth sought to escape them, by entering even as privates in the ranks of the new corps. It was no unusual thing to see them riding to parade, followed by servants (gillys) carrying their firelocks and uniforms.

In March 1743, this regiment was ordered to march to England: much to the discontent and surprise of the men. They had been raised especially to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, and to check the plunder and reprisals of rival clans; and their duties were supposed to be confined to the limits of Scotland. A short time before the regiment marched two of its privates were presented to George II. who having never seen a Highland soldier expressed a desire to that effect. They performed the broadsword exercise and that of the lochaber axe to the great delight of a brilliant court, and were each presented with a guinea as a token of royal approbation. This they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out. On the arrival of the regiment in England great pains were taken by incendiaries to increase the dissatisfaction which the men had already expressed: and so far were they misled into a belief that it was the intention of government to embark them for the colonies (at that time a degrading service to a Scotchman, since transportation to the colonies was the

punishment next in severity to death inflicted on the rebels) that they of their own accord commenced their march back to the north without their officers. Near Oundle they were surrounded by the king's troops, and they surrendered without resistance. The main body was embarked for Flanders, and three only were shot in the Tower, by the sentence of a court martial. The transaction reflects much discredit on the judgment, if not on the good faith of the ministers of the day: and though it throws some stain on the regiment as a breach of military discipline, it can in no way affect its honour, its bravery, or its loyalty.

At the unfortunate battle of Fontenoy the 42d distinguished itself so much in covering the retreat, that the Duke of Cumberland was anxious to bestow some peculiar mark of honour on it. He desired the men to ask any favour which he might feel himself authorized to concede. Their request was truly characteristic. They solicited the pardon of one of their comrades who was under sentence of heavy corporal punishment for allowing a prisoner to escape: the infliction of it, they said, would bring disgrace on them all, and on their families and country. Sir Robert Munro, who commanded them on that day, was so corpulent, that he was obliged to be hauled out of the trenches by the legs and arms. He ordered the regiment, when much galled by the fire of the enemy, to lie down; and he himself, alone, standing upright with the colours behind him, received the whole volley: "Because," as he said, "though I can easily lie down, my great bulk will not suffer me to rise so quickly."

"Have you any levers to lift me up again, being down? 'Sblood, I'll not bear my own flesh so far afoot again, for all the coin in thy father's exchequer."

The annals of a civil war, among all their horrors, seldom fail to present instances of generous self devotion. Ross of Pitcalney, the chief of his clan, was out with Prince Charles in 1745; and in the following summer took shelter in the mountains. No concealment was necessary from his own countrymen: and he usually slept at his tenants houses and returned to his hiding places at day-light. Being later than usual one morning, a lad of fifteen, William Ross, afterwards tacksman of Brae, was sent to conduct him through the most unfrequented passes. Having deposited Pitcalney in safety, the boy was overtaken on his return by a party of soldiers, who suspecting his employment, threatened to shoot him unless he betrayed the rebel's retreat. Menaces

being unavailing, they tied him to a tree and presented their pieces: till either respecting the boy's firmness, or not wishing to carry matters to an extremity, they released him. Mr. Ross, in after life, in telling the story, always concluded it by saying: "When I shut my eyes waiting to be shot, I expected to open them again in heaven."

This nice sense of honour is often the virtue of savage life, and even of those who in a more civilized state yet live in open violations of law. The following anecdote of Serjeant Mor might, we doubt not, be paralleled in the deserts of Arabia.

"THIS man had been a serjeant in the French service, and came over to Scotland in the year 1745. From his large size he was called Serjeant Mor. Having no settled abode, and dreading the consequence of having served in the army of France, and of being afterwards engaged in the Rebellion, he formed a party of outlaws, and took up his residence among the mountains between the counties of Perth, Inverness, and Argyle. While he plundered the cattle of those whom he called his enemies, he protected the property of his friends, and frequently made people on the borders of the Lowlands purchase his forbearance by the payment of *Black Mail.* Many stories are told of this man. On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort William on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way, and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the serjeant Mor; he, therefore, requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed; and, while they walked on, they talked much of the Serjeant and his feats, the officer using much freedom with his name, calling him robber, murderer,—'Stop there,' interrupted his companion, 'he does indeed take the cattle of the Whigs and you Sassanachs, but neither he nor his cearnabs ever shed innocent blood; except once,' added he, 'that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (the spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners, retreating as fast as we could after such a misfortune." 'You,' says the officer, 'what had you to do with the affair?' 'I am John du Cameron—I am the Serjeant Mor; there is the road to Inverlochay,—you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send a more wary messenger for his gold. Tell him also, that, although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me.' The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related.' Vol. II. p. xviii.

In "hair breadth 'scapes in the imminent deadly breach,"

the military part of these volumes naturally abounds. We read of a soldier of his own company whom Colonel David Stewart himself saved from premature interment after the landing in Egypt.

"When the men had lain down to rest after the action, I walked to the rear to inquire for some of my company who had fallen behind, being either killed or wounded. Observing some men digging a hole, and a number of dead bodies lying around, I stept up to one of them, and, touching his temples, felt that they retained some warmth. I then told the soldiers, not to bury him, but to carry him to the surgeon, as he did not appear to be quite dead. 'Poh!' said one of them, 'he is as dead as my grandfather, who was killed at Culloden;' and, taking the man by the heels, proceeded to drag him to the pit. But I caused him to desist. The wounded man was so horridly disfigured as to justify his companion in the judgment he had formed. A ball had passed through his head, which was greatly swelled, and covered with clotted blood. He was carried to the hospital, where he revived from his swoon, and recovered so rapidly, that in six weeks he was able to do his duty." Vol. I. p. 445.

And again, we are told of Serjeant Macgregor, of the 42d, who was left for dead on the field in the American war; and carried away on the back of an American soldier to be stripped and plundered at some convenient spot. Macgregor recovered while he was in this position, and drawing his dirk, and grasping his bearer's throat, swore he would run him through unless he conveyed him to the camp, a service which the astonished Yankey was compelled to perform, so afraid was he of "this gunpowder Percy though he be dead."

Lieutenant Grant of the same regiment, in the attack on Charlestown, was struck by a six pound ball, which carried off the right scapula, and so injured the adjoining parts, that the surgeons left him on the ground with no other care but that of making him as easy as possible for the short time they expected he could live. To their surprise he was found alive on the following morning. He recovered rapidly, and served many years afterwards in perfect health. General Murray, while a captain in the 42d, at the capture of Martinique in 1762, was saved as unexpectedly. A musquet-ball entered the left side, under the lowest rib; passed through the left lobe of the lungs, crossed his chest, and mounting up to his right shoulder lodged under the scapula. The surgeons left him as they had done Lieutenant Grant, but he got well in spite of them; and lived two and thirty years afterwards, though always obliged to sleep in an upright posture, supported by pillows. On the capture of

St. Vincent's, in 1797, an officer of the 40th was shot through the body at the top of a steep hill, from which his party was forced to retreat. A serjeant, much attached to him, wished to carry the body off; and for that purpose dragged it by one leg for more than a mile down the declivity, intending to return and bury it at nightfall. On his second visit he found the officer alive and able to speak, and his recovery was completed in six weeks.

Colonel Graham's escape on the same service is equally remarkable.

"The people believing that he was dead, rather dragged than carried him over the rough channel of the river, till they reached the sea beach. Observing here that he was still alive, they put him in a blanket, and proceeded in search of a surgeon. After travelling in this manner four miles, they carried him to a military post, occupied by a party of the 42d. All the surgeons were out in the woods with the soldiers, and none could be found. Colonel Graham was still insensible. A ball had entered his side three inches from the back-bone, and, passing through, had come out under his breast; another, or perhaps the same ball, had shattered two of his fingers. No assistance could be got but that of a soldier's wife, who had been long in the service, and was in the habit of attending sick and wounded soldiers. She washed his wounds, and bound them up in such a manner, that when a surgeon came and saw the way in which the operation had been performed, he said he could not have done it better, and would not unbind the dressing. The Colonel soon afterwards opened his eyes, and, though unable to speak for many hours, seemed sensible of what was passing around him. In this state he lay nearly three weeks, when he was carried to Kingston, and thence conveyed to England. He was still in a most exhausted state, the wound in his side discharging matter from both orifices. He went to Edinburgh with little hopes of recovery, but on the evening of the illumination for the battle of Camperdown, the smoke of so many candles and flambeaux affecting his breathing, he coughed with great violence, and, in the exertion, threw up a piece of cloth, left, no doubt, by the ball in its passage through his body. From that day he recovered as by a charm. Being afterwards removed to the 27th regiment, he went to Holland in 1799, where he was severely wounded in the left eye, of which he lost the sight; but a good constitution again triumphed, and he is now in vigorous health a Lieutenant General, and Lieutenant Governor of Stirling Castle.

"The soldier's wife, who was so useful to him in his extremity, was of a character rather uncommon. She had long been a follower of the camp, and had acquired some of its manners. While she was so good and useful a nurse in quarters, she was bold and fear-

lent in the field. When the arrangements were made previously to the attack on the Vizie, on the 10th of June, I directed that her husband, who was in my company, should remain behind to take charge of the men's knapsacks, which they had thrown off to be light for the advance up the hill, as I did not wish to expose him to danger on account of his wife and family. He obeyed his orders, and remained with his charge, but his wife believing herself not included in these injunctions, pushed forward to the assault. When the enemy had been driven from the third redoubt, I was standing giving some directions to the men, and preparing to push on to the fourth and last redoubt, when I found myself tapped on the shoulder, and turning round, I saw my Amazonian friend standing with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and seizing my hand, 'Well 'done, my Highland lads.' she exclaimed, 'see how the Brigands scamper like so many deer.'—'Come,' added she, 'let us drive 'them from yonder hill.' On inquiry, I found that she had been in the hottest fire cheering and animating the men; and, when the action was over, she was as active as any of the surgeons in assisting the wounded." Vol. I. p. 423.

Two singular wounds received in the campaign in Zealand, in 1794, must complete our list of casualties. Captain Munro of the 78th, received a musquet-ball on the outward edge of his left eye: passing under the bridge of his nose it carried away the right eye also, and left him without any disfiguration except that of the blank sockets. The Serjeant Major of the same regiment was struck by a ball high up on the outside of the right thigh: it glanced to his knee, and then entering the left leg in the calf, came out at the ankle. It touched no bone, and disabled him for ten days only.

We meet with some very sensible remarks dispersed through these volumes on the effects likely to be produced by the labours of our fanatical societies among the mountains of Scotland.

"Some of these new teachers, are, no doubt, zealous and conscientious men, but others again are rash, illiterate, and vulgar, very incapable of filling the situation they have assumed, and peculiarly unqualified for the instruction of a people, sensitive and imaginative, devout in their habits of thinking, and blameless in their general conduct. The same force of language and terrors of denunciation, which are barely adequate to produce compunction in the mind of the reckless and godless reprobate, are sufficient to plunge in utter despondency, a tender conscience, and a mind accustomed to regard the doctrines of religion with a deep and mysterious awe. Some of these reformers of religion, as they wish to be considered, intermix their spiritual instructions with reflections on the incapacity and negligence of the clergymen of the established church, and on the conduct of landlords, whom they compare to the taskmasters of Egypt.

While these seem to be the effects of religion and external circumstances combined, the differences and mutual recriminations which have taken place between the established church and the sects which have branched off from it, are apparently tending to the most deplorable results in the Highlands, where the gospel, as explained by their clergy, was formerly believed with the most implicit faith; but now, when the people see new preachers come among them, and hear the doctrines and lessons of the regular clergy derided, and described as unchristian and unsound, and when, as sometimes happens, the parish minister retorts on the intruders, people know not what or whom to believe, and there are many instances of the doubt thus thrown on religious doctrines, ending in loss of respect for, or belief in, any religion whatever." Vol. I. p. 130.

The consequences are obvious: wherever the enthusiasts succeed, the romantic character of the Highlander is not changed, but directed into a new channel: and religious ravings, and the contests of rival sects take the place of poetical recitals, superstitious traditions, and chivalrous adventures. Suicide is almost unknown in these remote districts: yet a poor girl in Breadalbane was so bewildered not long since by a strong Calvinistic picture of hell torments, that she destroyed herself in a fit of desperation.

The Scotch are distinguished as a people of deep religious feeling, and we participate in the disgust which Colonel Stewart expresses when we hear it asserted, that previous to the apostolic visitations of the modern home-missionaries, Christianity was little known in the north;—that the Highlanders are "Christians only by name," and "savage heathens," "guilty of the basest vices." It may be some consolation to the gallant officer to be told that in these respects his countrymen are only classed by their pious vituperators, with the sane and sound majority of the established Church of England.

ART. VI. *Memoires of the last ten Years of the Reign of George the Second. By Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. From the original MSS.* 2 Vols. 4to. 5l. 5s. Murray 1822.

THE character and rank of their noble author have naturally attracted a very considerable portion of public attention towards the "memoires" of which we are about to give some account to our readers. The last ten years of the reign of George the Second, the period of which he treats, were not, it is true, distinguished by splendid virtues or great

vices, by extraordinary events or great revolutions; but it is a part of our history which, from this circumstance, has not been examined with much detail of historical investigation; and is, in consequence, but little known to us; it is not, however, a period undeserving our curiosity, as it forms the transition from the expiring struggles of Jacobitism to the more important contests that have since engaged and still occupy our attention.

It is generally understood that from the fall of Sir Robert Walpole to the American war, our reports of the proceedings in Parliament are more barren and unsatisfactory than at any period since the reign of James the First. For the last ten years of George the Second the author of these memoirs may be considered as having, in some measure, supplied this deficiency. His method was to take notes of each speaker's argument, during the debate, and frequently to take down his expressions. He afterwards wrote out the speeches at greater length, and described the impression they made on the house. We cannot, indeed, say that the reports interspersed throughout these volumes are given with much force and vigour; we suppose, however, that we can depend upon them as correct and authentic abridgments of what then transpired in debate: for we are willing to hope that even his resentments, and what he calls his "propensity to faction" would not have induced him wilfully to misrepresent or distort the arguments of those whom he either hated or opposed.

The anecdotes interspersed throughout these volumes are neither in number or interest equal to the anticipations which the reader, recollecting the connections of the author, might have been induced to form: but although not so numerous as the lovers of this species of information could have wished, nor so interesting as could have been expected, they, are sometimes told with a point and effect, which remind us of the posthumous letters of the same individual, where his stories and descriptions are generally given in a strain of humour and sarcasm which has not often been surpassed. It is, however, impossible to peruse these volumes without being shocked at the vulgar and reprehensible levity with which the author loves to dwell on bodily infirmity. The editor informs us that such sarcasms, in which he acknowledges that the author was too apt to indulge, have, in some instances, been expunged: we must own that we should have been better pleased had he carried his discretion on this point, as well as on some others, a little farther. Had he omitted not only them but a few of the anecdotes of private scandal which he has thought

proper to retain, it would have prejudiced neither the author nor his memoirs.

A considerable portion of these volumes is filled with the characters of the various individuals who were engaged in overturning Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, or who were subsequently engaged in the many and evanescent administrations which succeeded to his power. In this part of the work may be seen, in its full force, the influence of that factious temper which the author himself has candidly pointed out as a leading trait in his own character. It is in politics that his spleen, his anger, and his venom vent themselves, in a profuse and overwhelming torrent, which spares neither friend nor foe.

The only business of importance which occupied the attention of the public, during the sitting of Parliament, in 1751, was the regency-bill, by which the Pelhams, taking advantage of the antipathy which the nation felt towards the Duke of Cumberland, succeeded in nominating the princess regent, with a council. This was, in effect, a measure introduced for the express purpose of depressing the duke, and consolidating Newcastle's power.

Of this latter duke, who made so conspicuous a figure in political intrigue, during the period embraced by these memoirs, we are told, in the bitter and virulent terms which the author invariably and systematically uses, when speaking of him,

"He succeeded, young, to an estate of about thirty thousand pounds a year, and to great influence and interest in several counties. This account, in reality, contains his whole character as a minister; for to the weight of his fortune he solely owed his every otherways most unwarrantable elevation. His person was not naturally despicable; his incapacity, his mean soul, and the general low opinion of him, grew to make it appear ridiculous. A constant hurry in his walk, a restlessness of place, a borrowed importance, and real insignificance, gave him the perpetual air of a solicitor, though he was perpetually solicited; for he never conferred a favour till it was wrested from him, but often omitted doing what he most wished done. This disquietude, and habit of never finishing, which, too, proceeded from his beginning every thing twenty times over, gave rise to a famous *bon mot* of Lord Wilmington, a man as unapt to attempt saying a good thing, as to say one. He said, 'the Duke of Newcastle always loses half an hour in the morning, which he is running after the rest of the day without being able to overtake it.'"

Towards the end of the session the Pelhams, who, from some intrigues which they had discovered, feared that they should be discarded, not only determined to resign their own

places, but engaged the whole body of the king's ministers and servants, down to the lowest clerks in office, in a league of throwing up their employments in order to distress their master; and the whole faction, which for four years together, had seemed possessed with a madness for seizing places, now ran into the opposite phrenzy of quitting them: and the period they chose for this unwarrantable insult, was the height of a rebellion: the king was to be forced into a compliance with their views, or their allegiance was in a manner ready to be offered to the competitor for his crown, then actually wrestling for it in the heart of his kingdom! A flagrancy of ingratitude and treachery not to be paralleled but by the behaviour of the Parliament at the beginning of the civil-war, who connived at the Irish rebellion in order to charge King Charles with fomenting it.

This general banding of the king's servants against him, joined to the minister, Lord Granville's neglect of all precaution to strengthen himself, had the desired effect. The king was forced to invite the deserters to return to their posts. The *ligue*, who had retired for no other end, did not make the king expect them long.

"The king," we are told, "had fewer sensations of revenge, or at least knew how to hoard them better than any man who ever sat upon a throne, the insults he received from his own, and those obliged servants, never provoked him enough to make him venture the repose of his people or his own. If any object of his had fell in his way, he did not pique himself upon heroic forgiveness, but would indulge it at the expence of his integrity, though not of his safety. He was reckoned strictly honest; but the burning of his father's will, must be an indelible blot upon his memory. His avarice was much less equivocal than his courage; he had distinguished the latter early; it grew more doubtful afterwards; the former he distinguished very near as soon, and never deviated from it. His other passions were Germany, the army and women. Both the latter had a mixture of parade in them; he toasted my lady Suffolk, and afterwards my lady Yarmouth, as his mistresses, while he admired only the queen; and never described what he thought a handsome woman, but he drew her picture. The queen had been admired, for governing him by address; it was not then known how easily he was to be governed by fear. Indeed there were few arts by which he was not be governed at some time or other of his life; for not to mention the late Duke of Argyle, who grew a favorite, by imposing himself upon him as brave; nor Lord Wilmington, who imposed upon him for the Lord knows what; the queen governed him by dissimulation, by an affected tenderness and deference, Sir Robert Walpole by abilities and influence in the House of Commons; Lord Granville, by flattering him in his German politics; th-

Duke of Newcastle, by teazing and betraying him; Mr. Pelham, by bullying him—the only man by whom Mr. Pelham was not bullied himself. Who indeed had not sometimes weight with the king, except his children and his mistresses? With them he maintained all the reserve and majesty of his rank. He had the haughtiness of Henry the Eighth, without his spirit; the avarice of Henry the Seventh, without his exactions; the indignities of Charles the First, without his bigotry for his prerogative: the vexations of King William, with as little skill in the management of parties; he might, perhaps, have been honest, if he had never hated his father, or had ever loved his son."

The queen always affected, if any body was present, to act (and he liked she should) the humble ignorant wife, that never meddled with politics. Even if Sir Robert Walpole came in to talk of business, which she had previously settled with him, she would rise up, curtsie, and offer to retire; the king generally bad her stay, sometimes not. She and Sir Robert played him into one another's hands; he would refuse to take the advice of the one, and when the other talked to him again upon the same point, he would give the reasons for it, which had been suggested to him; nay, he would sometimes produce as his own at another conversation to the same person, the reasons which he had refused to listen to when given him. He has said to Sir Robert, on the curtsies of the queen, "There you see how much I am governed by my wife, as they say I am! Hoh, Hoh! it is a fine thing indeed to be governed by one's wife."—"Oh! Sir," replied the queen, "I must be vain indeed to pretend to govern your majesty."

The Duke of Grafton, who, for various reasons, had incurred the cordial hatred of the queen, always teazed her, and insisted that she loved nobody. He had got a story of some Prince in Germany, that she had been in love with before her marriage: "God, Madam," he used to say, "I wish I could have been that man that you *could* love!"—"Why," replied she, "do you think I don't love the king?"—"God, I wish I were king of France, and I would be sure whether you do or not!"

Towards the latter end of the year 1751, died Henry St. John, Viscount Bolinbroke, the most dangerous and turbulent character of the age in which he lived—a man whose vices exposed him to the scorn of his contemporaries, and whose principles, or rather whose want of all principle, has drawn upon him the merited reprobation of posterity. His avidity for power was so great, that there was no party which he had not at some time or other courted; and his shameless want of principle was such, that there was no party that ever reposed

confidence in him, which he did not abandon and betray. In the disgraceful treaty of Utrecht, he betrayed his country; and for his own private emolument, he sold the conqueror to the conquered. Sir Robert Walpole procured the repeal of his sentence of banishment, and was rewarded by repeated instances of his enmity and ingratitude.—To the queen, whom he served—to the Pretender who received and countenanced him—to the king who recalled him from exile, Bolinbroke proved a heartless and ungrateful traitor. The end of his profligate career was employed in planning factions in the Pretender's court, by the scheme of the father's resigning his claim to the son; and then in sowing the seeds of a division between a king and a prince, who had pardoned all his treasons.

Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Bolinbroke had set out rivals at school, lived a life of competition, and died by similar means, both of them being killed by empyrics—the former by Jurin's medicine for the stone, and the latter by a man who pretended to cure him of a cancer in the face;—there was the same difference however in their manner of dying which had appeared in the temper of their lives—the first with a calmness that was habitual philosophy; and the other with a rage which his affected philosophy could not disguise.

We could wish that our limits would allow us to place before our readers a parallel which the author has drawn between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pelham: it is drawn with considerable ability; and with less partiality than might have been excused in a son, when drawing the character of a father: but, as the whole is too long for our purpose, we shall content ourselves with a few extracts.

"Sir Robert Walpole was bold, open, steady, never dejected. Mr. Pelham was timorous, reserved, fickle, apt to despair. Presumption made Sir R. Walpole many enemies; want of confidence in himself kept from Mr. Pelham many friends. Sir Robert Walpole loved power so much, that he would not endure a rival. Mr. Pelham loved it so well, that he would endure any thing. The one would risk his administration, by driving every considerable man from court, rather than venture their being well there: the other would employ any means to take able men out of the opposition, though he ventured their engrossing his authority, and outshining his capacity; but he dreaded abuse more than competition; and always bought off his enemies to avoid their satire, rather than to acquire their support: whereas Sir Robert Walpole, never trading but for numbers, and despising invectives, and dreading rivals, gained but weak uncertain assistance, and always kept a formidable opposition. His apprehension of competitors was founded on pru-

dence, because great part of his authority depended upon the king's favour; Mr. Pelham owing nothing to that had the less reason to fear losing it; as he maintained himself in the ministry, in spite of the king's partiality to abler men, he had no reason to be jealous of their getting interest at court. Sir Robert Walpole, with the greatest confidence in himself, had no pride; Mr. Pelham had the most, with the least self-sufficience. Both were loved in private life. The first loved magnificence, and was generous to a fault; the other had neither ostentation nor avarice, and yet had little generosity. The friendships of the former were chiefly confined to persons below him; those of the latter were almost all founded on birth and rank; the one was too familiar, the other never so. Sir Robert Walpole was forgiving to a fault, if forgiveness can be faulty; Mr. Pelham never forgave, but when he durst not resent. Sir Robert Walpole met with much ingratitude; Mr. Pelham was guilty of much. Both were frequently betrayed; Sir Robert Walpole without being deceived; Mr. Pelham not half so often as he suspected it. The one was most depreciated while he was minister; the other will be most when he ceases to be minister. All men thought Mr. Pelham honest till he was in power; the other never was thought so till he was out."

"Both were fortunate in themselves, unhappy in their brothers. With unbounded thirst for politics, the Duke of Newcastle and Horace Walpole were wretched politicians; each inferior to their brothers in every thing laudable; each assuming and jealous of their own credit, though neither the Duke nor Horace could ever have been considerable but by the fortune of their brothers. The one childish and extravagant; the other a buffoon and avaricious; Horace sunk into contempt, when his brother fell with honour; the Duke was often on the point of dragging his brother down, and was the object of all contempt, even when his brother had still power and honour. Mr. Pelham maintained his inferiority to Sir Robert Walpole, even in the worthlessness of his brother."

Although political factions are bad things in themselves, still when kept within proper bounds, they not unfrequently develope talents which, in a country where political power depends on the intrigues of a Court and the individual will of an arbitrary Monarch, would have been neglected. However inglorious in other respects the last ten years of George the Second may have been, the admirers of British eloquence will look back to this portion of our history with satisfaction and delight. This period, when the strength of parties was nicely balanced, and when the efforts and struggles of aspirants after power became in consequence peculiarly keen and ardent, called forth a display of abilities that revived the lustre of the House of Commons, and in the point of eloquence, carried it to a height which unquestion-

ably it had never before known. After a long stagnation of genius, there appeared at once nearly thirty men, of whom one was undoubtedly a real orator, a few were most masterly, many very able—not one was a despicable speaker. Pitt, Fox, Murray, Hume, Campbell, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Henry Conway, Legge, Sir G. Lyttleton, Oswald, George Grenville, Lord Egmont, Nugent, Doddington, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Lord Strange, Beckford, Elliot, Lord Barrington, Sir George Lee, Martin, Dr. Hay, Northey, Potter, Ellis, Lord Hilsborough, Lord Duplin, and Sir Francis Dashwood: these men, perhaps, in their several degrees, comprehended all the various powers of eloquence, art, reasoning, satire, learning, persuasion, wit, business, spirit, and plain common sense.

"Eloquence, however, as an art," as our author justly observes, "was but little studied but by Pitt: the beauties of language were a little, and but a little more cultivated, except by him and his family. Yet the grace and force of words were so natural to him, that when he avoided them, he almost lost all excellence. As set speeches were no longer in vogue, except on introductory or very solemn occasions, the pomp and artfull resources of oratory were in a great measure banished; and the inconveniences attending long and unpremeditated discourses, must (as I have delivered them faithfully), take off from, though they ought to add to, their merit. Let those who hear me extoll, and at the same time find Mr. Pitt's orations not answer to my encomiums, reflect how bright his talents would shine, if we saw none of his, but which, like the productions of ancient great masters, had been prepared for his audience, and had been polished by himself for the admiration of ages! Similes, and quotations and metaphors were fallen into disrepute, deservedly: even the parallels from old story, which, during the virulence against Sir Robert Walpole, had been so much encouraged, were exhausted and disregarded. It was not the same case with invectives; in that respect, eloquence was little more chastened. Debates, where no personalities broke out, engaged too little attention. Yet, upon the whole, the style that prevailed was plain, manly, argumentative; and the liberty of discussing all topics in a government so free, and the very newspapers and pamphlets that skimmed or expatiated on all those subjects, and which the most idle and most illiterate could not avoid perusing, gave an air of knowledge and information to the most trifling speakers." Vol. I. p. 486.

We have reserved till the close of our review of the first volume of these Memoires a passage which we approach with unfeigned reluctance: we wish most sincerely that we could have overlooked it for the sake of the author himself, as well

as the respectable individual on whom he has thought proper to make a most unprovoked and atrocious attack; but the regard which we owe to the memory of the dead, will not permit us to stand silently by while their ashes are profaned by unprincipled malignity. We cannot acquit even the editor of indiscretion, to say the least of it, in retaining a passage which must, we conceive recoil on its author, and fix upon his memory a foul and ineffaceable stain. The passage to which we allude occurs at the 37th page of the second volume. Speaking of the personal dislike of George II. to his ministers in the spring of 1751, the author says, that the king would not go chapel because Secker, Bishop of Oxford, was to preach; and he then proceeds to give us a picture of what he takes to have been the Bishop's character. We will not disgrace our pages by extracting the passage, which not only imputes to him a disbelief in the existence of a Deity, but what is, if possible, still more atrocious, ascribes the change which is said to have taken place in his faith is ascribed, not to conviction, but to the possession of a Prebend of Durham. A charge of this heinous nature should not be made against the character of any man, certainly not against the memory of one who had filled so distinguished a station in the Church as Secker, except on evidence so clear and unequivocal as to leave no doubt of its truth. But the evidence adduced by Horace Walpole to support the malignant charge which he has left behind him, will satisfy no mind which is not disposed to believe ill of Secker, because he once occupied the most dignified station in the Church. "Here is my evidence," says he: "Mr. Robyns said he had known him an atheist, and had advised him against talking so openly in coffee-houses. Mr. Stevens, a mathematician, who lives much in the house with Earl Powlett, says Secker made him an atheist at Leyden, where the club was established." Who "Mr. Robyns" was, the noble author has given us no clue to discover, and we cannot therefore judge exactly what weight ought to be ascribed to his testimony; but if he was a companion and friend of Mr. Stevens, "the mathematician and atheist, who lived much in the house of Earl Powlett," we do not conceive that the least reliance can be placed upon his testimony when weighed against the improbability of the charge, and the respectable and consistent character of the individual against whom it was made. Indeed, did we know nothing more of the Archbishop than we are told in these Memoires, we should instantly discard this atrocious calumny as totally unworthy of credit. He is first introduced to us as a "Presbyterian and man-midwife" (which is we presume Horace Walpole's good-

natured and figurative manner of saying that he pursued his medical studies) at Leyden; then we have him an atheist, checked for talking indiscreetly at coffee-houses; and lastly, we find him transformed by some magical process, which the author has not satisfactorily explained, into a popular and fanatical incumbent of St. James's. The author has thus furnished us with a pretty "fable:" here is a beginning, a middle, and an end. It must however be acknowledged that it is somewhat incongruous. The middle has no more consistence with the beginning than it has with the end. That a "Presbyterian man-midwife" should become an atheist, is just possible; but we should require much stronger evidence of its truth than the testimony of "Mr. Robyns," of whom we know nothing, or of "Mr. Stevens," of whom we know too much. But that this atheist became a *fanatical* incumbent of St. James is a flat falsehood, as any one may easily convince himself, by merely reading the admirable sermons which Secker has left behind him, and of which by far the greater part were actually preached at the church in question. What object the noble author had in view when he invented or retailed this improbable and despicable slander, we pretend not to conjecture. Secker himself is beyond the reach of calumny; but it is the duty of the living to screen his memory from undeserved reproach.

The Appendix to the first volume contains, among other matter, some curious extracts from the correspondence of the well-known and witty Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, in which he gives an account of the Court of Berlin, which conveys an impression far from favourable of the government and policy of the philosopher-King. Indeed 'tis incredible what care this Pater Patriæ took of his people. He was so good as to meddle in their family affairs, in their marriages, in the education of their children, and in the disposition of their estates. If a courier was dispatched to Versailles, or a minister to Vienna, his Prussian Majesty drew, himself, the instructions for the one, and wrote the letters for the other. This, it may possibly be said, was great. But if a dancer at the Opera had disputes with a singer, or if one of those performers wanted a new pair of stockings, a plume for his helmet, or a finer petticoat, it was the same King of Prussia who sat in judgment on the cause, and who, with his own hand, answered the dancer or the singer's letter. His Prussian Majesty laid out 20,000*l.* to build a fine theatre, and his music and singers cost him nearly the same sum every year; yet this same King, when an opera was to be performed, would not allow 10*l.* per night to light up the theatre with wax candles, though the

smoke which rose from the bad oil, and the horrid smell from the tallow, made many of the audience sick, and actually spoiled the whole entertainment. "What I have thought about this prince," says Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, writing to a friend, "is very true; and I believe, after reading what I say about him, you will think so too: *He is great in great things and little in little ones.*"

In describing the terms on which Lord Bute was received at Leicester House, the author, as usual, deals abundantly in sarcastic insinuations and innendoes. This favoured personage is presented to us as vain of his person, haughty in his carriage, and by no means desirous of concealing the impression which the old women of the day believed him to have made on the heart of the princess. And when the noble author has added, that his "bows grew more theatric, his paces contracted more meaning, and the beauty of his leg was constantly displayed in the eyes of the poor captivated princess," he infers, without any other authority, that there was not the least foundation for the ideas which had been generally conceived of the rigour of her widowhood. It is rather amusing to observe in what distorted lights the jaundiced eye of this "chronicler of small talk" contrives to place the most trivial, and apparently harmless, circumstances. Because the person of Lord Bute was fine, his leg beautiful, and his carriage graceful, he concludes that the decency with which his intercourse with the princess was carried on was "mysterious." In one passage we are informed, that "the prince lived shut up with his mother and Lord Bute, and must have thrown them under some difficulties: their connection was not easily reconcileable to the devotion they had infused into the prince. The princess could not wish him always present, and yet dreaded his being out of her sight." And in the very next sentence we are told, that the "Lady Augusta, now a woman, was, to facilitate some privacy for the princess, dismissed from supping with her mother, and sent back to cheese-cakes with her little sister Elizabeth, on pretence that meat at night would fatten her too much." Admitting the statement of the noble author, with respect to the treatment of the Lady Augusta, to be correct, we cannot conceive that the princess could secure to herself and Lord Bute any privacy which deserved the gross and unwarrantable insinuation made here against her character, by excluding her daughter from supper parties at which the prince was constantly present. It is, unquestionably, *possible* that an improper intimacy *might* have subsisted between the princess and Lord Bute; but we must, on every principle of justice,

require some stronger evidence before we can believe that such was the fact, than the assurance that Lord Bute had a handsome leg, and that the Princess Augusta was excluded from parties which, from the lateness of the hour to which they were protracted, it was improper that a young female should be permitted to attend. That Lord Orford believed what he states we have no reason to doubt—every old woman believes the fabrications which she circulates, however monstrous or ill-founded—but this credulity which, with a gross appetite, feeds upon the vulgar reports of the day, cannot justify any man for giving permanence to insinuations and charges against the moral characters of individuals which, in all probability, have no existence except in the diseased imagination of the relator. An author who publishes to the world libels upon the private character of the living is deservedly held up as an object of scorn, and subjected to the castigation which the law justly inflicts upon such delinquents; we think, however, that a writer who rakes together the garbage of public rumour, to heap obloquy on the memory of the dead, deserves more justly to be branded with the mark of shame. The libeller of the dead is a literary assassin of a much more contemptible character than the detractor of the living. The living, when libelled, may succeed in repelling the shafts of inventive malice, and set themselves right in the eyes of the world; an unjust attack on the character of the living, therefore, requires boldness as well as indignity: but the memory of the dead lies prostrate at the mercy of every foul mouth and scurrilous pen, which would not have dared to traduce their character while living.

The account which is presented to us in these Memoires of the transactions which ended in Byng's hard fate must, we think, fill every bosom, not steeled against all sentiments of justice and humanity, with indignation and shame. That a set of public men should have existed in a civilized state who sacrificed, on the most frivolous pretence, the life of a respectable officer, with the base view of shielding themselves from the punishment which their incapacity merited, is a circumstance which one could scarcely believe. That the populace should have been deluded by the misrepresentations of artful demagogues is a fact, however, which will hardly excite the surprize of any man who considers how easily the multitude is imposed upon, and adverts to a memorable instance of similar infatuation which is within the memory of all our readers. But in this disgraceful tragedy, which leaves an ineffaceable stain on the memory of those who were principally concerned in it; there is no name which merits so full a share

of reprobation as that of Fox. Horace Walpole had lived long with him on terms of intimate and confidential friendship, and must have felt a very natural and pardonable inclination to place his conduct in the most favourable point of view, consistent with an adherence to a correct relation of the essential facts which he could not altogether omit. But the details which even the partiality of friendship, could not prevail upon our author to suppress, presents his character in a light which must excite the detestation of every generous mind. It shows that there was no artifice, however base or mean, to which Fox would not have stooped for the purpose of securing to himself a continuance in those offices which enabled him to satiate the cravings of his avarice. His love of office was not the dictate of that lofty ambition which covets power without reference to the pecuniary emoluments which may be derived from its possession; on the contrary, he loved place, not with the noble view of using the power appendant upon it in promoting the good of his country, but principally, if not exclusively, for the purpose of satisfying his selfish and inordinate desire of private gain. Fox made the most of the golden harvest to which his office of paymaster opened a commodious inlet. Depressed, annihilated as a statesman, he sat silent, indemnifying himself by every opportunity of gain which his rival's contempt of money threw in his way. Our author attempts to palliate his insatiable rapacity by ascribing it to the fond feelings of a father who wished to make a provision for his children.

We are not prepared to go as far as Lord Orford does, and say that means of intimidation and corruption were employed by Newcastle and Fox to prevail on the court martial before which Byng was tried to pass upon him a sentence in accordance to their known wishes: such atrocity must, we conceive, have appeared too shocking even for them; nor do we believe that the members of the court could have been either weak enough to be intimidated or wicked enough to be corrupted, supposing any attempts on their fears or integrity had been made. But we do believe, that they deluded the members which composed the court with the expectation that if sentence should be passed upon him they would recommend him to the mercy of the crown. When Fox and his party, however, had obtained the condemnation which they desired, as the means of throwing upon another the blame which they were conscious of deserving for the loss of Minorca, they never ceased to goad the public to clamour for its execution. No art was spared to inflame the minds of the populace; and the strenuous and noble efforts which

were made in parliament to save him were rendered unavailing by the constant and persevering opposition of Fox and his adherents. Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, and a few other honest and generous members, made every effort in their power to save a condemned and friendless man: but it is incredible what whispers, what open speeches, what libels, Mr. Fox and his emissaries vented to blacken them for feeling these symptoms of humanity. Pitt generously sought to save the unfortunate admiral; Fox sported with his life, and turned mercy itself into an engine of faction to annoy his antagonist. Had Mr. Pitt's interposition proved effectual, had his influence secured Mr. Byng's pardon, still crooked policy might, perhaps, have excused Fox for traducing this humanity, whatever horror such conduct might have excited in every generous and humane mind; but previously to make mercy impossible, by making it dangerous, by making it odious, is an instance of factious inhumanity which we trust will ever want a parallel in the pages of history.

After a conflict of public feeling of great length and intensity, after the most strenuous efforts made by the friends of humanity and justice, both in and out of parliament, to save this unfortunate victim, the fatal morning at length arrived, and was by no means met by the admiral with reluctance.

"The whole tenor of his behaviour," says our author, "had been chearfull, steady, dignified, sensible. While he felt like a victim, he acted like a hero. Indeed he was the only man whom his enemies had had no power to bend to their purposes. He always received with indignation any proposal from his friends of practising an escape; an advantage he scorned to lend to clamour. Of his fate he talked with indifference; and neither shunned to hear the requisite dispositions, nor affected parade in them. For the last fortnight he constantly declared that he would not suffer a handkerchief over his face, that it might be seen whether he betrayed the least symptom of fear; and when the minute arrived, adhered to his purpose. He took an easy leave of his friends, detained the officers not a moment, went directly to the deck, and placed himself in a chair with neither ceremony nor lightness. Some of the more humane officers represented to him, that his face being uncovered, might throw reluctance into the executioners; and besought him to suffer a handkerchief. He replied with the same unconcern, 'if it will frighten *them*, let it be done: they would not frighten *me*.' His eyes were bound: they shot, and he fell at once *." Vol. II. p. 189.

* "[The following extract from our author's private correspondence in MS, corroborates the account given in the text, and as it contains some further particulars, may be acceptable to the reader. E.]

Thus bravely and nobly died the ill-fated and unfortunate Byng, the innocent victim of a base and unprincipled faction, led on and instigated by Fox and his colleagues. They hated him because he had not been able to effect impossibilities, and because his ill success rendering their incapacity evident to the world, had driven them from their places; and they pursued him with unrelenting ferocity, not only for the purpose of gratifying their unappeased appetites for vengeance, but also for the sake of annoying Pitt and his associates, who were anxious to save him. To the admiral they ascribed their loss of power, and their thirst for vengeance could be satiated only with blood: their political antagonists attempted to shield him from their efforts, and this added fuel to the ardent desire of revenge which they already cherished.

There is no transaction of George the Second's reign which leaves a more unpleasant impression on the mind of the reader than his disingenuous conduct towards the Duke of Cumberland, after the disgraceful convention of Closter Seven. The king having sent his son the most positive orders to sign this convention, treated him on his return as if he had acted even contrary to his commands. He found the nation generally so indignant at this shameful compact, that he was afraid to encounter the reproaches to which an open avowal of his orders would have exposed him; and he conceived the ungenerous design of directing towards his son the odium which in justice should have been directed towards himself. He permitted his English ministers, who certainly were not acquainted with the secret orders which he had transmitted to the Duke, to write to foreign courts, and disavow the transaction. He went even farther: he told Dabreu, the Spanish minister, that he would shew him the rough draft of a letter which he had proposed to send to his son, with a positive command to fight. It was true that he had written such a letter: it is no less true that he never sent it.

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[1] March 17, 1757.—'Admiral Byng's tragedy was compleated on Monday—a perfect tragedy—for there were variety of incidents, villainy, murder, and a hero. His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances, nay, the resolutions of his fate, had not in the least unhinged his mind; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before, one of his friends standing by him, said, 'Which of us is tallest?' He replied, 'Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come and measure me for my coffin.' He said, that being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded on the coolest reflection, that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors are:—came out at twelve—sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered, that his countenance might show whether he feared death; but being told that it might frighten his executioners, he submitted; gave the signal at once; received one shot through the head, another through the heart, and fell.'

The Duke evinced on the occasion the deep and lofty indignation which might have been naturally anticipated from his haughty disposition, which could little brook unmerited disgrace. He insisted upon resigning every thing, the post of captain-general and his regiment: he even determined never to be employed under his father again: he said he could not, did not hope that the king would do what was necessary to justify him: it was therefore necessary to do all he could to justify himself. Throughout the whole of this transaction, which leaves a lasting blot on the memory of the father, we cannot help sympathizing with the feelings, and admiring the conduct of the son. This young prince, to whom history has not been just, warm and greedy of military glory, resigned all his passions to the interested dictates of a father's pleasure. When loaded with the imputation of having acted basely without authority, and covered with unmerited disgrace, he never gave vent to the least unguarded expression. However sensible of oppression, and tremblingly alive to the imputation of dishonour, yet he never for one moment swerved from the duty and tenderness which he owed the King as a father. When Munchausen, one of the Hanoverian ministers, who, in the Duke's absence, had made severe reflections on his conduct, carrying to him a message from the King, fell prostrate to kiss the lappet of his coat, his Royal Highness, with anger and dignity, checked him, and said, "Mr. Privy-counsellor, confine yourself to that office; and take care what you say, even though the words you repeat should be my father's: I have all possible deference for him, but I know how to punish any body else who presumes to speak improperly of me."

In summing up his remarks on the character of George the Second, our author says, that "bookish men have censured his neglect of literature." He adds, however, "that the advantages resulting to their country from authors must be better ascertained before the imputation becomes a grave one. But money is as well hoarded as squandered on Boileaus and Benserades, on Atterburys and Drydens. In truth, I believe King George would have preferred a guinea to a composition as perfect to Alexander's Feast." So would Horace Walpole. We remember meeting somewhere with an anecdote which leaves little room to doubt that his lordship's sentiments on this subject were precisely those which he imputes to George the Second. An unlucky poet, confiding in his lordship's repeated and urgent offers of hospitality, went to call upon him at Strawberry-hill. The peer asked the poet to stay and dine with him, to which the poet

consented. His lordship rang for John, and enquired what he had for dinner; to which the reply was, "Hashed mutton, my lord." "Then let there be hashed mutton for two." In a short time John returned with a woeful face, and informed his noble master that his larder contained only "hashed mutton for one:" when the noble host, with the most courtly ease, fairly bowed his hungry guest out of the house.

In closing our observations on these volumes, our readers will, we trust, excuse us if we add one word on the plates which accompany them. Of the execution of these decorations we shall say nothing, as it hardly falls within our province; but of the design, of which Lord Orford is evidently entitled to the whole merit, we cannot help saying that in most of them it is infinitely beneath contempt. In the last, for instance, where his lordship has been kind enough to explain his design, we have the caduceus, cap of liberty, cornucopeia, and the cornit's guerdon. Demosthenes and Cicero reading with astonishment the Duchess of Marlborough's will and legacy of 10,000*l.* to Mr. Pitt, and seeming to say, "we never got any thing like this by our eloquence." Indeed the other plates are almost all of them conceived in the same wretched and childish taste. The heads, in which alone the reader can feel any interest, are stuck among feathers, helmets, and wands, and resemble the head of a waiter thrust through a bar window, decorated with pewter-pots and warming-pans; or the hero in one of O'Keeffe's farces, looking out upon the stage through a window opened in a pasteboard wall. The history of these plates, and of the admiration which was felt by our noble author for the designs from which they have been taken, is recorded in his miscellaneous correspondence. We have alluded to them, because they seem to shew that Horace Walpole's taste was elevated a very few degrees above his principles and affections.

ART. VII. *A Description of the Shetland Islands, comprising an Account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions. By Samuel Hibbert, M.D. F.R.S.E.* Constable. 1822.

WE alluded to this work in the short critique on the "Pirate," inserted in our January Number, as a performance of

some interest and curiosity, and particularly as illustrating the incidents of the popular novel which we have just named. It will be seen from the title page, that Dr. Hibbert has not confined his book to mere topography and statistics, nor even to geological investigation, which, we are informed, was the main object of his voyage to those desolate islands. He has, on the contrary, introduced into his pages every thing that he could see, hear, or read of, in regard to the men, manners, history, opinions, and practices of these Scandinavian colonies; and has also, at the expense of all taste and arrangement, added note upon note, and tacked appendix to appendix, that he might incorporate into his narrative all the anecdotes, ghost-stories, and witcheries, which he had been able to collect from the credulous Udallers, and superstitious fishermen, with whom he passed his evenings, or spent his days.

The principal object of his book, notwithstanding, is to describe the minerals, and to unfold the geological structure of Shetland; and to this part of his undertaking the indefatigable author devotes many a weary page which no man will ever read. The subject, by no means inviting in itself, is rendered doubly repulsive by the mode in which it is handled. Instead of a continuous essay on the character and associations of the several rocks which compose the country over which he travelled, Dr. Hibbert has thought proper to give all the information that he has to communicate, on these heads, in several separate portions, according to the date and order of his journeys, or *iters*, as he chooses to call them, in the northern Archipelago. This method, it is clear, how useful soever for the purpose of collecting facts, is the very worst imaginable for giving a distinct view of the geological formation of the islands, or of the connection which necessarily subsists among the several masses which are therein associated. It leads, besides, to constant repetition. The same rocks, and the same order of succession, occur again and again in the different *iters;* and, of course, we have the same description, the same remarks, and the same inferences, repeated every time the Doctor undertakes a fresh trip over the bogs and scathalds of his *Ultima Thule.* In this way, he fills more than three hundred quarto pages with geological details; of which the substance, or at least all that is new and valuable of them, might have been given in twenty at the most.

There is, moreover, prefixed to the travels, a long "Essay on Stratification," which a sense of duty has prompted us to read from beginning to end, but of which we cannot by any

means attempt to explain the object. The author is evidently a man of moral research and competent information; but, either from not having been much in the habit of composing, or from an unfortunate ambition to write splendidly, he has involved his ideas in such a cloud of impenetrable verbiage, that we are in most cases utterly unable even to guess at his meaning. We are, therefore, determined to leave out the geology altogether; and since we have a choice between old stories and old stones, we shall at once give a preference to the former, and thereby relieve both ourselves and our readers from a very dreary and unpromising task. We deny not that there are "sermons in stones," and that, in the hands of an intelligent geologist, they are sometimes found to discourse most learnedly on those great works and greater purposes, of which we see but a small part, and that through a glass darkly; but Dr. Hibbert is too much taken up with words to do justice to his thoughts, and besides at this season we are more disposed to "find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks," than to scramble amidst the brown heath and naked rocks of the sea-beaten Shetland.

The first sight of Hialtlandia, as that groupe of northern islands is poetically named, is not such as to excite the admiration of the visitor, or to create in his mind the desire of a lengthened residence. The country is hilly rather than mountainous, presenting numerous eminences, but none exceeding 2000 feet in height; whilst the nakedness of their surface, which not a tree or shrub interposes to conceal, recalls, as the author expresses it, every chilling idea that may have been preconceived in the mind of hyperborean desolation. Shetland truly appears to be, what was long ago said of it, by a stranger who was deeply struck with its bare and boney aspect, the "skeleton of a departed country!"

Fair-Isle is the first of the groupe that meets the eye of the voyager as he approaches land; and from the associations which it bears to a great historical event, which will be for ever memorable in the annals of this kingdom, it is perhaps the most interesting of the whole. It was on this islet that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the commander of the celebrated Armada, drove his galleon, to escape from the more dreadful horrors of inevitable shipwreck in the stormy ocean, which spreads to the north and west of Shetland. The Duke, with two hundred of his men, succeeded in getting ashore on Fair-Isle, where they soon saw their stately three-decker go in pieces, while they were doomed to experience much suffering, from want of food and other necessaries. After losing several of his soldiers by sheer famine, and

having no prospect of procuring the means of conveying the survivors to their own country, the Spaniard came to the resolution of throwing himself upon the generosity of the inhabitants of the adjoining islands, and forthwith sent a message to the Mainland or principal Island, to make known his miserable condition, and to solicit relief. The answer did honour to the people of Mainland. They assured the Duke of an immediate supply of food, and added their conviction that the sufferings of the unfortunate persons under his command, would obtain for them throughout the whole of Shetland, the most hospitable reception. A ship was immediately sent to convey them from Fair-Isle; and the Duke, upon his arrival, was conducted to one of the best houses in Mainland, belonging to a Scottish gentleman of the name of Malcolm Sinclair:

"The Duke de Medina landed in the complete costume of a Spanish nobleman, with a view to impress on the simple islanders some notion of the rank which he held in his own country. On being introduced to his host, he was received with the unfeigned welcome which was due to an illustrious and an unfortunate stranger. This feeling was not, however, wholly unmixed with Malcolm's conscientious disapproval of the cause which had led eventually to the Duke's disaster, though he wished at the same time that emotions of this nature should intrude themselves as little as possible, so as to interfere with the rites of hospitality. An intention so laudable was soon put to a trial—particularly when the Duke, in order to satisfy himself of the imposing effect which his appearance might have caused in the country, bade his interpreter enquire, 'If his host had seen before a person of his rank and mien.' Malcolm Sinclair, who, in estimating the consequence of his guest, had ever considered him as the redoubted Champion of Great Babylon, bluntly replied in broad Scots, 'Farcie in that face! I have seen many a prettier man hanging on the Burrow-Muir,' (the Tyburn of Edinburgh.) It was well for the feelings of the Spanish commander, that his interpreter's knowledge of the English tongue, had not yet extended to its provincialities, and that it was impossible to translate this coarse reply."

The Duke, after all, had no reason to complain of Hialtlandish hospitality. Malcolm Sinclair, and his compatriots, provided the Spaniards with a ship, by means of which they were afterwards landed safely at Dunkirk; whence they next found their way,—the miserable remains of a proud armament,—to the port of St. Andero, where they appear to have made a final muster. A small chapel near Kirkholm, dedicated to the Virgin, is said to have been erected by the Spanish soldiers, in gratitude for their escape from a watery

grave; the ruins of which still bear witness to the occurrences now described, and perpetuate the remembrance of an event which holds a distinguished place in the history of modern Shetland.

As the Shetlanders are strictly an amphibious race, they are seen to greatest advantage on the water; sailing their light yawls, and plying their fishing-lines. The boats used by this people are still of Scandinavian model and materials. The planks of which they are built, continue to be imported from Norway, and are brought to hand in such a state of preparation, that nothing more is necessary than to put them together. The sea-dress of the fishermen themselves, is said to be extremely striking in the eyes of a stranger. A worsted covering for the head, similar in form to the common English night-cap, is dyed with so many colours, that its bold tints are recognized at a considerable distance, like the stripes of a signal flag. They wear also a *surtout* of tanned sheep's-skin, which covers their arms, and stretches from the chin to the knees, overlapping the woollen fabric of their nether garments. Next come a tremendous pair of neat-skin boots, reaching up to the knee, and presenting, within, an amplitude of compass, equal to the diameter of at least two ordinary legs. The *tout ensemble* is so singularly grotesque and peculiar, that a nobleman who lately visited Shetland, carried away with him a complete dress, to be placed in his museum, where he has a collection of such curiosities, next in order to the specimens obtained from New Zealand, and the country of the Esquimaux.

The natives of Shetland, Dr. Hibbert informs us, are rarely very tall; they are of the middle size, remarkably well proportioned, light and nimble. It is true, that all these characters are less observable among the females of the country; for the male sex, in relinquishing most species of domestic drudgery for the adventurous occupation of fishing, cause a more than ordinary portion of labour, fatal to the preservation of a delicate and symmetrical form, to devolve upon the poor females. The features of the Shetlanders are rather small, and hence nothing of the harshness that so peculiarly distinguishes many of the Anglo-Saxon provincials in the north of England, or in some of the lowland districts of Scotland. Their light hair, florid complexion, and smooth skin, continue to give satisfactory evidence of their Scandinavian origin.

There is a peculiarity in the Orcadian and Shetlandic countenance, which has occasioned a good deal of discussion among physiologists, and which may be said to be still un-

determined. Principal Gordon, of the Scot's College at Paris, has recorded in his travels into those islands, that there was not a human eye to be seen in Orkney, which was not *sea-green*. His words are: "the inhabitants are generally strong bodied, and remarkable for the *flava cæsaries*, and the *oculi cæsii*, assigned by Tacitus as distinctive peculiarities of German nations. That sea-green colour of the eye, which I take to be the meaning of the word *cæsii*, is so common in Orkney, that I never met with any person whose eyes were of a different colour."

The fact of green eyes has not been readily admitted in modern times, either by lovers or by scholars. Le Grand, as Dr. Hibbert reminds us, insisted upon changing the *yeux vers* of the early French poets into *yeux vairs*; substituting thus, grey eyes for green: and every one knows what pains have been bestowed by commentators on Shakspeare to get rid of the green eye which he ascribes to the lovely Juliet:

"————An eagle, Madam,
Hath not so *green*, so quick, so fair an eye."

Hammer proposed *keen* eye; and others have indulged in similar alterations and substitutions; but it appears, after all, that green eyes were not only very common a few centuries ago, but were, moreover, very much admired. The Portugueze poet, Villa Reale, for example, chants about green eyes through a whole poem, and is so absorbed in his delight of that particular tint in the visual orb, that he has not a word of favour to bestow on the gentle blue, the charming hazel, or the expressive black. It is clear, however, that the word *green*, as applied to the human eye, is not to be referred to any specific hue of that colour, as exhibited in vegetable productions, or even as it may be formed on the pallet of the painter. Like the purpureus of the ancients, it must be regarded as a generic expression, descriptive of health, vigour, and beauty, and not at all synonymous with the herbaceous eye of Plautus, which, as used by the author, is rather indicative of deformity and weakness:

"Qui una hic est homo
Cum collativo ventre, atque oculis herbeis?"

The Shetlanders have scarcely any idea of comfort in the structure of their huts or cottages. The house of an *oppesster*, or farmer, to whom our author paid a visit, is described as follows:

"Before the door were placed a few stepping-stones, somewhat difficult to trace, and intended to prevent a plunge knee-deep into the immense bed of compost that lay reeking all around. The visiter, after entering a dark and gloomy lyre which forms a part of the tenement, after grazing the heels of the cows on the left of him, and feeling carefully along the surface of a partition to his right, may detect the latch of a door that leads to a spacious apartment, containing a fire-place in the middle of it—where the floor is of clay—where the walls are thickly coated over with soot—where are two long forms on which the servants of each sex are seated, the mistress of the house being distinguished by a high and separate chair—where, in one corner, is a favourite calf regaling itself with a bowl of milk—and where two or three surly hard dogs stretched on the hearth, perfectly happy in the society of a miraculous quantity of cocks, hens and chickens, a sow and a playful litter of young ones. A rude partition divides from the main room a small private apartment, including within the recesses of its walls two or three press beds. The state dormitory, however, reserved for the oppester, is reached by scaling a wooden ladder, on each side of which are stored barrels of meal, or oats, dusty tows, fishing nets, sillock-rods, and various kinds of hand-lines; the middle of the room being reserved for a curtainless bed. There may the inmate, after commending himself to the guardianship of all the good spirits, consign himself to repose, and rise in the morning cheered by the unobstructed rays of the sun, that light the room from an open fissure in the roof."

There exists still among the Shetlanders that virtue so generally found among a half-civilized people, which shews itself in loving and protecting the stranger. Dr. Hibbert had occasion oftener than once, to avail himself of this disposition among the rude islanders: an instance of which we shall give in his own words.

"When visiting this Voe, I was, by the extreme lateness of the evening, under the necessity of availing myself of the custom of the country, when a stranger is perplexed for a lodging, which was to seek for hospitality in the nearest convenient house on my way. My boatman led me to a small creek, at the head of Burrafiord, where the setting sun brightened into a fine purple, a wild intermixture of crag and lake. The smoke arose from a small house built of unhewn stones, after the most ancient fashion of the country; it was the head Buil, or Manor-house, of a small possessor of Aithsting, named the laird of Figrigate. On opening the door I passed through a double range of servants of both sexes, who occupied forms disposed along each side of the room, and made suitable obeisance to the *hoy sasset*, or high seat of the house, filled by the laird himself, with all the patriarchal dignity worthy that primitive state of manners described in an an ancient poem of the eighth century.

Ipse insedit	Meir settizt hann
Medio scamno	Middra fletia,
Ad utrumque latus	Enn a' klid hvara
Familia domus.	Hion saikynna.

Riga-Mal.—
Song of King Eric.

"Native Shetland ale was introduced, which was the first I had tasted in the country. It was not many days old, and had such a pleasant briskness in it, that it might have been seasoned with the tops of heather, after the recipe, as the learned antiquaries would tell us, of Pictish ale. But there was no other ingredient in it except malt; it was, as an Englishman in the reign of Henry the Eighth's time would have said, 'As good as the King's ale, for it contained neither hops nor brimstone *.' The room to which I was shewn for repose served the double purpose of being a dormitory for the opgester, and a granary for the family. A quantity of straw was strewed on the floor, and upon this was laid a sufficient number of *kivarins* and blankets, with clean white sheets. The morning was announced by the grinding of the quern. Breakfast was got ready; my trunks furnished me with tea and sugar, and to a thrifty female I was indebted for cakes:

"Protulit tum Edda
Conspectum cinere punem
Ponderosum et crassum
Plenum furfuribus."—
Song of King Eric.

Few as the wants of a Shetlander are, he is not always careful to supply them, or to provide against those contingencies to which his condition is peculiarly exposed. Marriages, we are told, take place, and housekeeping is begun, with little concern for the future. So early as the year 1680 an attempt was made to remedy, by means of law, this deficiency of foresight on the part of the young lovers. Every person who had not fifty pounds of free gear, or some lawful trade, was forbidden to marry; and none were allowed, under the penalty of 10*l.* Scots, to let to such unqualified persons either house or land. It was formerly the custom for a young married couple to beg from each of their neighbours a supply of domestic articles, as a set-up for housekeeping: but this plan of beginning the world was checked by the operation of a law which punished with the stocks and juggs all tiggers

* In the time of Henry VI. an information was exhibited against a person for putting an unwholesome weed called *an Hupp* into his brewing; and it was a positive order issued to the brewers of Henry VIIIth's household, that there should be neither hops nor brimstone in the King's ale.

(beggars) of wool, corn, fish, &c., whoever they might be, and also inflicted a penalty of 10*l.* Scots, on any one who might grant them service or hospitality.

The poor-laws of Shetland, or rather, to mend the expression, the practice of that country in regard to paupers is truly primitive. In early times, it was the duty of the Ranselman, or local magistrate, to see that there were no vagrant or idle persons in his district; and he was empowered to order them to service, and even to inflict corporal punishment. But in cases of real poverty, a mode was adopted which still prevails. Every parish is divided into a certain number of quarters, to each of which the support of a fixed number of poor is entrusted; every householder receiving an individual pauper into his house a limited number of days, proportioned to the extent of land which he occupies. In this way, the poor are continually transferred from house to house. There are also weekly collections at the church door, and larger offerings at the yearly sacrament, for the express purpose of clothing the indigent, and defraying their funeral expenses when they happen to die. When children have lost their parents, they are placed under the protection of a neighbouring family, where their maintenance is paid for, till they reach ten years of age, after which period, they are considered as belonging to the family in which they were reared, and of course may either be employed in domestic labour at home, or hired out in the capacity of domestic servants to others.

The power and duties of the Ranselman appear to be equally extensive and ill-defined. During the 17th century, when the prerogative of this functionary seems to have known hardly any bounds, he could interfere in the most private matters, in every case at least where his authority could assume the pretext of public good, or colour its exercise with the semblance of patriotism. Whenever he was informed that discord prevailed, or even that a good understanding did not subsist between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, or that there were quarrels and scoldings amongst them, he entered forthwith the house of the offending parties, rebuked them, and, if his advice was disregarded, made a report to the bailiff on the merits of the case, and recommended punishment accordingly. This judge, when charges of scolding or abusive language came before him, had the power of inflicting a penalty of 3*l.* Scots; and if the party complained against was, from habit and repute, a scold, he could visit the delinquency with a still severer mulct, and, we believe, with bodily pain and disgrace.

The morality of Shetland has never been strong when opposed to the temptations of a wreck. Even at the present day, we have been told that the minister of a certain parish in those islands regularly recommends to the care of God all seafaring persons, whether domestic or foreign, together with the property under their care; adding, however, a petition, that if it shall seem good to Providence to permit a shipwreck, the vessel and cargoes may be thrown upon the shores inhabited by his congregation. Our readers are aware that it was at one time rendered illegal to give any assistance to a ship in distress, or to afford the means of preventing a total wreck; and superstition has so far aided the cruel law in question, that it is at length become a standing maxim among the Shetlanders, that no good fortune ever attends the man who has at any period of his days, been very active or successful in redeeming human life from the waves. Within a few years the rule for dividing the produce of a wreck was, to give a third to the proprietor of the land on which it had been thrown; another third to the salvers; and the remaining third to the owner, if he should appear to urge his claim in a specified time. The notions of property and restitution founded on the above rules, are observed to extend themselves to smaller matters; an instance of which is recorded by Dr. Hibbert, as having happened to himself in the neighbourhood of Ouzie Firth. A little girl, says he, was tempted with the offer of a shilling to take a mile's walk and find an umbrella for me which I had left on the beach at Kalista Voe. She soon brought it back, with an intimation from her father that, according to the law of the country, she was entitled to a third of its value for salvage. I next expected a similar demand of a third of this *wreck* for the proprietor of the ground, but the claim was graciously waived.

It was usual about sixty years ago, when a party found themselves assembled at Johnsmus, a festival kept at the time of the long fishery, for the principal person of the feast to address his comrades after the following manner: "Men and brethren, lat wir raise a helt. Here's first to da glory of God, and da guid o' wir nain puir sauls, wir wordy land-maister, an wir lovin meat-mither, helt ta man, death ta fish, an guid groweth i' ta da grund." About Lammas, when from the length of the nights and the rapidity of the tides, lines were often lost, the convivial sentiment was, "Helt ta man, death ta fish, and detriment ta no man." But when the natives were about to quit the ling fishery, and to return home to the harvest, the toast remembered in the cottagers' cups was,

"God open the mouth of the grey fish, and hand his hand about the corn."

We can trace nothing remarkable in the funeral customs of the Shetlanders. It was a command of Odin, that huge piles of earth should be raised over the bodies of the illustrious dead, and that high stones should be erected at the graves of such as had performed signal achievements. Almost all who fell in battle were honoured with a heap of small stones thrown upon the sod which covered their mortal remains; and hence the promise of "adding a stone to his cairn," was held as an expression of respect by every man to whom it was seriously addressed. The Minister of Unst told Dr. Hibbert that it was usual when any one met a funeral to lift up three clods, and throw them, one by one, after the corpse. The Scandinavian inhabitants of Shetland, however, do not shew the same affectionate regard for the dead, or lay that degree of stress on funeral obsequies and posthumous reputation, which distinguish the Celts of the mountains. No consideration sinks deeper into the heart of a highlander than an honoured grave, and the opinion of his tribe respecting him, when they shall commit his body to the dust. But the Shetlander is not behind his brother Celt in holding certain superstitious thoughts respecting the visibility of ghosts, to which he gives the name of *gaufer*. These apparitions, however, most commonly exhibit themselves to the shelty or poney, as he conveys homewards in the twilight, some ancient dame or venerable opgester. As a medical gentleman some years ago was returning from a professional visit which he had paid to a female, the shelty on which he was riding suddenly began, at a particular part of the road, to snort and gallop under evident symptoms of mental agitation: and upon turning round to ascertain the cause of so unwonted an alarm, the doctor beheld the spectred form of the patient whom he had left in bed, and who having just expired, took that opportunity of informing him that his attentions and drugs would be no longer wanted. There is also a popular belief, says Dr. Hibbert, among the lower classes, that if two infants who have got no teeth, meet in the same room, one of them will immediately afterwards die.—When a death does take place, there are few or no particular customs observed relating to it, differing from the most familiar ones in Scotland; a plate containing salt is, as in that country, placed on the corpse; the reason of which ceremony it is difficult to explain, unless we admit the force of what a learned expounder has remarked, that "the Devil loveth nè salt to his meat,

for that is a sign of eternity, and used by God's commandment in all sacrifices."

As the Shetlanders have most of their hopes and fears connected with the sea, their superstitions are chiefly of the aquatic kind, and turn upon the monsters of the deep. In the wild waters of the North, many strange phantoms strike the eye or the imagination of the fishermen, and add to the terror with which he thinks of those malevolent spirits who delight to assume shapes so frightful, and lay in wait for human life. The Kraken, or horven, says Dr. Hibbert, which appears like a floating island, sending forth tentacula as high as the masts of a ship, and the great sea-snake with his horrible mane, are monsters that have been occasionally recognized, and their appearance is closely connected with the demonology of the Shetland seas. The existence of the latter animal, by the bye, which was so long esteemed fabulous, is now placed beyond a doubt: an individual having been cast ashore in Orkney, a few years ago, of which the vertebræ, fifty-five feet in length, are to be seen in the museum of Edinburgh College. A good specimen of the Kraken, however, still remains a desideratum among naturalists.

"Of mermen and merwomen many strange stories are told. Beneath the depth of the ocean an atmosphere exists, adapted to the respiring organs of certain beings, resembling in form the human race, who are possessed of surpassing beauty, of limited supernatural powers, and liable to the incident of death. They dwell in a wide territory of the globe far below the region of fishes, over which the sea, like the cloudy canopy of our sky, loftily rolls, and they possess habitations constructed of the pearly and coraline productions of the ocean. Having lungs not adapted to a watery medium, but to the nature of atmospheric air, it would be impossible for them to pass through the volume of water that intervenes between the submarine and supra-marine worlds, if it were not for the extraordinary power which they inherit of entering the skin of some animal capable of existing in the sea, which they are enabled to occupy by a sort of demoniacal possession. One shape that they put on is that of an animal, human above the waist, yet terminating below in the tail and fins of a fish; but the most favourite form is that of the larger seal, or Hauf-fish, for in possessing an amphibious nature, they are enabled not only to exist in the ocean, but to land on some rock, where they frequently lighten themselves of their sea-dress, resume their proper shape, and with much curiosity examine the nature of the upper-world belonging to the human race. Unfortunately, however, each merman or merwoman possesses but one skin, enabling the individual to ascend the seas; and if on visiting the abode of man, the garb should be lost, the hapless being must unavoidably become an inhabitant of the earth.—

The Ve Skerries, according to popular report, are the particular retreat of the fair sons and daughters of the sea, where they are defended by a raging surf that continually beats round them, from the obtrusive gaze and interference of mortals; here they release themselves from the skins in which they are enthralled, and, assuming the most exquisite human forms that ever were opposed to earthly eyes, inhale the upper atmosphere destined for the human race, and by the moon's bright beams, enjoy their midnight revels."

The native country of those fair ones is at a great distance from the surface of our earth, and has according to Shetlandic tradition been even actually visited by a human being, who, upon his return to the abodes of men, reported as follows. After passing the region of fishes, he descended into a serene atmosphere, and at length arrived at the bottom of the submarine world, which was paved with coral and unknown shining pebbles, where were large streets and squares on every side, pyramids of crystal, and buildings of mother of pearl. The interior of the houses boasted walls of jasper, floors of diamonds, topazes and other precious stones, chairs and tables of amber, and comely mermen and pretty mermaids for inhabitants, who were of course greatly alarmed at the sight of the earthly visitor, and of the diving apparatus in which he had gone down.

There is some very pretty romance connected with these sea dreams of the Scandinavian fishermen. Marriages, it is said, have been contracted between the nymphs of Amphitrite and the loving swains of Unst and Fair-Isle; but in most cases the exiled female has sighed for her coral caves and her kindred who dwelt in them, and even embraced the first opportunity to plunge herself into the waves, and cut for ever her earthly connection. In one instance, which is given at length by our author, the sea-born lady, when she had reached the strand, where she saw her human spouse pursuing her, cast a parting glance at the wretched Shetlander, whose despairing looks excited in her breast a few transient feelings of commiseration. "Farewell," said she to him, "and may all good attend you. I loved you very well when I resided upon earth, but I always loved my first husband much better."

When Christianity gained ground, the inhabitants of this submarine world were regarded as fallen angels, who had been compelled to take refuge in the seas: they had, therefore, the name of Sea-trows given to them, as belonging to the dominion of the Prince of Darkness. The missionary Brand appears to have only confirmed this view, by assenting so far to the opinion of the sailors, as to admit that it was the

devil himself, who, in the shape of great rolling creatures, broke their fishing-nets; adding, that "it was more than probable that evil spirits frequent both sea and land."

There is an amusing chapter on the Witchcraft of Shetland, from which we had intended to make several extracts. We, however, confine ourselves to the following incantation, used for raising a tempest at sea, which will perhaps occur to the mind of the reader as the original of the expression, "a storm in a wash-hand basin."

"About fifty years ago, a woman of the parish of Dunrossness, known to have a deadly enmity against a boat's crew that had set off for the Haaf, took a wooden vessel, named a cap, and allowed it to float on the surface of a tub of water; then to avoid exciting a suspicion of her devilry, she went on with her usual domestic labours, and as if to lighten the burden of them, sang an old Nurse ditty. After a verse or two had been recited, she sent a child to the tub, and bade him tell her if the cap was *whummilled*, or turned upside down. Her orders were obeyed, and intelligence was soon brought to her that the water was beginning to be agitated, but that the bowl was still afloat. She then continued her incantation, and once more broke off, by requesting the child to go again to the tub, and let her know if the cap was whummilled. The little messenger soon returned with the news that there was a strange swell in the water, which caused the bowl to be sadly tossed about. The witch then sang still more loudly, and for the third time sent the child to the tub to report the state of the bason, who immediately hastened back with the information that the water was frightfully troubled, and that the cap was whummilled. The enchantress, with an air of malignant satisfaction, then ceased her song, and said, 'The Turn is done!' On the same day news came that a fishing yaul had been lost in the Roost, and that the whole of the crew had been drowned."

The chapter on the Udallers, or landholders of Shetland, is the most learned and satisfactory part of this large volume. The tenure on which property in the soil was held in those islands till very lately, was of a very singular nature, as it implied a species of fee or tax on pasture land, whilst it exempted the cultivated portions of the country, from all burdens whatsoever. The Udaller boasted that he held his estate "*de Deo et Sole*," of God and Heaven only; and would hardly deign to acknowledge any earthly superior. Shetland, as well as Orkney, it is well known, belonged originally to Norway, and subsequently to Denmark; and during the period that the right of sovereignty was vested in a Scandinavian crown, the Earls of Orkney appear to have acted the part not of feudal lords, but of mere military chiefs. In the fourteenth century, upon the failure of the

male line of the Norwegian stock, the earldom fell into the hands of Henry Sinclair, who, from an alliance with the noble family now extinct, was the natural heir to the title, and hereditary lands belonging to it. To this he received an investiture from the King of Denmark, on conditions which left still undisturbed the ancient laws of the Scandinavian colony, and preserved entire the allegiance due to the mother-country. The earldom continued for about a century in the family of Sinclair, after which certain events took place, by which it was made to devolve as an appendage to the Scottish crown.

When James the Third of Scotland married the Princess of Denmark, he was promised a dowry of 58,000 florins; but the money not being forthcoming, the group of islands, of which we are now speaking, was pledged to the country of the bridegoom, still, however, reserving the right of redemption, and securing to the natives the enjoyment of their ancient laws and customs.

This right of redemption, we believe, has not yet been formally resigned by Denmark, although no claim that we know of has been founded on that right, since the year 1667. At the period now specified, some correspondence took place between the Danish Government and that of Charles the Second, in regard to the exercise of sovereign power in the Orcadian Archipelago; but nothing decisive seems to have been agreed upon, and at all events no actual change was experienced by the occupants of the soil. It is manifest, however, that when James the Third got possession of the said islands, as far at least as the crown of Denmark could grant it, he purchased the lands which belonged to Lord Sinclair, and thereupon assumed the prerogative of creating on the royal estates a number of vassals, who should hold immediately of the king, according to the usage of Scotland. The law of Udal succession was now first infringed upon, and the rule of primogeniture established on the principles of the feudal system; a change which gradually abolished that peculiar tenure by which the more ancient land owners held their territorial possessions.

Mary, the celebrated queen of Scots, was induced to make an hereditary grant to her natural brother, Lord Robert Stewart, the Abbot of Holyrood, of all the crown patrimony in Orkney and Shetland, as well as of the lordship or superiority over all the free tenants therein, for the very moderate consideration of 170*l.* yearly. This nobleman, as every one knows, oppressed greatly the poor islanders, who, on their part, calling in question the validity of the royal grant to the

Earl, and holding their right to the land which they possessed on the original Norwegian principle of an unconditional gift from the crown, yielded with a very bad grace to the necessity of the circumstanes in which they now found themselves placed. Various attempts were accordingly made by the indignant udallers to remove the load of grievances which was pressed upon them by that alien arm, so unwisely interposed between them and the sovereign; and amongst a number of petitions one was presented to the British Government in 1633, in which "it is claimed, by the udallers of Orkney and Shetland, who have for these many ages conformed to the Danish law, possessed their lands for payment of scat and tiend, that no man be interposed between his Majestie and them to molest them; but that they remain his Majesties' immediate vassals, for payment of scat and other duties, conform to their rentals; aye, and while his Majestie conform their rights to the laws of this kingdom."

Charles the First mortgaged the islands of Orkney and Shetland to the Earl of Morton, for the sum of 30,000*l*, borrowed, or said to have been borrowed, of that nobleman: and queen Anne, in 1707, renewed a similar grant of the crown lands to the same family, still, however, open to redemption on the payment of the above debt; of which her Majesty by this transaction at once acknowledged the justice, and avowed the obligation. In 1742, however, the Earl obtained a discharge of the reversion, on the very singular plea, that the revenue of the land was not equal to the interest of the mortgaged sum; and, five years after, he received a compensation of 7,200*l*. for yielding up the jurisdiction of the Islands, which it was now deemed improper that a subject should any longer possess. In 1776, the property of the islands, now heritable and irredeemable, was sold to Sir Lawrence Dundas for 60,000*l*. and is at present in the possession of his grandson, the baron of that name; who is also Lord Lieutenant of Orkney and Shetland. Enjoying the same laws, the same encouragements, and the same protection with the other provinces of Great Britain, it might be expected that Orkney and Shetland would share in the improvement which has, since the commencement of the present century, added so much to the territorial wealth of the empire, and particularly of the northern part of it: but we are sorry to find, that "of the lands of Orkney, it has been recently said, that they are now of much less productive value than they were several centuries ago, and that were it not for the comparatively late discovery of the Kelp manufacture, many of the proprietors would be unable to pay (with) the total produce of their land, the feu and tie

ties which were paid by their ancestors several centuries ago." Of Shetland, it has likewise been affirmed, that were it not for the profits arising from the fisheries, a great part of the lands would long ago have fallen into the hands of the Superiour, whose interest in them, under the existing circumstances is, in many instances, far beyond that of those who are considered the actual proprietors. Nothing remains, then, concludes our author, but to admit that Orkney and Shetland have a long account of arrears against the British Government. It is to be hoped, therefore, that an acquaintance with the natural advantages which these islands possess, in regard to their fisheries, the manufacture of kelp, or other sources of emolument, may suggest some mode in which a liberal and enlightened Legislature may be enabled to atone for past injuries, and perhaps to add materially to the sources of the nation at large.

We conclude this article, with an abridged account of a poor lad named David Tait, of the island of Fellar, who had the misfortune to be born blind and deaf, and consequently dumb. Dr. Hibbert, accompanied by two friends, repaired to the miserable hovel where the parents of this pitiable object dwelt, and found him sitting in a squatting position, warming himself by a fire, which occupied the centre of the hut. He was almost in a state of nudity; and the visitors were informed, that he had never been accustomed to wear any thing more than the apparel he then possessed, which was a coarse blanket, slightly tied round him so as to cover the back. In his limbs he shewed much emaciation and feeble muscular powers; being little disposed, perhaps from the mode in which he was brought up, to exposure in the open air. His countenance appeared very much that of an ideot. His forehead, which in the lower part protruded, was in the upper part retreating, whilst the occiput was proportionably large, yet flattened on its surface. His chin was very prominent, his mouth remarkably wide, and his nose particularly sharp. The pupil of the eyes shewed the pitchy black appearance characteristic of amaurosis, and the iris did not contract or dilate upon the sudden application or withdrawal of a candle.

The only channels of enjoyment left open to him being those of touch and taste, various enquiries were made as to his preferences and aversions in these respects. Being asked what he liked best to handle, she replied, "Every thing he can alter the shape of." She at the same time referred to the flexible substances in the cottage, such as woollen and linen cloathes, materials of cotton, or straw. When different objects were presented to him, he preferred those which had smooth surfaces, to those which were uneven or rough: thus,

the outside of the tea-kettle, coated with sooty matter, was extremely disagreeable to him. When first observed by Dr. Hibbert, the youth had no sensible object within his grasp. It was then curious to witness the innumerable muscular contractions of his fingers, and the velocity with which each motion was executed, in order to produce a rapid change of their position. The sense of taste, owing to the poverty of his parents, had had little opportunity of being gratified by variety; all that our author learned on this subject was, that in preference to fish, he lived chiefly on milk pottage, with which he is generally fed by his mother with a spoon. When about to give him a meal, she taps his hand with the spoon, which is immediately recognized by the poor object as a signal that she is prepared to satisfy his hunger, and in an instant his hands are extended to receive the basin in which the porridge is contained. The attachment which he feels towards his mother is said to be remarkable, and is expressed by a certain degree of restlessness, when he cannot by feeling every object around him, detect her presence.

Poor David has no particular time set apart for sleep. Night and day are the same to him; and his periods of repose are quite irregular and undeterminate in point of duration; a proof, as Dr. Hibbert justly remarks, that his habits have never been under the controul of proper tuition.

The Doctor paid him a second visit, with the view of more minute enquiry and examination.

"He was in a posture not unlike that which is described as peculiar to the Moors; he was not actually seated, but seemed most at his ease when the extremities were gathered up to the trunk, and his chin was at perfect rest upon his knees. I was, however, not a little surprised to find that a squatting position was maintained in his gait. The usual erect attitude of man was certainly not habitual to him; and when I directed that it should be induced by coercion, it was maintained with very uneasy feelings, whilst its continuance met with his decided resistance. I also learned from the mother with equal astonishment, that no attempts had ever been made to teach her son to walk erect. The parents of poor David had, from his birth, regarded him in the hopeless light of a forlorn creature, whose peculiarly bereft lot no condition could ameliorate. Consequently, if we could be assured, that disease had not induced the position of body most easily sustained, it might possibly have afforded a reply to the question, Whether the erect attitude be the natural or the acquired position of man?

David's intonations of voice are said to be somewhat remarkable. Although uttered in pain, when he was forced to stand upright, by way of experiment upon his gait, they were yet highly melodious, being expressed in almost every and if music, as some philosophers state, be the natur

guage of passion, this idea was perhaps never better illustrated than in the case now before us.

"Pauca de appetitu venerco in hoc adolescente manifesto restant. Hanc enim quæstionem, vir illustrissimus Dugaldus Stewart, de Jacobo Mitchell, agens, sic defendit: 'Neque inutile foret, neque ab honestissima sapientia alienum, novisse quo modo hic miserandus, jam puber factus, se habuerit quoad ad res venerus.' Davidis Tate seminudum corpus hanc propensionem detegendi facultatem quidem copiosissimus præstat.

"Genitalia ipsa solito ampliora videntur. Mater ejus (nam pater piscatu occupatus domo longe abfuit,) mihi ad rogata respondere parum hæsitavit. In memoriam revocandum est, Davidem semper in casulæ aream suo more sedisse assuetum esse. Sæpe idea evenit, ut crura nuda paupercularum familiariter domum invisentium, pueri omnia contrutantis, digitis occurrant. Talibus igitur occasionibus, mater confitetur se sæpius admiratam esse, qua cupiditate manus earundum cruribus adhærerent, quanta maxima celeritate, per summam omnem cutem haud vestimentes contectam, ideoque tactui subjectam, digiti aberrarent. Interea in miseri corpore, notæ veneris desideratæ (scilicet præpisimus,) in oculos adstantium sese manifestas durent. Hæ autem res arcanum quiddam nec notes legibus subjectum, et naturam appetitus venerie insitam quem nulles imaginationis vel idearum impetus hoc exemplo, sed contactus solus accendese potuit, clare comprobare viderentur.

"Oporteat quoque hoc loco adjicere ut in dejectionibus alvi vel vesicæ, nullo pudoris sensu hic miserandus cohibeatur.

The naturalist and the moral philosopher are no less indebted than the antiquarian to Dr. Hibbert, for the numerous facts which he has collected in the course of his travels, and embodied in his book. It must be repeated, at the same time, that in regard to authorship, he has followed a bad model, and the advice of extremely injudicious counsellors. The work is three times the size to which it ought to have been restricted, and as ill arranged as it is possible to imagine.

We had almost forgotten to mention, that Dr. Hibbert, during his first trip in Shetland, discovered in great abundance the chromate of iron; an ore which has of late years become an object of considerable commercial importance, as affording the material of a yellow pigment. The discovery was rewarded with a gold medal, presented by the London Society, for the encouragement of commerce and the arts; and it is to be hoped that the mineral stores, of which the value has thus been brought to light, will add to the resources of the hospitable people, on whose lands it has been found, and thereby induce them to view the arrival of a philosopher on their shores, with as much delight as they were wont to hail the appearance of a wreck.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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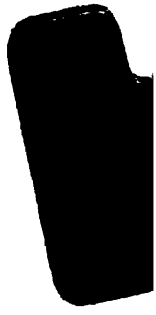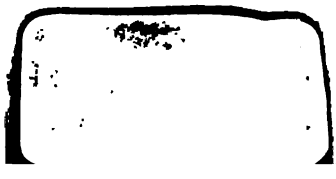
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